

44

1 Sep – 31 Oct 1958

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



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44



The *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* has established its position as the single most important, authoritative, and reliable source on Nehru's life, work, and thought. It is indispensable to the scholar, fascinating to the layperson, and at times something of a primer in politics, democracy, and world affairs, as Nehru intended his periodic letters to his chief ministers to be. It provides a panorama of India and the world as seen from the centre of power in India by an acutely sensitive observer and skilful player. Given the literary talent, creative urge, and singular position of the author, it is a continuous source of pleasure, sometimes of amusement, and always of enlightenment.

The first series took the collection up to 1 September 1946 in 15 volumes; the second series starts with 2 September 1946 when Nehru assumed office in the Interim Government. This is the 44th volume of the second series and it deals with the events of September and October 1958. The extensive annotation to the documents makes them especially user-friendly.


**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**

SECRET

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I had a discussion today with the Ceylon High Commissioner at his request. The summary of the discussion is given in my letter to Shri Gundevia dated 27th September.

2. P.M. may, at his convenience, glance through this letter and the various references which are put up herewith.


(M. J. Desai)
27-9-1958.

P.M. (on return)

I have looked through these papers. I must confess that as a result I am somewhat confused. I can understand that there is difference of opinion or even of approach as between the two Governments. But what is confusing is the fact that these basic points are covered up by all kinds of subsequent layers of argument, assertions, denial and counter assertions. The result of all this is confusion. It would be a good thing if the exact points in issue now could be stated with clarity, regardless of the past arguments. In other words, what is the position today.

J. Nehru
9/10/58

1

C.S.

4006-28/58.

Handwritten signature/initials

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Forty Four

(1 September - 31 October 1958)

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Editor

Madhavan K. Palat

FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

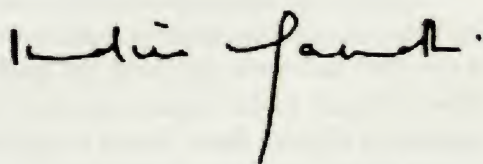
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Indira" and the last name "Gandhi" clearly distinguishable.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume deals with the two months of September and October 1958 marked by Nehru's visit to Bhutan, Firoz Khan Noon's visit to India, the AICC session at Hyderabad, food crises, and a fascinating teleconference with Aldous Huxley and Thomas E. Dewey.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. The letters to the chief ministers are reprints of an earlier series, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, ed. G. Parthasarathi (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1985-1989), 5 vols. Emendations have been made where necessary, but the annotations differ in some respects. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from Delhi or New Delhi. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B.C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections.

In a major departure from the pattern of previous volumes, Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi. Since this series consists of Nehru's works, his own words, in whichever language, must be made

available. However, a translation into English has been appended in each case for the convenience of those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives are housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and are known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, and the Press Information Bureau, have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, and *Shankar's Weekly* for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Amrit Tandon, helped by Shantisri Banerji, Habib Manjar, Fareena Ikhlas Faridi, Khalid Mohammed Ansari, Etee Bahadur, Syed Ali Kazim, and Christhu Doss. The translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari and finalized by the editorial team. I am most grateful to her for her generous contribution of time and effort. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

MADHAVAN K. PALAT

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I. GENERAL

(a) Chief Ministers and Governors

1. To Chief Ministers¹

September 6, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

My last letter to you was sent over five weeks ago.² At that time, the world was facing a critical situation in Western Asia, and I referred to this in my letter. That crisis has passed, and though the problems of the Middle East still remain, tensions have eased. It was rather extraordinary that the Special Session of the United Nations should pass a unanimous resolution on a matter which had raised so much passion and controversy.³ This showed that however difficult a problem, a way out is there, if a real attempt is made to find it.

2. The resolution passed by the UN Special Session was sponsored by all the Arab countries, and I think they deserve credit for their restraint and wise approach. Credit must also go to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Hammarskjöld.

3. We must not imagine, however, that all is well in Western Asia. The basic problems remain. But an atmosphere has been created which will help in an approach to a solution. The Arab countries have shown that they can come together, under pressure of events, and act with restraint and responsibility. In this matter, a principal part was undoubtedly played by the United Arab Republic, which is the leading Arab nation today.

4. Even as this crisis toned off, the thunder of the big guns began afresh in the Far East, and now we face a most critical situation in the East China seas and, more particularly, in the offshore islands of China. The problem is an old one and, three years ago, a grave crisis arose there. Fortunately it faded out after a while. Today a much graver situation has been created, and countries concerned most, that is, China and the United States of America, have taken up

1. File No. 25(30)/58-PMS. This letter has also been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 113-124.
2. Letter of 26 July 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 632-637.
3. An emergency special session of the General Assembly was held from 8 to 21 August 1958 to discuss the Middle East situation. It approved on 21 August 1958 a resolution, moved by 10 Arab states, promising non-interference by Arab nations in each other's affairs and asking American troops in Lebanon and British troops in Jordan to withdraw. It called on Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld to undertake a new peace mission to the Middle East.

rigid and almost uncompromising attitudes.⁴ The Soviet Union has given her full backing to China. Thus, a situation has been created where the prestige of these great nations is intimately involved. Too much has already been said for it to be unsaid, and that is always a dangerous position. Threats and counter-threats follow each other in rapid succession from day to day.

5. So far as the merits of the Formosan question are concerned, we can have only one opinion, because we recognise the People's Government of China and do not recognise the Formosan Government. We are convinced, therefore, that Formosa should go to China. Probably, it will be desirable that it should be an autonomous part of China as it has a distinct individuality. But, while we hold this view and are convinced that this is the only solution of the problem, we had hoped that this could be brought about by peaceful methods and by the passage of some time. War had to be avoided.

6. The question of the offshore islands, and especially Matsu and Quemoy, stands on a separate footing, even though it is part of the larger question. It must be remembered that these offshore islands are very near the mainland and are, therefore, a constant menace to it. It is impossible for any Chinese Government not to be concerned with the presence of an enemy on its very threshold. Aircraft have constantly flown from these islands over the mainland of China, and petty conflicts are frequent. Therefore one can well understand the continuing irritation of the Chinese Government over these offshore islands.

7. I do not know what particular development led to the recent heavy bombardment of Quemoy from the mainland. Perhaps the fact that these offshore islands were being fortified even more and large armies sent from Formosa were being placed there led to this more aggressive policy on the part of the Chinese Government. I have no idea what all this will lead to, but we appear to be again rather near the precipice.

8. Even though these developments in other parts of the world are of vital importance to us, as to others, my mind had been particularly occupied by the food situation in our country. The other day, I spoke in the Lok Sabha and said that I had come to realise even more than before how important this was.⁵

4. Tension rose in late August with the Chinese shelling of the islands of Quemoy and Matsu held by Nationalist China (Formosa or Taiwan). On 4 September, the USA warned China that it was bound by treaty to defend Taiwan. On 7 September, the US Seventh Fleet helped the Nationalist warships to escort supply convoys to Quemoy.
5. Nehru said in the Lok Sabha on 21 August 1958, "whether we succeed or fail from time to time, we realise the utter, absolute and basic importance of this [food and agricultural production] problem in India. I should confess to this House quite frankly that I did not myself realise it. I realised it is important always, but not quite that much as I do today, the last year or two—certainly the last year or two." See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 134-135.

That was not well put, and this led people to think that I had not previously realised the importance of food production. I have realised this and laid stress on this. But it is true that I felt previously that the steps we were taking would produce adequate results. I found later that they had not done so, and that our approach would have to be much more aggressive and far-reaching than anything that we had done previously.

9. I was reading the other day the report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. This Bank sent a team to India early this summer,⁶ and this team made a careful study, from their own rather conservative point of view of the Indian economy. In their conclusion, they said: "The case for additional lending by the Bank to India at the present time must be considered in relation to the needs and achievements of the country and its potential for further economic growth. The record is impressive. To have held together a multilingual federal State with a population of nearly four hundred million, to have raised output at a sustained rate of two per cent to three per cent a year and possibly more with little price inflation, to have built up almost from scratch the foundations of a modern industry, and to have done all this by democratic means, is an achievement for which there is no parallel in history."

10. The Report goes on further to say: "India has taken on a formidable task in trying to achieve a rapid rate of development without sacrificing essential political liberties. If her achievements since Independence are judged in relation to the difficulties to be overcome, it is remarkable that so much has been done. If they are judged in relation to the needs and aspirations of the people, they appear less satisfactory." Again, in regard to agriculture, the Report says: "Much criticism has been levelled at the slow progress of Indian agriculture, and if progress is measured in terms of the potentialities for growth, it has certainly been slow. But most competent observers appear to agree that production is increasing fairly steadily, subject to year-to-year fluctuations due to changes in the weather, the rate of increase being estimated at two to three per cent a year. In 1956-57 when the weather was on the whole favourable, the recorded output of foodgrains and pulses rose by three and a half million tons or five per cent, and the index of total agricultural production by six per cent. Output in 1957-58, on the other hand, has been adversely affected by a severe drought which damaged the rice crop in many areas of Central and South East India; as a result, foodgrains output is expected to be about two and a half million tons less than in the previous year. Production of sugarcane has increased by seven

6. The team sent by the World Bank visited West Bengal, Orissa, Punjab and Bombay State in May and June 1958 and declared that India's dedication to the task of development was "profoundly impressive".

per cent or eight per cent and of groundnuts by about two per cent, but production of cotton, jute and some other cash crops declined. Total agricultural output is, therefore, likely to be somewhat lower in 1957-58 than in 1956-57."

11. These comments from a highly critical group are, on the whole, complimentary to our efforts in India. And yet, I do not wish to take refuge in some complimentary remarks of foreign experts. I know all the difficulties we have faced during these years and the misfortune of successive bad monsoons and floods and drought. Yet, in spite of all this, I am very much dissatisfied. When I think that after eleven years of effort, we should still have to face these acute food situations and large numbers of our people should suffer because of food scarcity, all kinds of questions arise in my mind. It is certain that this rate of progress or change, or call it what you will, is not adequate. And it is no good deluding ourselves by saying that we have been victims of circumstances.

12. The methods and techniques for increasing agricultural production are well known. We have spread out a vast network of Community Blocks all over India and we have told them that their primary concern is agricultural production, and more especially the production of foodgrains. Why, then, have we not succeeded?

13. I think that this requires serious thought. It is not by some quack remedy that we shall succeed. The remedies are known and, indeed, where these remedies have been applied, as in many selected areas, food production has gone up with jumps even by three hundred or four hundred per cent. It is true these areas were good and selected ones, and they were nurtured with great care. No one can expect that as an average, but why should not even the average be much more than a miserable two, three or even five per cent per annum?

14. We are told that seldom has the yield per acre gone up in any country by more than about three per cent per annum, even when a big effort was made. I think those were the figures in Japan in the early days of their industrialisation. In the Soviet Union, where industry has advanced at a tremendous pace, agriculture has not done so well. They have plenty of land there, and more land has been brought under cultivation. But I do not think that the yield per acre has advanced very rapidly. In China, however, it is reported that there has been striking all-round advance in the field of agriculture, more especially during the last year. In some cases, this advance appears to be spectacular. It is rather difficult to judge of Chinese statistical figures. But, however much we may doubt their accuracy, there can be little doubt of the very considerable advance made there in agriculture; a notable feature has been that much higher yields were achieved, not on small isolated plots, as in India, but by much larger regions.

15. It is true that the people in China, whether in industry or agriculture, have been made to work very hard, and the great manpower there has been utilised to far greater advantage. Indeed, reports come to us that people have been made to work so hard that a feeling of tiredness is now often visible. The hours of work of the industrial labour were increased from eight to ten and even twelve. It was found, however, that this did not pay, and workers were so tired out that they even fell asleep at their work. They had to revert to eight hours then.

16. It is probably impossible for this type of highly intensive work to be done on a large scale in India, whether in industry or agriculture. This requires compulsion by the State on an enormous scale. But even compulsion is not enough. An atmosphere for it has to be created.

17. In India, I have the impression that while we have made significant advance in laying the foundations of industry, in agriculture, a sense of stagnation continues in spite of our efforts. The yields per acre are terribly low. The problem, therefore, is not one of repeating again and again what we should do. We know that more or less. How are we to get over this stagnant position? If one goes to the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh or some other similar parts of India, this sense of stagnant agriculture is very obvious. What, then, is lacking? Perhaps, the administration is not effective and forceful enough at various levels. The village cultivator, good as he is, follows the old traditional practices, and without endeavouring to change these basic practices, we try to help him in various ways. We have not succeeded to any large extent in the help we have given. We have not given him the confidence, the faith and the self-reliance to change those practices, and to adopt new techniques and a more aggressive and forceful attitude to his work. All the fine decisions we make at the top and all the appeals that we issue achieve little success by the time they reach down to the cultivator. Indeed, the average cultivator having a small holding has become perhaps even less self-reliant than he used to be. Everyone looks to Government for help, and the State Government looks to the Central Government, and the Central Government looks to countries abroad. In our difficulty, we seek loans and credit and we import foodgrains in large quantities. That is inevitable when a crisis faces us.

18. When I think of the vast sums spent by us on the import of foodgrains during the last ten or eleven years and also on freight for these foodgrains, I am appalled. With that money we could have built up so much in India. Even from the point of view of agriculture we could have put up many more fertiliser plants, big and small, which are so essential for better yields. India's use of fertilisers is pitifully small at present compared to most countries.

19. All our Five Year Plans will founder if we do not succeed in giving

freedom from hunger to all our people; in other words, if we do not succeed in rapidly increasing our food production. We know that this can be done in individual cases and selected plots. How can we spread that treatment of selected plots to the vast agricultural land of India? How can we bring the same spirit of progressive agriculture to the average peasant and not merely to some well-to-do farmers?

20. The Community Development organisation appears to be obviously the means to achieve this. We have built up this organisation reaching down the village and the farmer, and I have often said, and I believe, that this is one of our greatest achievements. But something is lacking when it does not bring about this particular result in regard to an increase in the yield per acre. I often wonder why this is so. Have we lost ourselves in building up super-structures without looking after the foundations? All the officials in the world will not produce adequate results if the cultivator is not affected. The production of food is essentially the business of the cultivator and not for an officer of the Food Department or Ministry. To get the average cultivator out of the rut of ages, we have not only to set an example to him, which he can understand, but also to give facilities, so that he can himself try the improved practices. He has to have credit, improved seeds, fertilisers, agricultural implements, insecticides, irrigation, etc. How can the poor farmer with an acre or two of land do all this? He has no resources. The only possible way is some cooperative method which fits in with his life and is not too far removed from him; which is not merely an extension of the governmental apparatus. Further, some catalyst is needed. It was hoped that our Community Development programme and the village-level workers and others whom we had trained, would function as such catalysts.

21. I am writing to you rather vaguely and generally, because it is not much good my repeating the various steps that we have to take, as they are well known. What I want to put before you is the basic problem as it appears to my troubled mind. I feel that most of us have not moved out of the rut of old thinking, and most of our governmental departments, in spite of their experts, still rather think in the old leisurely way. It would be a good thing, if we, the Ministers and our officials, went down to the fields for a while and gave evidence of our own earnestness. It would be a good thing, more particularly, if the State Agriculture Departments realised that it is not good carrying on as they have done, or relying on the goodwill of the gods or some external agency. Some kind of shaking up process appears to be necessary. If we have to shake up the millions of agriculturists, we have first to shake up ourselves.

22. It is essential that an integrated national food production programme should be before the people and that this should be backed by intensive effort. It is essential that this programme should draw into its fold people who may

differ in other matters. The matter is too serious and too basic for politics to come in the way. Unfortunately politics has come in the way in many States and some activities are being indulged in which must inevitably add to the seriousness of the situation and impede food production. The other day, Acharya Kripalani, the leader of the PSP in Parliament, made an appeal for this wider cooperation on the food front. I gladly responded to this appeal and yesterday I invited some of the leaders of the Opposition parties in Parliament to meet me. We had a fruitful discussion and we all agreed that this matter must be considered apart from political differences and we must try to lessen the tensions that at present exist.⁷ It is my intention to have this informal committee as a continuing body which can deal not only with the immediate issues, but also with the short-term and the long-term remedies. I would suggest to you to follow some similar policy in your State. I realise that it is not always easy to develop this cooperative approach and some people are almost constitutionally incapable of it. Yet the attempt should be made.

23. I am not so much concerned with the difficulty of the immediate present although this cannot be ignored and has to be met. I feel, however, that a change for the better will slowly come in. It has even begun in some places in the UP and elsewhere. The high prices are going down slowly. I do not think they were justified at any time and the trading community has much to answer for in raising prices in this way. I hope, and there is some justification for this hope, that the next season will be a good one. All this may be so, but we cannot rely on good seasons and become complacent because of them. We have had enough warning.

24. I have this evening opened a Defence Production Exhibition.⁸ It is an impressive show and it tells us not only of the progress we have made in manufacturing many new things which we used to import, but even more so, the great potential that we have. We can, within relatively brief period, make nearly everything that we require. On the whole, our progress in industry generally has been good though even there much more can and should be done. Whether in agriculture or industry, we are passing through a difficult period. I hope that a turn for the better will come soon. What I am rather afraid of is that as soon as a slight improvement takes place, we might not get complacent and slacken. There can be no slackening for us today, tomorrow

7. For Nehru's note on the informal consultative committee meeting of Members of Parliament held on 5 September 1958, see item 172.

8. A Defence Production Exhibition was held in New Delhi from 6 to 21 September 1958. For Nehru's inaugural speech, see item 354.

or many a day after.

25. Near Lucknow there is an agricultural research station⁹ run by the National Botanical Gardens. In this research station it has been shown how bad and saline lands can be converted into good agricultural land without much expense. I think that even in UP, there are three million acres of such land. That itself indicates the enormous room for progress if only we take these things up in earnest.

26. You know that our Finance Minister, Morarji Desai, has gone abroad to attend the meetings of the International Bank and other organisations.¹⁰ His visit has been connected with our attempts to raise credits and loans. As a matter of fact, he would not have gone but for the Bank meetings. I have not been happy at the numerous comments in the foreign press about India's precarious financial condition and the reference to a possible bankruptcy of India. This is complete nonsense and let everyone realise it. Because we happen to be in difficulties about foreign exchange, India's economy has not broken up and will not break up. In spite of everything, it is a sound economy and our resources and potential are great. And yet, we have to put up with this rather humiliating patronage from other countries. That in itself should be a lesson to us for the future, so that we can develop our own resources much more speedily. Indeed this foreign exchange crisis has led to some good results and made us develop the manufacture of many commodities which we used to import.

27. While I do not like this patronising attitude of other countries, we must recognise that a number of these countries are coming to our aid generously and we must be thankful to them. But we cannot repeat this performance and we must not do it. We must make good ourselves in the future.

28. The Prime Minister of Pakistan¹¹ is coming here on the 9th of this month for a brief two days' stay. This visit is especially meant for a discussion of our border problems which have given us so much trouble. These problems are by no means as simple as people imagine them. I hope that some progress will be made at this meeting towards their solution.

29. I have accepted a long-standing invitation of the Maharaja of Bhutan¹² to visit his country and I am leaving Delhi for this purpose early on the morning

9. The Banthra Research Station.

10. Morarji Desai visited London from 28 August to 5 September and the USA from 6 to 14 September to plead India's case for foreign aid and went on to Montreal for the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference of 15 to 26 September.

11. Firoz Khan Noon.

12. Jigme Dorji Wangchuk.

of September 16th. The journey to Bhutan is very far from being easy; indeed Bhutan appears to be one of the most inaccessible of countries. Apart from a long air journey on the way to Sikkim, I shall have a five-day trek almost entirely on horseback or on foot. We shall cross high mountain passes; three of them are between 14,000 and 15,000 feet altitude. Thus, I shall have to spend about twelve days just on journeying to Bhutan and back. In addition to this, I hope to stay there for four or five days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Chief Ministers¹³

September 9, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I wrote to you about three days ago what used to be called my fortnightly letter, but which tends to become a monthly one. There are some points which I wished to mention in that letter but could not do so at that time.

2. Before I touch on these points, I should like to refer again to the food situation and various developments connected with it.

3. The bright side of it appears to be the prospects of a good crop. As you know, there have been, on the whole, good rains although inevitably there have been floods and damage and all that. In the eastern districts of UP there has been some excellent rain during the last few days and the face of the countryside has changed. There is every prospect of a good crop in this area of long-standing distress, and I am told that the peasantry there is greatly heartened.

4. While this is a hopeful sign, there are other signs which are not at all hopeful and which indeed fill me with distress. In Uttar Pradesh, the Opposition parties are indulging in activities which are not only totally opposed to any democratic or peaceful regime but actually do serious harm to the food situation by creating a measure of panic.¹⁴ The Opposition has every right to oppose any

13. File No. 25(30)/58-PMS. This letter has also been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 125-132.

14. The Socialist Party had intensified its agitation against the State Government in UP over the food situation in the State and the Praja Socialist Party had started a new agitation. For details, see item 80, fn 275, and item 169, fn 59 and 66.

policy provided it does so in normal, peaceful, and democratic ways. When we seek to build up this country by democratic methods and are aiming at progressive advance towards a socialist pattern, it is essential that certain values and standards should be maintained and, above all, the methods should be peaceful. Violent methods and a deliberate flouting of the Constitution must create unfortunate situations and lead away from peaceful methods. I think this is a serious matter for us to consider. Then again in a vital matter such as food supply, the creation of panicky conditions leads to hoarding, higher prices and the very evils against which we contend. It is perfectly true that, owing to heavy losses due to drought, floods, etc., last year, our production fell considerably and this created a difficult situation, but it is equally true that supplies were available and there was no question of a breakdown in the system of supply. Occasionally difficulties arose in certain areas because of local causes. Floods and waterlogging sometimes delayed supplies. At a moment like this it is important that we should not do anything which creates a psychology of panic and disorder.

5. Because of this we should all endeavor to work for a cooperative approach, even though there may be differences of opinion. As you must know, I have invited some of the leaders of the Opposition groups in Parliament to confer with us in regard to the food situation. In effect, we have constituted a small informal committee which will continue to function in an informal way and will deal not only with the immediate problem but also the short-term and the long-term issues. In addition to this, we are having soon a bigger informal gathering of about 30 MPs of all groups for a fuller discussion of these problems.

6. I commend to you this approach in your State. I realise the difficulties involved when passions have been roused and all kinds of activities are taking place which prevent even an approach to cooperation. Nevertheless, the attempt has to be made and it is the duty of every Government to work for the creation of this favourable and cooperative atmosphere.

7. Whatever the difficulties caused by limited supplies might be, I have little doubt that these have been aggravated by administrative deficiencies in various areas. It is often stated, and I think with truth, that the fair price shops of foodgrains are exploited by undesirable elements who get this cheap grain and sell it at higher prices. It may be that even the shopkeeper himself indulges in this practice. It is essential that this should be dealt with with vigour. The only possible way that I can see is to have identification cards in the area concerned for people to buy from the fair price shops. Further, it would be better if cooperative organisations or other special local organisations were entrusted with this work of distribution through fair price shops. Also the tendency of some traders to profiteer has to be checked and wherever this

tendency comes into evidence, immediate and stringent measures should be taken. Public opinion should be brought into play, and that pressure will probably be greater than the distant prospect of some legal procedure which takes a long time. The cooperation of the trading community should be sought.

8. I have no doubt that we shall not only get over these immediate difficulties, but that we shall learn from what has happened and prevent the recurrence of it in future.

9. I cannot get over the impression that our administrative apparatus is slack and slow-moving. In the lower grades there is a fair amount of corruption. This leads me to the conclusion that centralisation is more likely to lead to delays and corrupt practices than a decentralised administrative system. It is easy to criticise such decentralisation and devolution of powers, but there appears to me to be no other democratic way to deal with the multitude of problems that arise.

10. For real progress, whether on the food front or any other, two things are essential. One is, of course, to inject a vital spark in our administration and in our activities and to enthuse the people. Without that no great progress can be made, even if the administration works according to all the rules and regulations. That vital spark can only be injected if it is present in the top leadership which includes the leadership of all grades including the village grade. This spirit of dedication is not very evident today and, unfortunately, our political conflicts come in the way of our dealing effectively with national problems which do not involve any basic difference of policy.

11. The second condition necessary for real growth is educational advance at all levels, and more particularly at the lower levels. I am convinced that our peasant, good as he is, cannot go ahead without some knowledge of simple modern techniques. If we put up a small tube well in a rural area and some bolt goes wrong, the peasant is helpless. Almost every mechanical device requires some knowledge and experience. This can only come through a measure of education.

12. Our Constitution laid down that within a period of ten years there should be universal, free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. It is manifestly beyond our capacity to fulfill this directive principle of policy within that period. We have made a good deal of advance in Primary, Secondary and University education, but we are very far from the objective laid down in the Constitution.

13. Our Education Ministry has given much thought to this matter and we have considered it in the Central Cabinet also. We decided that we must accept realities as they were and lay down a policy now which we could give effect to if we tried hard enough. Our Cabinet, therefore, approved in principle the

proposal of the Education Ministry for the introduction of universal, free and compulsory education for the age group 6-11 by the end of the Third Five Year Plan.¹⁵ This is less than the directive of the Constitution both in regard to period and the age group; and yet it is a tremendous task involving many problems—financial, administrative and technical. Indeed, very few countries have faced a problem of such magnitude in history. It will involve a heavy burden on the States as well as the Central Government. Even more than the financial burden will be the administrative and technical apparatus to be set up. I trust that your Government will give early thought to this vital matter. The Government of India is anxious to give whatever help it can to the States in the achievement of this modified target.

14. We are hoping that, by the end of the Second Five Year Plan,¹⁶ about 63 per cent of the children of six to eleven years will be in school. This will leave us the problem of providing schooling facilities for the remaining 37 per cent of the children. This 37 per cent means approximately 20 million children. In other words, altogether we have to provide schooling facilities for over 60 million children between the ages of six to eleven. The difficulty is all the greater because about half this number will consist of girls whose education presents special problems of its own.

15. In the Second Plan, the Planning Commission has provided a sum of Rs 30 lakhs under the scheme of relief to the educated unemployed and the teachers employed under the scheme are to be utilised partly to introduce University, Secondary and Primary education in a selected block in each district. The technical and administrative experience gained through this pilot project can be utilised when the larger scheme can be put into operation in the Third Plan.

16. I should like to draw your attention to an approach made by the Government of Madras which seems to me very commendable. This was an attempt to bring about an agreement among all political parties of the State on the maintenance of correct relations between them and educational institutions in the State.

17. The basis of this approach was that all political parties should respect the principle of non-involvement of students, staff and management of educational institutions in party politics.¹⁷ This implied, as a necessary consequence, that there should not be any student organisation in educational

15. The Third Five Year Plan covered the period from 1961 to 1966.

16. The Second Plan covered the period from 1956 to 1961.

17. On 12 July 1958, at a meeting held in Madras, leaders of the various political parties agreed to respect the principle of non-involvement of students in party politics.

institutions which were based on or affiliated to political parties. Naturally such an arrangement could only be given effect to if the political parties agreed to such a convention voluntarily.

18. The approach of the Madras Government met with a chorus of welcome in the press and general public opinion supported it.

19. If I commend this approach to you, it cannot be brought about by some sudden decision and at an odd meeting. It has to be worked for in a spirit of cooperation and it might involve a number of steps taken one after the other. In other words, there has to be sustained endeavour to bring about healthy relations between the political parties, at any rate so far as students in educational institutions are concerned.

20. Our Ministry of Food and Agriculture has drawn my attention to the importance of taking steps against pests and diseases which inflict severe damage to crops as well as to agricultural commodities in storage. These losses are very great indeed. If we could control them, that itself would largely solve our food problem. Unfortunately, some of our social practices and habits are such as to come in the way of effectively dealing with these pests and diseases. However, both the Central and the State Government have their plant protection organisations and their national extension services are trying to help farmers in this respect. But not much vigilance is shown and adequate measures are seldom undertaken in this respect. The Central Government maintain a Directorate of Plant Protection which is always available for any technical or material assistance required in fighting crop pests and diseases outbreaks. They have also established a chain of fourteen plant protection stations in different parts of the country, chiefly with the object of assisting State Governments. Further, there is an aerial unit of three aeroplanes which are available for aerial spraying or dusting of crops against pests and diseases in any part of the country at uniform and economical rates. This unit started functioning in May 1957 and has done good work. I suggest to you that these aeroplanes should be fully utilised to destroy these pests and diseases over large crop areas.

21. Whatever steps we may take in any approach to a large social problem, it is essential that this should have the understanding and cooperation of the people. In particular, this applies to rural areas. The idea that officials can function in some upper stratum divorced from the people is not valid and is indeed harmful. Therefore the officials concerned must go down to the people, to the farmers, to the workers, mix with them, explain to them fully and seek their cooperation. This can never be done if the official adopts a superior attitude. He must treat the people on a level with himself and indeed should always be prepared to set an example by working with those farmers like them in their fields. Even the dress is important. It should not separate him too much from

the common people when he meets them.

22. An experiment near Lucknow in the UP is significant. The Head¹⁸ of the National Botanical Garden there took over charge of an area of 700 acres of very bad saline or alkaline land which was no good at all for any agricultural purposes. Largely with the help of the local population, tube-wells were made there, without the intervention of outside authority, and some other simple devices were adopted. As a result, this barren land has been converted into good agricultural land. This procedure can be adopted in almost every bad area of land which is at present not good for cultivation. The UP itself has three million acres of such bad land and every State has it. Here is an opening for an enormous expansion of our agriculture and food production by simple and relatively cheap methods.

23. Somehow, we have got entangled in mighty and expensive schemes which no doubt are good in themselves but which take a long time to yield results. Inevitably in these very big schemes the poor peasant has very little to do. The virtue of small and simple schemes is that they are cheap and economical, that they yield results soon and that they bring in the cooperation of the peasant. It is here that the Panchayat and Village Cooperative Union can play an important part. It is here also that the Community Block can show good results.

24. All this leads me to the conclusion that the basis of all our work must be intimate contact with our people in almost every phase of our activity. Education is a necessary preliminary and the village school is a symbol of future advance. The organisational side will have to be the village Panchayat and the village Cooperative. Both Government and political parties and public organisations should think on these lines.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

18. Kailas Nath Kaul.

3. To Chief Ministers¹⁹

Gangtok, Sikkim
16th September 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I came to Gangtok in Sikkim today from Delhi. Tomorrow I proceed on my way to Bhutan, crossing the Nathu La, the pass which leads to the Tibetan Plateau. It is over 14,000 ft above sea level and from it one descends to Tibet. There are various routes to Tibet from India, but, till now, the easiest route to Paro, the summer capital of Bhutan, goes from the Nathu La and crosses a small corner of Tibet. Thus, I shall have a brief glimpse of Tibet and I shall spend a night at Yatung, which is about sixteen miles across the border.

2. I shall be going to a country, Bhutan, which is more cut off from the world than perhaps any other country. No papers will reach me, no newspapers, though of course I shall have the inevitable wireless. As I shall be away for over two weeks, I feel like sending you a letter before I leave for these rather inaccessible regions. I leave behind many problems, internal and external. Perhaps it was not right for me to seek an escape from them, even for a while. But I felt that a promise long given should be kept and very elaborate arrangements have been made for my journey in Bhutan and, to some extent, in the little corner of Tibet which I shall pass. It would not have been fair on my part to call off my visit at the last moment. Also, I must confess that I had a powerful urge to go to Bhutan. That urge is always there when high mountains are concerned. But it was especially present in the case of Bhutan, which is one of the very few countries which still live in a past age, unaffected by what is called modern life. Aircraft do not go there nor railway trains nor automobiles. Indeed, there are no roads there and I do not think any four-wheeled or two-wheeled vehicle has ever appeared in Bhutan. One travels on foot or on the back of a pony by difficult bridle paths. Apart from the Nathu La, the pass between India and Tibet, there are two higher passes in Bhutan itself which I shall have to cross. Bhutan is sparsely populated and is essentially an agricultural country with peasant farmers. The population probably does not exceed 600,000 or 700,000 in the whole country; this is an estimate for no census has been taken. The people of Bhutan are sturdy and attractive and rightly very jealous of their independence. In fact, the rulers have not welcomed any outsiders. It is a Buddhist country like Sikkim with many affiliations with Tibetan language

19. File No. 25(30)/58-PMS. This letter has also been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 133-139.

and culture.

3. So, I shall not hear for a while the thunder of the guns over Quemoy in the Far East, nor will the notes and threats and warnings thrown at each other by high statesmen, or the brave speeches made in the United Nations General Assembly, reach my ears. I shall have some peace of mind and live in a world different to what I am used to.

4. But wherever I might be, I cannot wholly rid myself of the problems that afflict us. Above all, the food problem will continue to occupy an important part of my mind. I am quite sure that a solution of this is within our power, though it may take a little time. I am sure that we can increase our food production considerably and become self-sufficient, if we try hard enough. I think that our people and our Governments are at least wide awake to this. I do not mean to imply that they did not previously realise the importance of this, but I do feel that there was a measure of complacency and a feeling that it would solve itself. Our administrative apparatus functioned in the old ruts and many of our people also continued in their old wasteful ways. This does not apply to the great mass of our people who have to put up with a good deal of distress because of food scarcity and high prices.

5. All of us know what should be done to increase food production. But our administration is slow-moving. It was devised long ago for a more or less static economy and cumbrous procedures with numerous checks and brakes put into it. The British Government, under the urgency of a war situation, ignored these checks and brakes. But we have largely carried on with them and so our development programmes move much more slowly than they ought to. Lately an attempt has been made to remove some of these brakes by the devolution of authority. Probably more has to be done in this respect.

6. Above all what is required is a new spirit, a spark and a flame which should enthuse both the apparatus of Government and our people. In regard to food production success can only come if that new spirit fills our farmers and agriculturists. No governmental apparatus can succeed without the cooperation of the farmers.

7. We have, I think, laid good foundations for the progress of industry. The steel plants are symbols of this and we shall soon be making progress in regard to our heavy machine building plant and heavy electricals. The drug industry is also important, not only so as to provide cheap medicines to our people, but to save foreign exchange.

8. Recently, we have had a piece of very unusual good fortune. We have struck oil in Cambay²⁰ and, as you know, the prospects at Jawalamukhi [sic]

20. Oil was discovered in the Cambay Basin on 8 September 1958.

in Hoshiarpur and in Assam are also considered good. Cambay was a region which many foreign geologists said was most unpromising from the point of view of oil. But some of our Indian geologists had faith and so without too much hope we started drilling there. Normally it takes a long time and many attempts at drilling to produce results. In our case, the very first such attempt has yielded results. We must be cautious and not over-optimistic because we can only be sure of the quantity of oil after more proof. But the fact of oil being there has been demonstrated and that itself is an important event. I need not tell you what a great difference it would make to our economy as well as to our dependence on foreign imports if sufficient oil is found in India.

9. But to come back to the food problem, there is the immediate problem and this will last for another month or two till the new crop comes. We have adequate supplies for this period, but they are only adequate if they are carefully used. It is most unfortunate that at this time of difficulty some parties should exploit the situation for what can only be political reasons. It is the right of Opposition parties to criticise Government's policies and to suggest other policies. But I am distressed at the action taken by some Opposition groups in Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal which directly hinders the creation of that atmosphere which is so necessary in dealing with a situation of this kind. For my part, I have laid stress on the food problem being treated as a national one, above party groupings. Others have said so too, though they have not always acted on what they have said. Our attempt at the Centre to seek the cooperation of Opposition groups has met with success and we have had very profitable meetings. We shall continue these. I have recommended this course of action in the States also and I earnestly hope that this will be followed. But it is clear that cooperation can hardly come when there is active non-cooperation being preached and people are being incited to breaches of law. The very atmosphere of faith, confidence and cooperation which is always necessary in meeting a national crisis is thus prevented from developing and instead a feeling of panic and internal conflict encouraged.

10. I think that there is every hope of our making substantial progress in food production in the near future and onwards. The coming harvest is likely to be a good one. Our community development movement has hitched itself almost completely to food production and this will surely yield results. But those results will be substantial only when the individual farmer is approached and fired with enthusiasm. We must go to the farmer and explain to him what should be done and help him in doing it. As I have said before, it is through cooperation that this can best be achieved and the method of cooperation should be the village cooperatives. These village cooperatives could be joined together in regional groups which will give them greater strength. By cooperatives I do

not mean merely credit organisations, though credit is important to the farmer. Every form of cooperative effort should be encouraged, ultimately leading, I hope, to an increasing measure of joint cultivation. This is not collective farming as this is usually understood. Naturally all this has to be done with the goodwill and consent of the farmers.

11. The farmer has to be assured of a reasonable price for his produce. At present, however, the prices are high and there is no need for fixing a minimum. But the farmer should be given an assurance that he will get a reasonable price if prices fall unduly. We have to remember that high prices of agricultural products and specially foodgrains are harmful to the economy of the country and raise the price index, thereby causing much suffering to the mass of the population and also raising the cost of development projects. These high prices should be combated both by administrative means and popular pressure. The present high prices are only partly due to natural causes. Mostly they have been artificially raised. Wherever effective steps have been taken, prices have shown a tendency to come down.

12. A farmer learns from practical demonstration and not so much from theoretical advice. Therefore, it is necessary to have demonstration farms. In every community block there should be at least one demonstration farm for this purpose and small demonstration farms should be started in villages. Those who give good advice to farmers in regard to agriculture should themselves set a practical example by work in terms of that advice. That is, it is not enough, even for our officers, merely to sit in offices and give advice. They should set practical examples.

13. We have become enamoured of big projects. I have no doubt these are necessary. But what seems to me much more necessary are the small projects, the minor irrigation facilities. This means, first of all, the proper maintenance of existing minor irrigation works. Unfortunately this has not been done in the past. Water in canals has not been fully utilised by making village channels; tube wells have also not been utilised fully; and in South India particularly a vast number of tanks have gone into disrepair. This system of tanks in South India was excellent, with inter-connecting channels. The zamindar in the old days looked after them. Since the disappearance of the zamindari system no one else appears to have been made responsible for them. Obviously, it is for the village panchayat to undertake this work. It is estimated that there are about 100,000 small tanks in South India. A large part of these have been allowed to go in disrepair or are only partly used. In repairing these tanks no cement or steel is required, nor is any high technical skill necessary. All that is necessary is the mobilisation of labour to fill the breaches with earth work and clean up silted channels. This also does not require any upsetting of populations

or their resettlement. If this could be organised on a village basis, not much capital will be necessary. The results in the immediate production would be considerable.

14. So far as minor irrigation works are concerned, we must evolve procedures for sanctioning them with speed. It has often been found that there is a great delay in this business of sanctions. This also shows how cumbrous our administrative system is.

15. Recently there has been an exhibition in Delhi of Defence production. This exhibition demonstrated not only the wide field in which our ordnance factories are working, apart from Defence requirements, but also their great potentiality for additional types of work. Indeed, even our existing equipment can be used to far greater advantage and we have good engineers too. We have the men and we have more or less the equipment to do much more than we have been doing. It was pleasing to see the enthusiasm of our engineers when asked to do something worthwhile out of their ordinary rut.

16. There has been an idea inherited by us from British times that as a rule the State should not undertake or compete with any work which is being done by a private agency. This is a wholly wrong approach. We want to encourage as much as possible the development of private enterprise in numerous fields. But this does not mean that we should not touch any of those fields through the State. The State should always try to do what it can provided this is done efficiently and economically. Indeed, it would be a good thing for the State and private enterprise sometimes to compete with each other. Both will be kept up to the mark and the results will be good.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Chief Ministers²¹

October 15, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

My last letter to you was sent from Gangtok in Sikkim, on the eve of my journey to Bhutan via Tibet. After I left Gangtok, I was almost entirely cut off

21. File No. 25(30)/58-PMS. This letter has also been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 140-152.

from communications till my return to Gangtok two and a half weeks later. I received an occasional message by wireless from Delhi. But this was rarely sent as I had requested that only something that was really important should be forwarded to me. Usually we could listen in to the AIR news broadcasts in the evening, as we had a radio with us. There were no newspapers at all and I had a sensation of being in another world.

2. The little corner of Tibet that I saw upset my idea of that country. I had always thought that on the other side of the Himalayan ranges, there was the high tableland of Tibet, more or less flat and treeless. As a matter of fact, on the other side of the Nathu La, there were the same precipitous mountains covered with thick forests. This was the Chumbi Valley where Yatung is situated and, broadly speaking, it was similar to Himalayan scenery. At the top of the Nathu La ended the road that our engineers had constructed, and on the other side we had to descend by precipitous bridle paths. This road on our side is a remarkable feat for which our engineers deserve great credit. If a road could be built on the other side of the Pass, connecting Yatung, then there would be through road communications between India and Tibet. On the Tibetan side this road will be a much simpler proposition than the one that we have built on our side. Through road traffic would make a great difference to trade as well as to travellers. There is still a considerable inflow of goods from India to Tibet although this has gone down during the last year or two. I was told that upto last year quite a number of automobiles had gone this way after having been taken to pieces and carried by porters.

3. The change from Sikkim to Tibet was noticeable, though not very great. Some little distance before we reached Yatung, we were received by representatives of the Chinese General in Command at Lhasa²² and of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama.²³ Tibetans peered at us from their houses or from the roadside, curious about us, and yet not quite sure whether they should come near us.

4. Yatung was a small spread out town. The main market road was full of Indian shops. There were, I believe, over ninety such shops, many of them having started business in the course of the last three years, when this trade was highly profitable. Conditions were more difficult now and so a number of these Indian shops were closing up. The Chinese authorities had put up a number of new buildings—schools, hospital, community centre and residential houses for themselves. Our own Trade Agent's house had its own little hospital and buildings for the staff. In Gyantse and Lhasa our representatives were

22. General Chang Ching Wu.

23. The highest ranking Lama after the Dalai Lama in Tibet.

very badly housed. In Gyantse, a great flood two years ago had destroyed our house and over ninety of our personnel had been drowned. It struck me how difficult were the living conditions of the members of our staff in various parts of Tibet. There was the harsh climate and the high altitude; the lack of social life or amenities and a sense of seclusion from the outside world. Only physically tough people could stand these conditions for long.²⁴

5. On crossing the Tibet-Bhutan border, we were met by the Prime Minister of Bhutan²⁵ and a numerous cortege. We journeyed on horseback or mule-back, a long caravan, going ever higher and higher. The Bhutan Government had taken great pains to improve the bridle paths and erect log huts en route for our night rest. The mountain scenery was more attractive and impressive. Some of us had felt a little uncomfortable on the first day of our journey because of the height, but soon we grew accustomed to that altitude and nothing untoward happened. We had a doctor with us, who carried all kinds of drugs and medicines and numerous oxygen cylinders. I am glad to say that those oxygen cylinders were never used and ultimately, on our return journey, we left most of these oxygen cylinders at our hospital at Yatung.

6. The next day's journey brought us to two high passes,²⁶ both above 14,500 feet. We left the tree-line and ascended to these heights where only flowers and grass persisted. There were lovely Alpine flowers throughout. It was surprising that in spite of long hours on horseback or sometimes on foot, we felt refreshed after every rest. The air was exhilarating and altogether this visit proved to be quite an exciting event in our lives.

7. When we were approaching within two or three miles of Paro, where the Maharaja was awaiting us, we had to form up into a procession which gradually descended along the mountain side to the valley below. I have seldom seen anything more spectacular than this long procession consisting of people looking like medieval knights, dignitaries of the Buddhist church in their special robes, troupes of dancers, etc. Thus we came down the winding road to the valley below where practically the entire population had assembled.

8. We spent five days at Paro. We had met the young Maharaja and his wife²⁷ in Delhi some years ago, and they proved to be charming hosts. In theory, the Maharaja is the all-powerful ruler of his little State. In practice, he is very much one of the people, mixing with them and not very different from

24. For Nehru's note written at Paro, in Bhutan, on 22 September 1958 regarding Indian Missions in Tibet, see item 331.

25. Jigme Dorji.

26. The Chu La and Ha La passes.

27. Ashi Kesang Choden Wangchuk.

them. He had instituted a big Advisory Council which was going to meet soon after our departure. Bhutan has a special relationship with India, governed by our Treaty with it.²⁸ We undertake not to interfere in any way with the internal independence of Bhutan; the Government of Bhutan, on their side, undertake to be guided by our advice in external affairs. Both sides have adhered to this Treaty, and there is no reason why we should want a change in it. Inevitably, Bhutan has to develop and come out of its own shell. But this process is likely to be slow, and they wish to take our technical help in doing so. The most important thing for them at present is the building of one or more roads from India to Bhutan. Probably the first road to be constructed will be from West Bengal into Bhutan.

9. In Bhutan, there were no amenities of modern civilisation; at the same time, there appeared to be no unemployment, no beggary, no poverty. It was a country of peasant proprietors, each person having some land and probably some cattle and pigs and horses and poultry. The people appeared to have enough to eat and fairly adequate housing. They had wooden huts which appeared to be fairly spacious. Women played an important part in their fields and other activities. The Bhutanese language is nearly allied to Tibetan, and their religion is, of course, Buddhism. They look up to the Dalai Lama. In fact, when we showed the film of the Dalai Lama's visit to India,²⁹ quite a number of people in the audience prostrated themselves when they saw the Dalai Lama on the screen.

10. I liked the Bhutanese people. They were tough and wiry and intelligent. Given the opportunities and education, they will do as well as any other people. I hope, however, that change will not come too suddenly to them.

11. On my return, I spent another day at Yatung and a day and a half at Gangtok. I have visited Sikkim many times, and each time I have found many evidences of change and advance. It is a delightful and beautiful little country.

12. While I was in Bhutan, the President paid a visit to Japan,³⁰ where he received a very cordial welcome not only from the Government, but from the people also. It is evident that the Japanese people have developed some attraction for India. They have passed through great trials which have left a deep impress upon them. It is remarkable how they have built themselves up again since their utter defeat in the last World War. I think we can learn a great deal from them. The President has been good enough to give us his impressions of Japan, and we hope to profit by them.

28. The treaty of 8 August 1949.

29. The Dalai Lama visited India from 23 November 1956 to February 1957 to take part in the commemoration of the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's parinirvana.

30. From 27 September to 4 October 1958.

13. While we were away, torrential rains descended in various parts of North India, notably Punjab, Delhi, and parts of Uttar Pradesh. They have done great damage and partly ruined the beautiful crops that were waiting to be harvested. Nature has not been kind to us. But, perhaps, these trials are good to make our people tough and give them a measure of self-reliance.

14. Soon after my return from Bhutan, Delhi became the scene of the important conferences of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.³¹ These conferences attracted a very large number of Finance and other Ministers from many countries, in addition to bankers and the like. Quite apart from the deliberations of these conferences, the visit of all these people from abroad had, I think, a good effect. I think it is right to say that they were much impressed by what they saw in India and the signs of development and progress everywhere. They were tough people, not easily impressed. A number of them travelled about India a little and visited some of our major development schemes as well as Community Blocks. Their main impression appears to have been, so they said, of a vitality everywhere and a determination to go ahead as well as a certain efficiency in our arrangements. The exhibition we are having in Delhi now—India 1958—created a good impression upon all those who saw it.

15. We have had many exhibitions in Delhi. But there is something rather special about the present one. It has been built up in about two and a half months' time during which heavy rains interfered. Most of our visitors said that they could not conceive of such a major exhibition being put up in such a short time anywhere else. I must say that even I have been impressed by this exhibition. I have visited it twice already, and only seen about one-tenth of it. The Science and Technology pavilion as well as those of the Defence Industries, the Atomic Energy, Handicrafts, Handlooms and many other pavilions bring out vividly the all-round progress we are making. The progress in science is particularly impressive, and so also in small industries. I hope that you will have an opportunity of visiting this exhibition when you come to Delhi.

16. We hear a great deal about our major plants and basic industries like iron and steel, machine building, machine tools, ship-building, fertilisers, etc. But, perhaps many people do not realise the great advance that has been made in India in the realm of small industries and handicrafts. I confess that I was myself surprised to find how rapidly these small industries are growing all over the country. I attach very great importance to these small industries producing all kinds of consumer goods and giving employment to an ever-increasing

31. The joint annual session of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation was held from 6 to 10 October 1958.

though everybody says that they should be discontinued. The Soviet Union has started tests again on the plea that the other atomic powers have not given them up.

23. This morning, I attended a meeting of the University Grants Commission, and we discussed for nearly two hours educational problems. It was a helpful discussion which led to the conclusion that in the final analysis nothing is so important as the expansion of proper education.³⁵ Sometimes, it is said that education must suffer for the time being so that our industries and productive apparatus might grow. And yet, it seems to me obvious that our development in any direction will ultimately be conditioned by the educational background, both at the base, that is primary education, and at the top, that is university and technical education. Apart from the cultural aspects of education, which are of high importance, industrialisation itself depends upon education. All the industrialised countries of the world had to go in for large-scale education before they could progress. Japan, when it made a great change in the nineteenth century and decided to industrialise, established free and compulsory education, in addition to technical institutes. All our major schemes require trained manpower. One of the objectives of perspective planning is to train people to take charge of our various developmental activities. If we have not got the trained personnel, teachers, professors, engineers, doctors, etc., the schemes will fail. It is relatively easy to put up a plant, even a major one; it takes much more time to train the men who will run the plant.

24. A rough calculation of the number involved in a full scheme of education, including free and compulsory education up to fourteen years, leads us to the prodigious figure of ninety to a hundred million people. This would include the teachers and the taught, and the number of teachers themselves would run into millions. In such a scheme, our so-called educated unemployed would find a place in the teaching profession. But all this costs money. We may not be able to spare as much as we would like to, but I have no doubt that this is of vital importance to our growth.

25. Apart from the finances involved, it is a question of our general outlook. That outlook must begin with a clear idea about child welfare. It is those early years of the child that condition him or her and make all the difference to its future life. Recently the Indian Council of Child Welfare passed a number of important resolutions which should help us in thinking of the needs of the

35. The University Grants Commission disapproved of budget cuts following Second Plan outlays. It also called for investigating student indiscipline, and welcomed the proposal to make a year of social work necessary for a degree.

child.³⁶ Many people imagine that education begins at some later stage and forget the importance of the child. There is need for uniform and comprehensive legislation for the protection and care of children. While these are necessary, perhaps even more important is a proper approach to the normal child, that is, a child who is not handicapped. We are passing through a period of fairly rapid change in India which affects the growing generation even more than older people. It is necessary to think of this growing generation for it is out of them that the future India will be built.

26. May I remind you that we have commenced the first stage of the introduction of the metric system of weights and measures?³⁷ We are deliberately introducing these gradually so as not to create an upset. But let us not forget that this is a basic and revolutionary change which will facilitate our industrial development greatly in future. State Governments should endeavour to make the public familiar with these new concepts so that the changeover is effected smoothly and without irritation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Governors' Conference³⁸

[...] The Prime Minister said that the detailed matters which had been discussed were, of course, important but, to his mind, the problem which confronts us is more basic. We have developed a tendency to think only in terms of big schemes and not of things involving local efforts and local resources. We look elsewhere for help instead of relying on ourselves.

In an agricultural country, the Prime Minister said, all planning depends on food. He was convinced that we could meet our food situation if there is adequate effort on our part. Why should India produce the least of all countries per acre? We do not utilise our resources to the full. In China staggering results had been achieved by using only local resources, the people of each area being told that they need not expect any assistance from the State. Their irrigation is

36. On 24 August 1958, the Council recommended uniform legislation on children and a comprehensive child welfare programme in the Third Five Year Plan.

37. Introduced from 1 October 1958.

38. Remarks at the Conference of Governors, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 30 and 31 October 1958. File No. 19/15/59-Public I, MHA. Only extracts from the proceedings of the conference are available. It was attended by the President, Vice-President, and several ministers also.

number of people. The industrial estates that have been put up in some parts of India are especially to be welcomed in this connection.

17. Even while the Bank people were in Delhi, news came about the sudden change in Pakistan, which put an end to the Constitution and introduced martial law.³² In a sense, there was nothing surprising about this, as every competent observer knew of the rapid political and economic deterioration of Pakistan. Nevertheless, this came as a surprise. The magnates of the World Bank and the Finance Ministers and others who were here, had a bit of a shock, and, inevitably, a comparison with a vital, progressive and more or less efficient India came before them. They said little in public, but it was obvious from private talks that this change in Pakistan came as a shock to them. It will bring many problems in its train. For the first time, one of the Commonwealth countries is under full-blooded authoritarian rule, indeed under martial law.

18. It is clear that this so-called revolution or counter-revolution in Pakistan has nothing to do with law or Constitution. President Mirza, in abrogating the Constitution, also necessarily put an end to his own Presidentship, which was a part of that Constitution. He has confessed as much and said that he acted, not under any rule of law or Constitution, but according to his conscience. We thus have, as a member of the Commonwealth, a country which has no Constitution and no rule of law, and of course, nothing in the nature of a representative government. Everything in which the Commonwealth takes pride, is lacking in Pakistan at present.

19. In spite of the fact that this change-over in Pakistan is not based on any law, we have decided to recognise the *de facto* Government there and to deal with it. That was the only wise course to adopt, even though under strict legal interpretation the new Government in Pakistan is not legally a continuing one. Other countries have also accepted the fact of change there, and to my knowledge no one has challenged this change. I wonder what the reaction of some other countries would have been if this change had occurred elsewhere and in a country not so closely associated with the Commonwealth and some Western Powers. Naturally, we are deeply concerned with what happens in Pakistan, because we may have to face unexpected consequences. While we should be alert and vigilant, there is no reason why we should take an alarmist view of this situation. From the world point of view, Pakistan does not come out well out of all this. It is difficult to say how long this state of martial law

32. On 7 October 1958, President Iskander Mirza abrogated the Pakistan Constitution, dissolved the Central and Provincial Governments and Assemblies, banned all political parties, appointed General Mohammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, as Chief Martial Law Administrator and placed the armed forces under his command.

will last there. There is no easy way out of it. Napoleon is reported to have said that almost everything could be done with bayonets except to sit upon them. The change in Pakistan was apparently fairly easy because the politicians were thoroughly discredited. But now it is a question of sitting on the bayonets, and that is not likely to be a comfortable business after a while. Probably, some minor variation of martial law will be introduced later and then a Constitution concentrating power in the President. I doubt if all these steps will lead to any political or economic stability there, even though outwardly there may not be trouble.

20. The major world issue during the last few weeks has been the tension and the conflict in the Formosa Straits. Probably, the danger of war which appeared to be quite near, has for the moment passed. But no one should imagine that peace is assured. The position is inherently an unstable and dangerous one, and both sides to the conflict, namely China and the United States of America, have dug in their toes. In this matter, China, according to us, is obviously right. In addition to this, she has a certain initiative. The present conflict raises the whole question of Formosa and the other islands. But, in effect, it is at present confined to these offshore islands.

21. The basic cause of these continuing difficulties and conflicts is the refusal by some major countries to recognise the People's Government of China. You will have seen that the Indian delegation made another attempt to get the question of China's representation in the UN discussed. Indeed, the proposal was an even more limited one. But even this was outvoted in the UN,³³ though the general feeling there, as elsewhere, is that it is quite absurd to keep China out. In such matters, however, logic has little place, and the cold war mentality governs the situation.

22. The General Assembly of the United Nations continues to sit and argue in a background of heavy tension. Our delegation, together with many other countries, has proposed a resolution about the discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests.³⁴ I do not know what the fate of this will be, even

33. Indian attempts to have the Communist People's Republic of China represented at the UN failed both in the Steering Committee of the UN General Assembly and at the General Assembly itself, on 19 and 23 September 1958.

34. The Indian resolution of 13 October for an "immediate discontinuance of the testing of atomic and hydrogen bombs until an agreement is reached by the States concerned in regard to the technical arrangements considered necessary to ensure the observance of the discontinuance of such tests," was defeated in the Political Committee on 31 October with the USA, Britain and France maintaining that atomic tests could cease only within the general framework of effective nuclear disarmament. It was rejected again at the General Assembly on 4 November.

not from big projects but is almost entirely local irrigation, yet they claim to have made themselves independent of rainfall. They use manure or fertiliser made locally. They have gone in for deep ploughing and a high seed rate—the opposite of the Japanese method.

Industrialisation is essential if higher standards of living are to be achieved. The basic requirements are iron and steel, fertiliser and a machine-building industry. Other industries are less important. Here again we tend to think only of huge projects. In China hundreds of thousands of small blast furnaces are producing pig iron and steel.

Education is vital from every point of view, because modern industry requires an educated person. In the next two or three years we will require about 200,000 engineers. They have to be trained, and there must be perspective planning for this. It is amazing that the two departments of Agriculture and Education which are absolutely basic have up to now been regarded as the least important.

The Prime Minister thought we are too hide-bound to the system of tenders, contractors and middlemen. In two or three instances when work was done by the Bharat Sewak Samaj it was quicker, better done and the community benefited. He estimated that in the Second Plan 200 crores may be spent on construction alone. Ten per cent of this could be saved if the middlemen could be eliminated. As regards waterlogging, he thought the problem could be largely met by giving help, such as the supply of pumps, to individual farmers. [...]

During the subsequent discussion the Prime Minister said that there is strong feeling in the country that the Government is not taking sufficiently firm action in regard to the control of food prices and that it is being soft with black-marketeers and profiteers. This feeling has been strengthened by what has happened in Pakistan. As regards waterlogging, he thought much could be done if the problem was tackled piecemeal, starting in a small way. It had been demonstrated that usar land could be rendered fit for cultivation comparatively quickly and inexpensively.

The Minister for Home Affairs suggested that floor and ceiling prices might be fixed for principal food commodities. If food prices can be stabilised, all other prices are automatically controlled. [...]

The Prime Minister said that of recent events in the international field what concerns India most are the changes which have taken place in Pakistan³⁹ and

39. President Iskander Mirza formed a new Cabinet on 24 October and appointed General Ayub Khan as Prime Minister. On 28 October, Iskander Mirza surrendered power to Ayub Khan, who, as President, reappointed Iskander Mirza's Cabinet. Ayub Khan remained Chief Martial Law Administrator and appointed the commanders of the three defence services as Deputy Martial Law Administrators.

the effect they may have on Indo-Pakistan problems, particularly those relating to Kashmir and Canal Waters. A Government of that type tends to take quick decisions without the same degree of reflection as in a democratic set-up and might also exaggerate matters in conflict with India just to cover up their own internal problems. While he did not expect anything to happen, it is necessary to be more alert, particularly as the supply of American arms to Pakistan is continuing.

In the Far East the issue of Formosa and the offshore islands came up to boiling point but has subsided slightly. It is clear that neither China nor the USA want war though both are prepared to go to the extreme limit short of it. The US attitude is not wise from their own point of view. It would have been better for them to have evacuated the offshore islands but their retaining them is now a matter of prestige. China is in no hurry to take Quemoy and Matsu which would leave them with only the Formosa question over which it would be difficult to create a crisis. As things stand she has the initiative in keeping the Americans on tenterhooks and can keep up tension both in the international sphere and also at home in order to maintain the temperature for her domestic policies [sic] whose pace is terrific. What is happening within China is amazing and will have a powerful effect on Asia and the world.

India has been playing the role of intermediary in the matter of nuclear tests and there is a chance of some agreement despite the strong language being used by both sides. Meanwhile, however, the pace of such tests has increased. The Prime Minister drew attention to a book *Nuclear Explosions*⁴⁰ brought out by the Department of Defence Science which has recently been reissued.⁴¹

In the Middle East there is a lack of equilibrium. Egypt and Syria are keeping together but after the first flush of enthusiasm there is a feeling in Syria that they are losing their individuality.⁴² In Lebanon the formation of a Cabinet consisting of opposing elements⁴³ has brought fighting to an end but offers little promise of stability. Now that the British have left Jordan, there is the

40. *Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, GOI, 1956).

41. For Nehru's note for the second edition (1958) of the book, see item 317.

42. United Arab Republic, the political union of Egypt and Syria, lasted from 1 February 1958 to 28 September 1961, when Syria withdrew.

43. General Fouad Chehab replaced Camille Chamoun as President of Lebanon on 23 September 1958, and Rashid Karami, the rebel leader, became Premier in a cabinet of four Christians, three Muslims and one Druze. The United States endorsed this arrangement and withdrew its troops from Lebanon on 25 October 1958.

possibility that something may happen there. Jordan is full of Arab refugees from Israel [which] has frequently threatened that if anything happens in Jordan they will march in. In expectation of such a situation the United Arab Republic might act similarly.

It is essential, the Prime Minister said, for us to relate our thinking in regard to our domestic problems to the dynamic situation prevailing in the world, particularly in the Far East, and to the pace of change everywhere. We must avoid becoming complacent or getting tied up with petty squabbles. [...]

The Prime Minister said that in such a matter⁴⁴ it is necessary to consider the basic factors. Generations think differently. The new generation is growing up in a different environment and a rapidly changing society. It resents falling into line and any attempt to make it do so might produce a hostile reaction. It must be remembered that the new generation is not influenced by the same emotional reaction to Gandhiji as the older one. It will have to find its own remedy. Industrialisation is changing and will change us and its effect will gradually percolate to the villages also. We must recognise the situation and adapt ourselves to it. At present people's patriotism is narrower and takes the form of loyalty to communities and groups but he did not doubt that a wider patriotism would be apparent in the face of an attack on India.

University education, the Prime Minister added, is most important if we are to find the teachers and technicians required. Even now we are unable to fulfil the constitutional requirement in regard to education for which teachers will be needed by the million.

As regards the linguistic question, he thought the break-up of Bombay would be unfortunate not only for itself but because of the reaction on other States. He would prefer multilingual provinces as it gets over the narrow outlook. But at the same time one cannot impose something on an unwilling people which would only make them sullen and frustrated. It is necessary to balance the advantages and disadvantages. But the fascist methods being adopted by the parties concerned cannot be tolerated and make acceptance of the demands more difficult. Even if Parliament had been wrong in its impression of what the people of the State wanted, the least that is due is to give the set-up a trial. There is no reluctance on his part and the Home Minister's to meeting people at any time and discussing the matter. [...]

44. One Governor had spoken of the need for education in citizenship. The freedom struggle had nurtured patriotism but it could fade; hence, until full literacy which would take long, "education should be to the ear rather than the eye, for example, by lectures, etc." for mass education in patriotism and national unity.

(b) Discussion

6. The Contemporary World⁴⁵

Jawaharlal Nehru: I came back from Bhutan yesterday.⁴⁶ I did not see much of Tibet; I spent nearly two weeks going in and out of Bhutan. It was a remarkable experience for me because it took me to a world which modern science and technology has not affected at all. There were no roads, no vehicles, no automobiles, and all communications were by mountain carts. It was a strange experience into a world perhaps of three or four or five hundred years ago or more. And yet it was not an unhappy world of peasant farmers, and fairly well off in regard to food and housing and clothing but with no modern gadgets, and there was no unemployment and no beggars. And I was powerfully influenced by it. I suppose it will change as every other part of the world has changed. Nevertheless it was an experience, I thought, worth having, to compare that with other countries where, while on the one side, we have many modern conveniences, we have many ill effects of the modern age also.

Edward R. Murrow:⁴⁷ Mr Prime Minister, it must have been very agreeable to get away from the pressure of modern-day problems and go back to a more remote civilisation. Prime Minister Nehru, I know you have met Governor Thomas Dewey,⁴⁸ have you not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I have had the pleasure.

45. Extracts from unedited recording of film, radio, and telephone discussions on 3 October 1958 between Jawaharlal Nehru from New Delhi, Thomas E. Dewey from Portland Maine, USA, Aldous Huxley from Turin, Italy, and Edward R. Murrow of Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) who moderated. Telecast in the CBS programme *Small World* on 12 October 1958.
46. Nehru left for Bhutan on 16 September 1958. Using different forms of transport, including aircraft, car, pony and yak, while also trekking, he passed through Tibetan territory, spent the night of 18 September at Yatung, and entered Bhutan on 19 September; he left Bhutan from Paro on 27 September and reached Delhi on 2 October.
47. Edward R. Murrow, American broadcast journalist; was associated with CBS, 1935-61; moderated and produced *Small World*, a television series featuring discussions among world leaders.
48. Thomas E. Dewey, US lawyer and politician; was Governor of New York State, 1943-55, and Republican Party Presidential candidate, 1944 and 1948.

Edward R. Murrow: Well, Governor Dewey, as you know, was for three times Governor of New York State and twice the Republican Presidential candidate. He is now a very successful member of the Bar and, of course, adviser to President Eisenhower. Governor, what are you doing up in Portland, Maine? I thought the elections were over up there?

Thomas E. Dewey: That is one of the reasons I'm here [laughter]. I'm here because of the meeting of the American Bar [Association] where I'm making a speech tonight and that, I gather, has complicated this programme even a little more [...]

Mr Prime Minister, it's a great pleasure to be on the programme with you. I haven't seen you since we lunched together in Delhi and I'm delighted to hear that you got back safe and sound after that trip over the mountains on various animals.

Edward R. Murrow: And from Turin, Italy, Britain's illustrious man of letters, Aldous Huxley,⁴⁹ whose shocking predictions made about the world twenty-five years ago have turned out to be, in so many ways, pathetic understatements. Mr Huxley continues his exploration on freedom and journey of the mind in a new book called *Brave New World Revisited*.⁵⁰ Good evening, Mr Huxley.

Aldous Huxley: Good evening, PM. Long time since we met.

Thomas E. Dewey: I've never met the man; I'm delighted to have heard his voice now.

Aldous Huxley: Well, I am delighted to be able to say "how do you do" again to the Prime Minister whom I haven't seen for, I think, eight years now, and to greet Governor Dewey who I don't know personally. I am delighted to be in this programme. Like the Prime Minister, I've just come from very remote and far off places. I've just come from Brazil where I flew up into the jungles of the [...] to see people [...] more primitive than

49. English novelist and critic best known for his novel *Brave New World* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932), a dystopian vision of a highly technological society of the future.

50. In *Brave New World Revisited* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1958), a non-fiction work, Aldous Huxley considered whether the world had moved toward or away from his vision of the future from the 1930s. He concluded that it was becoming like the *Brave New World* much faster than he had originally thought.

any he saw in Bhutan or Tibet: completely naked, Indian savages living like the Neolithic man 15 or 20 thousand years ago. It certainly is a very enlightening experience to realise the enormous spectrum of the human race at present living on this planet. You can be, in an hour or two — In an hour or two, you can go back 50 thousand years, or, as the Prime Minister has done, four or five hundred years, and then return to the contemporary world. It is, I think, a very important experience for anyone to have.

Edward R. Murrow: Well, gentlemen, the PM has gone back four or five hundred years and Mr Huxley some thousands. But if we can come up to date, man has certainly come a long way in the last two thousand years and a lot of it in the last twenty. Yet it seems that the more we conquer the physical world, the less we conquer ourselves, as Mr Nehru recently stated. How do we get out of this predicament? Can a policy of non-violence, such as Gandhi's, really work today in a world of nuclear violence in the hands of an aggressive Soviet Union? Mr Prime Minister.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, first of all, may I express my pleasure in this conversation with Mr Murrow and Governor Dewey and Mr Huxley, whom I met many years ago. I am afraid my voice is not very sweet because I have brought back a sore throat from Bhutan.

Well, the question you have put is an extraordinarily difficult one. But one thing seems to me quite clear, that one cannot put an end to violence by greater violence, one cannot put an end to an evil by something that is also an evil. Now philosophically or otherwise this may be alright but it is very difficult always to apply these maxims in life at every turn. Nevertheless I do firmly believe in this. I cannot say if Gandhi's non-violence can be applied fully always; certainly I do not think it can be applied by any modern state fully. Nevertheless I do think that basically that is the only way out of this present impasse, deadlock, where violence overleaps itself. It is very difficult logically to justify these things. I am merely stating a belief that has grown in me and we can only approach it in life and not perhaps be able fully to act up to it. That would require saints, and saints normally are stoned by crowds, although they may be revered afterwards.

Aldous Huxley: Governor Dewey, do you see any saints on the horizon?

Thomas E. Dewey: Not at this moment. But it seems to me that we are taking the wrong view; the PM is undoubtedly right. Our objective is to stay alive until we can get there. Meanwhile what we have is a very practical

problem of a nation of just 200 million people headed by PM Khrushchev who announces repeatedly in the world that they will crush it. Now, I would like to believe that they are simply saying we do not believe that you will crush us and therefore we will lay down our arms and abandon nuclear tests and have no army and no navy and no air force. We would persuade them that we were such nice people and they ought not to carry on with their announced programme of taking the world over for communism under dictatorship. Unfortunately I doubt if that would work. And they now have a third of the world, and a third of the world is, to some extent, uncommitted and a third of the world is free. The time may well come when a new generation of Communist leaders will rise, will decide that they can't rule the world effectively. It's too big a job, even though Mr Huxley has envisioned a world in which one brutal master ruled all of it. That seems to me a rather large job under the present possible circumstances. So, in order to bridge this period, until we can get justice under law—which happens to be the subject of my speech here tonight—we ought to have policemen of course. We can hope that people will observe our court decisions voluntarily out of a sense of decency and regard for the opinion of mankind. I hope we will come to the time when we can see the world courts settle all differences by the calm, judicial decision. That entire system has worked very successfully in limited areas. But until we get to a stage where the world is willing genuinely to lay down all arms and if there is a force which will keep their arms laid down, I see no means of staying alive or allowing the idea of human freedom to stay alive and unless it is protected against very aggressive people.

Edward R. Murrow: Gentlemen, I think we will stop all cameras there. We have only got 15 seconds of film remaining.

Thomas E. Dewey: I almost talked ...

Edward R. Murrow: No, you didn't at all: You did fine, Governor.

And as soon as we've got the cameras reloaded, I think we might ask Mr Huxley to pick up this particular aspect of the conversation. Is that agreeable?

Aldous Huxley and Thomas E. Dewey: Yes, we both agree.

Edward R. Murrow: Mr Huxley?

Aldous Huxley: Yes, I hear you. You see, the problem really seems to me is to try to find some alternative policy. I mean, it looks as though the policy based...

Interruption by Edward R. Murrow: That is precisely if you could just stop here, Mr Huxley, while we get our cameras reloaded. It will take just two to three minutes to reload our cameras.

Aldous Huxley: I can realise that.

Edward R. Murrow: The quality here, gentlemen, from all three points is excellent. It is almost room quality.

Thomas E. Dewey: [...] to some extent it relates to the problem we are talking about.

Edward R. Murrow: Yes, quite true. And I think we will get around to this problem later on as to whether or not these modern communications the [...] of communication are really an asset or a liability.

Thomas E. Dewey: I suppose you do not know that we are listening an air-hammer dig up the pavement outside this studio.

[Interruption by technicians]

Edward R. Murrow: Mr Huxley, what is your view of the possibility of substituting intelligence for force?

Aldous Huxley: Well, I am, in a sense, a literary man who lives on the margin of society and is not involved in it. I am in that sense a practical man. But it does seem to me from this attitude, the marginal attitude, that what we have to do is to try, if possible, to get out of this system of power politics which absolutely condemns this extraordinary behaviour we see now and to think about something else. Well, this something else was spoken about by Mr Dulles⁵¹ the other day in his speech, which I welcomed very much. This underlined the fact that two-thirds of the human race,

51. John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State.

that is to say, nearly two billion people, are at the moment underfed and living in conditions of sub-human misery. And he spoke there about having a definite policy for trying to raise its standards. I welcome this very much but it seems to have come about ten years too late. If this policy had been enunciated ten years ago, not under pressure, as it has been enunciated now, at the time of relative calm, I feel strongly that initiative would have passed from the totalitarian side to the democratic side. Because here we have a basic and more fundamental, biological and human problem which can possibly be solved if the human beings would devote all their intelligence and knowledge and all their goodwill to the solution. But which unfortunately cannot be so, so long as most people are spending 50 per cent of their income on armaments. It seems to me that the problem now is to try to get out of this dreadful system, in which the destiny of our humanity is controlled by about thirty men, into one where there is an immense mass of silent people who can give their opinion.

Is it not possible to ask in some way these people which do they prefer? Do they prefer to have enough to eat, or whether they prefer to go on with the present system of power politics and armament races. They can't have both, and they [have] got to choose one over the other. And, I think that this is one of the few subjects in which a gallop poll would produce a 100 per cent unanimity, in which people would prefer to have enough to eat. And here is a genuinely human goal which everybody wants to fulfil and the fulfilment of which calls mainly for technical and scientific means about which people don't quarrel. People quarrel about ideology: but they don't quarrel about the best way of raising wheat, or the best way to producing sulphuric acid; and they do not have to kill one another about these subjects. And if by any means we can shift our attention to this problem, I think there is a possibility of getting this thing solved. And it is a very significant fact that in the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organisation gets some minute budgets compared with the other budgets. [...] And I can't help feeling that both sides would be ready to shift from the present insoluble political and power problems into this other basis. I hope that this might be so and I strongly believe that it is the only possible means of getting out of our present frightful situation.

Thomas E. Dewey: Mr Huxley, may I just point out that by a curious coincidence, if you say that this programme of trying to raise the living standards of the underfed people of the world should have been decided ten years ago, as a matter of fact it was by the President of the United States who had announced a programme which we know today as

'Point Four'⁵² and it was launched ten years and ten months ago.

Aldous Huxley: Yes, I agree, but I think it should have been not merely a United States programme but if possible a complete Western programme, a policy of the developed countries.

Thomas E. Dewey: I think, again, it is in fact your own country, Great Britain, [which] launched the Colombo Plan,⁵³ invested very large amount of savings which they could scarcely afford and have spent an enormous sum. The programme is underway. I think the real problem is how to remove the aggressive threats from the world so that we can give these billions that are being spent on the armaments on the development of the living standards of the rest of the world. And I think it is urgent; it is impossible to take these things in a vacuum when there is man who is the head of a nation of 200 million people who have another 100 million in Central Europe as satellites and 600 million Chinese; and Khrushchev⁵⁴ insists on not following the Malenkov⁵⁵ policy of raising the standards of the Russian people but powering their resources into arms at a staggering percentage.

We will like to have no arms, and I am sure the British people would like to have none. I am sure the people of Western Europe would be most happy. I agree with you that we would have an unanimous vote, both there and the rest of the world and of all the people. Our problem is what do you do when there is a man with unlimited force who announces and insists on continuing to announce that he is going to crush everybody. All we can do is that we hope that enlightenment will reach the upper echelon of the Soviet Union. And meanwhile if we do not sit on our arms we will either be enslaved or killed.

52. A technical assistance programme for developing countries announced by US President Harry S. Truman on 20 January 1949.
53. Originally called the Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia, the plan was conceived at the Commonwealth Conference on Foreign Affairs held in Colombo in January 1950 and was launched on 1 July 1951. Starting with seven participants, the group grew to 26, including non-Commonwealth countries. Its name changed in 1977 to "The Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development in Asia and the Pacific" to reflect its larger membership and range of activities.
54. Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Prime Minister.
55. Georgy Malenkov was the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, 1953-55.

Edward R. Murrow: Prime Minister Nehru, we are now at the point of discussing the dangers of aggression. One of the principal points in your foreign policy has certainly been, since 1954, non-interference in the affairs of other countries. In the Formosa Straits, who is interfering with whom?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, you have put me a question about which I have no doubt. We have recognised only one government in China and that is the People's Government of China. We do not recognise the other government which may exist in Formosa. And I cannot understand how any — apart from that I cannot understand, in so far as these islands of Matsu and Quemoy are concerned, which are about ten or twelve miles off the mainland, how any government can tolerate having a hostile force ten miles from its mainland and being bombarded by it? Whatever the rest of the question may be, it is a position which no government would like to face. In many ways, I have no doubt that the Government of the mainland in China has acted in a way which might be called sometimes aggressive, in their talk or anything, but so far as these islands of Quemoy and Matsu are concerned, I really cannot understand how it can be defended even when these islands should remain on the threshold of their major ports ten miles away and in hostile occupation.

But coming back to what Mr Dewey said, when he said that we cannot be non-violent, I entirely agree with him that it is not possible for anyone except saints to be hundred per cent non-violent. But it does lead to the other thing that while we cannot be non-violent we can, step by step, by disarmament, agreements, lessen the fear element today which leads to armament. Because I do believe that the biggest danger today in the world is fear, and fear leads to progressive armaments, progressive angers and hatreds, and further, that this applies to everybody. The Soviet Union is as much afraid as the Western nations are; they are afraid of each other. How to get over this fear? It can only be done step by step.

Now, may I point out one thing, that Mr Huxley's books and writings lead one to the conclusion that all this is almost a natural development of industrial civilisation. Whether it is taking one form in Europe, another in Russia, another in America, they are all types of development of this industrial civilisation and technology and the rest of it, which gives greater and greater power in the hands of man. Now, that is a more basic question than the ones that have been discussed thus far. And I say, unless the person who has power himself is an improved human being, he will misuse that power, whatever you call it, by whatever name you may call it. Therefore I come to this basic question that something must happen to bring about this change in the human being, and that does not necessarily come about by some kind of legal fiction or legal change

or constitutional change.

Mr Huxley talked about raising standards of the underdeveloped people. Of course, one agrees with him. But all the standards in the world will not do much good unless the people themselves in the underdeveloped countries can stand up on their own feet.

[Interruption by moderator; wants Thomas E. Dewey to continue]

Thomas E. Dewey: I was raised in a small town in Michigan and I learnt to feed the presses by hand in my father's country newspaper offices. Today we have passed through all the stages of increasing mechanisation to the point where now a pressman does not feed anything by hand. He is the master of the machine. In the old days we were the servants of that press, having to feed each piece of paper in by hand. Today a pressman walks around, the lord of all he surveys, as three or four or five presses function and [he] keeps them operating. We are, I think, breaking through the period where man is the servant of the machine and are getting into the stage, in the next decade, where most production is mechanical and the people who supervise it or the men who now work for the machines will be their masters. And that means we will have a new type of civilisation where the dreadful, dull boredom of the mechanical work will be completely superseded by people who instead of feeding the machines would supervise them and every one is a monarch.

Edward R. Murrow: Do you share that optimism, Mr Huxley?

Aldous Huxley: Well, I think there is a great deal of truth in this obvious statement. For example, statistics show that actually at the present moment in the United States only 25 per cent of the population are engaged in production. A great majority of them are now in the service industries which are essentially non-mechanical procedures. I think there is undoubtedly going to be more and more of that. And another thing which we must not forget, which in essence was what I talked about twenty-seven years ago in the *Brave New World* and a thing which has so much come true, is that we are now entering what may be called the final revolution, the psychological and physiological revolution. In the past we had these industrial and technological revolutions which changed man's environment. Today it is becoming possible by applied psychology and applied physiology to influence man directly as a mind-body and this seems to me one of the profound dangers to which we are now exposed and a

danger which we need to examine in advance with the greatest possible care. Because, as I tried to show, there are immense possibilities now, and these possibilities will grow, immense possibilities of the control of minds and bodies in a way which has never happened before and which makes possible a kind of tyranny which I do not think has ever occurred before. And I think it will make possible the substitution of dictatorial terrorism by dictatorial mind-manipulation and body-manipulation of an almost painless character but much more efficient. Unfortunately in the past we have always let ourselves to be taken by surprise by all technological advances, quite unnecessarily. So now I think we may be taken by surprise by what is happening in the field of pharmacology and applied psychology and we should here and now start examining this in the most careful way to see what can be done to prevent the evil use of the enormous powers that undoubtedly are being put into the hands of potential dictators at present.

Thomas E. Dewey: Mr Huxley, may I follow Mr Murrow's admonition and interrupt? I would have shared your concern more if we had not had a recent experience. I know you are much concerned about, for example, the subliminal television, that fleeting second that people do not see but which is supposed to make a heavy impact on the mind, and in your new book you refer to that as one of the subjects of great concern. What happened? This thing came out, it got into the newspapers in a free country and the uproar was colossal. From coast to coast everybody screamed, all the networks announced they would not have any part of it, the experiments that were conducted everybody ran away from, and there is no vestige of subliminal television in the United States today, I would be sure. And believe me it can never be done secretly because in this studio where I am sitting at this moment there are eight men, you could not jointly get that many men to keep their mouth shut. If this was done all over the United States, it would leak. So long as you have a free Press and a free television that, for example, is in my opinion a concern we do not even share. And I have a feeling that so long as we keep our freedom of speech and the Press we are not going to have any thought control even though our techniques for it may develop.

Aldous Huxley: No, but in other countries they can certainly be used. I mean I think these things do present very grave potential dangers. I quite agree that as long as one can preserve the present tradition of freedom, they are fairly innocuous. But nevertheless I think we have to look into the problem. I mean there are so many potentialities on the horizon at present

that we must not allow ourselves to be taken by surprise by what is going to happen.

Edward R. Murrow: Prime Minister Nehru, are you concerned about what mechanisation and increasingly complex organisation may do in India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not at all opposed to mechanisation. I think it is an inevitable world trend. We must accept it. Personally I rather like it. So it is not a question of opposing it but adapting it in such measure and such phases as appear to be desirable at the time. But the question I had put, which Mr Dewey has in a sense answered, that there need be no fear of mechanisation leading to the psychological or biological controls which Mr Huxley has mentioned. It is perfectly true that with certain freedoms of speech and Press, and all these guarantees, the fear is much less. Nevertheless, the question is not so much of governmental interference with the freedoms but a psychology being created which itself comes in the way of the individual who does not fall into a line with the rest; functioning freely, in thinking I mean. Anyhow, it is difficult to say what the result will be. But with ever greater power being concentrated in fewer hands, it does not matter what structure of the States might be; the danger of that power being exercised not rightly is always there. Ultimately, the only way not to have that danger is to improve the human being who has that power or to have checks. Now, if a person has a hydrogen bomb, and unless there are checks, if he misuses it he produces awful results.

So, one must accept mechanisation. I do not see how we can do without it. It is there. Having accepted it one must find ways of, well, it might not affect the human species so that it might lose its moral controls. It is true, as Mr Dewey said, that man is the master of the machine. But it is also true that the machine doing so much ultimately might lead to certain atrophy of some human attributes. I do not know; these are just guesswork. But I do feel that in another sense a kind of revolution is necessary, psychological or physiological, not in the bad sense but in a right sense, so as to be able to use this mechanistic civilisation for right ends. Of course all this is vague talk and I do not know that I can even explain it. But I do feel that this mechanistic civilisation requires a new development in human beings. Further... Yes?

Edward R. Murrow: Mr Huxley?

Aldous Huxley: Then, we come now of course to this crucial problem, the problem of training human beings, the problem in the wider sense of education. It seems to me that education hitherto has been too one-sided.

We have tended to teach on the symbolic level almost entirely and to neglect the mind-body, the organism which has to do the learning and the living. I think John Dewey⁵⁶ spoke about this many years ago and I do not feel that his precepts have been sufficiently followed. But I think now the time has come to reconsider the whole problem of education and to see what can be done to train individual mind-bodies to be more alert, more conscious, more intelligent, more capable of creative imagination than in the past. And we spend an immense amount of money and energy and goodwill on education but I think many people feel that the results are not commensurate with the expenditure and my own feeling is that this is largely due to the fact that education still remains, to such a large extent, on the symbolic and verbal level and is not sufficiently pre-occupied with the existential level, the level of the organism. Here of course we can speak of....

[Interruption as the cameras are adjusted by the pressmen]

Edward R. Murrow: Mr Huxley.

Aldous Huxley: Yes?

Edward R. Murrow: If you will remember roughly where were you then, and pick it up when we have got the cameras reloaded, please?

[Interruption for technical adjustments]

Aldous Huxley: I was speaking about this problem of increasing the quality of human beings by actually educating the organism, and this, of course, as the Prime Minister knows very well, is a very ancient technique in India. The old technique of yoga is essentially a technique aimed at developing the organism on every level, from the physical to the spiritual. And I think one of our problems today in education is to find a practical and Western equivalent of yoga which can be applied on a large scale so as to give the majority of human beings a far greater control over their own destiny. After all destiny affects us immediately in our own autonomic nervous system over which we have virtually no control at all, and one of the whole objects of yoga is to provide a certain control of the autonomic nervous system. And I see absolutely no reason why children should not be taught the simple technique for getting a greater control and thereby

56. American psychologist, philosopher, educator, social critic and political activist.

increasing their intelligence and awareness. I feel very strongly that education is still quite at the beginning of its role and that it is going to play a greater and greater role as time goes on.

Thomas E. Dewey: For a moment I thought you were referring to me back there when you quoted Dewey, Mr John Dewey, who was a distant relative and a far greater scholar. I would like to add something to prove the point you made; it interested me greatly. One of our large American corporations has gone in for an unusual kind of adult education. They are taking the most promising men in the organisation—this is the telephone company, as a matter of fact. In many of the States they have started it. It has been going on for about six years. They take the most promising men, men from who they expect to develop future leadership, men who are already well up, and sending a large number of them to a specially created college in Philadelphia where they bring in all the finest philosophers and teachers of English literature and musicians, and they spend a year there simply developing a liberal art education for the broad sociological approach to their responsibility as corporate executives. The programme, as I said, has been going on for six years. After first year they found that the men went home and their tasks had so broadened that they were not getting along with their wives so well. As a result, they now take the man, his wife and their family; they expose them to the finest liberal arts and philosophical minds that can be obtained; they give them all regular tickets to the philharmonics, and the theatre. And they say that the programme is producing immensely broader men, exactly as you are suggesting. And the only thing that bothers me is: what do they do in twelve years of primary and secondary education and what they do in four years of college, or six or eight years? One answer to that is that they were young and it did not soak up as well. But it is at least one evidence of the correctness of Mr Huxley's view that we have got to have broader, more flexible and more intellectual and philosophical education and that we need better self....

Aldous Huxley: Well, I would like very much to hear what the Prime Minister has to say. I know his own great interest in the Indian techniques in this field.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I was much interested to hear Mr Huxley refer to the yoga technique. I think that that technique fundamentally is sound but it is rather complicated and perhaps not wholly suited to present-day life. The problem is how to simplify it and yet make it effective. I cannot do it myself but there

are attempts being made to that end. I suppose some time or other we shall develop some technique which might help a person to gain a better control over oneself, as Mr Huxley said.

Aldous Huxley: I feel very strongly this is a field in which one of the great foundations should enter to make an intensive study of the various methods which have been developed empirically for developing the human personality and to see how they can be applied on a large scale and maybe on the level of education from the kindergarten upwards. I think ten years of study cannot cost very much in terms of the funds of the Ford Foundation which contributes enormously for the whole improvement of human beings.

Edward R. Murrow: Prime Minister Nehru, I gather from your writings that you have a very considerable respect for what the Soviet Union has accomplished in the field of education and also in the social services and that your primary objection to the Soviet system is that it is based upon violence, the possibility of violence against the individual citizen and violence in relation to neighbouring States. Is that correct?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, partly. My objection is to any suppression of the individual. I believe in individual freedom, in the development of creativeness in individuals and anything that suppresses that is therefore, I think, ultimately harmful.

Secondly, that there is a background; there has been a background of violence in regard to other States. Partly, of course, this background has been created by the fear complex because when the new Soviet State came into existence, for years and years it had to defend itself against attacks. But it is the thinking that is too much involved in violence.

But one thing about the Soviets which has struck me very much is their educational system. Apart from the particular colour they give it, I mean to say ideological colour, it is a good system for the child, and as for the scientists and others they have a very great deal of freedom in it. I have a notion that if education is fairly good and all round, it is bound to lessen the restrictions that are placed on individual freedom. The individual normally likes freedom. He may be duped into not liking it, that I do not know. But he normally likes it; he resists any pressure on his freedom; and, therefore, I thought that one of the hopeful signs in the Soviet Union was this great growth of education at all levels.

Edward R. Murrow: Have you got a comment on that, Governor?

Thomas E. Dewey: Well, my own feeling would be, and I am sure on this point both the Prime Minister and Mr Huxley will disagree, that where you put the instruments of production into the hands of the State, there being only two kinds of capitalism, state capitalism and private capitalism, where you do that, you have to therefore deliver such control over people's lives if you have a dictatorship, and dictatorship can basically be maintained only by force. So when you have what is known as socialism on a total national basis, where no one can work without the consent of the politicians of the moment, you have thereby created, automatically, totalitarianism. And I do not believe that the history of the world has ever shown any society where you have totalitarianism where it was not accompanied by brutality and force and all of the things that we regard as the most serious evils.

Therefore I would hope, and the only solution I see for the Soviets is, that in due course, as they educate the people up, as they learn that there is such a thing as freedom of thought and also freedom of action, they then will accompany it by turning loose the instruments of production so that an all-powerful group of fifteen or twenty men do not have the power of life and death over the whole two hundred million people by the simple process of denying them a job.

Edward R. Murrow: I take it that Prime Minister Nehru's hope is based, in part, on the fact that you cannot educate a man in part, that if you educate a man in science, for example, his curiosity will then carry him over into humanities and the area of political freedom. Is that right?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, what interested me in Soviet education was the stress they laid on humanities even in their technical schools. I was quite astonished—the amount of time they give to literary studies.

Now, what Governor Dewey has just said, of course as he himself said, that the possibility was that I might not agree with him. But may I suggest to him that we might aim, whatever the other structure might be, at greater decentralisation. I believe in decentralisation. [Interruption by cameramen] I was mentioning that perhaps a way out of this difficulty of centralisation of power should be decentralisation, not only of the State power to a large extent but of economic power, because those dangers come, of centralisation I mean, whether it is a socialist structure or a capitalist structure.

Also, Governor Dewey may perhaps know that while we talk in India about aiming at a socialist structure of society we have far less socialism in India, or social controls rather, in India than in the United States of America.

Social controls become inevitable in a complex society and they grow, as indeed, in spite of its economic structure, the United States has them. So we really fight about names, as far as I can see, or words. But I do believe certainly in decentralisation, both in so far as it is possible, of the political power and economic power.

Further, I should like to mention that one cannot lay down one simple rule for every country. The United States of America has developed in the last, well, two hundred years or more into a tremendous — not only power, great wealth, productive capacity and all that. Now, when I have to deal with my country, India, I have to start from scratch and do my job fairly rapidly. I cannot leave it to normal processes which might take a hundred, two hundred years. That would be fatal for me.

Edward R. Murrow: Governor Dewey, Prime Minister Nehru sounds rather like a Republican, doesn't he?

Thomas E. Dewey: I wish I knew more of India, but my own observation is that they have a people of fine intelligence and great diligence and the Prime Minister's personal leadership has been a deeply wholesome thing. I saw a little of it when I was in India two years ago. If you could always be assured that there was such great dedication to the people's liberties and to their welfare at the head of the State I would have no fears at all of the concentration of economic power in the hands of the elected political leaders.

But most of our history and that of the rest of the world is that basically people ultimately do rebel against concentrated power, either political or economic power, and therefore I personally do not like to see both things combined in the same hands. Political power can always control economic power. In other words government can always control economic power. In other words government can always tell anybody who runs a business what he can do and what he cannot do. But if you give both economic and political power in the same hands, in the first place I do not think people with political training are very often good business managers [...] very high standard of living will ultimately emerge from that wherever it is done. And in the second place, when you give all powers to one group, I doubt if you can maintain freedom over a period of time. At some time the wrong fellow or the wrong type of group will get in and they will never give up the power. That is the fear Mr Huxley has so beautifully articulated.

Edward R. Murrow: Mr Huxley, I gather from your writings that you feel that the primary dangers confronting us could be broken down into two

areas, over-population and over-organisation. Is that right?

Aldous Huxley: Well, those seem to be the two impersonal forces pushing in the direction of totalitarianism. Then we have the various technological advances, especially in the field of psychology and physiology which can be constantly used. But I would personally say that the pressure of population upon resources and what may be called over-organisation are the great impersonal forces pushing in the direction of more and more controls. And we are really in an unprecedented situation as regards population, and when one considers the simple facts, for example, when at the time of the birth of Christ the population on the planet was probably about two hundred and fifty million, and by the time of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers it had increased to about five hundred million. Therefore it had doubled in sixteen hundred years. Now it is in the process of doubling in sixty years. Therefore, we see that we are in an absolutely unprecedented situation and it is incredibly difficult to see how we can keep off, particularly how an underdeveloped country can keep off the increasing pressure of population. The problem of population in underdeveloped countries is the problem of capital. What the Governor was saying just now about private and public ownership is really in a sense irrelevant. I mean the real problem is: where are you going to get the capital from? Private capital does not exist and public capital is extremely small. Meanwhile, as things stand now, most underdeveloped countries have about one-seventieth of the amount of the available capital which the developed countries have, and they need about 70 times as much capital. If you see the immediate practical problem now, where are you going to find the capital, and can you find it in other ways, by forced labour, in one way or another which has been the method used in totalitarian countries in the past. This is the most agonising question and I do not know in the least how it should be solved. This is then the problem the PM is facing in India, the problem of capital.

Thomas E. Dewey: In Japan after World War II, I have been there twice, first time in 1951, and I committed the crime of writing a book after that trip⁵⁷ and the thing that struck me most forcibly about Japan was that with the destruction of their factories they had a desperate need of capital. They had very little coal and no iron. How was Japan ever conceivably to get back on her feet and become more industrialised when they had no capital, little coal and no iron? [...] The Japanese themselves could not answer the

57. *Journey to the Far Pacific* (New York: Doubleday, 1952).

question. Their top banking people could not answer that question. The strange thing is that by leaving [sic] this in a country where the living standard is very low and in a country where the taxes are totally high, even higher than in this country, they have nevertheless done it, by enormous diligence and through a free system. It has been an amazing thing. The last time I was back there, two years ago, they had rebuilt. And they have not used forced labour. They have used the incentive system instead of the whip. And I believe in the incentive system and I think that in every place in which it has been turned loose it worked.

Edward R. Murrow: Prime Minister Nehru, would it be fair to say that India is engaged in a competition with Communist China to see whether in freedom you can increase living standards while at the same time maintaining freedom in competition with what is being done in Communist China?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I would not like to put it that way. We are working according to our own ideas, ideals, objectives. We are not thinking of competing with anybody in this matter. In some matters, naturally, we have the same objectives. What I mean is, greater food production or greater this or that. That is a different matter. But our planning is entirely based on what we consider are our needs and our capacity to do it. We are not always comparing with China or any other country. And of course it is entirely democratic planning, that is, there is no question of compulsion. And also remember that we are a federal State and each State, constituent unit, is semi-independent in regard to a number of subjects. So we can only go ahead with a great deal of constant consultations, concurrence, and not by issuing some order from some central authority. We do believe that we can....

Interrupted by Edward R. Murrow: Mr Prime Minister, isn't that basically an element of great strength in India? Because you do not do it by an order issued from Delhi. You have [...] different individuals, each contributing in their own way and therefore better than by a central order?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, naturally, I think the democratic process is better. May I say that, of course, the two problems that Mr Huxley spoke about, over-population and over-organisation—I agree? Over-population is a frightening prospect in the next fifty years or hundred years. I do not know what is going to happen. I think that in India probably our rate of progress of population will get lesser and we will be able to control the situation. But I do not know about the rest of the world.

Edward R. Murrow: Thank you very much, gentlemen, we must stop and reload cameras now. This is going exceedingly well. Very nice, indeed.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have got hot water and honey here for my throat which I am drinking [laughter].

[Interruption]

Edward R. Murrow: Would you like to add anything to the discussion as it stood when we suspended, Mr Huxley?

Aldous Huxley: Yes, I think, for example, there is a case which Governor Dewey was mentioning [...]

Edward R. Murrow: Just a moment, Mr Huxley, until we get our cameras started please.

Aldous Huxley: I was saying that Governor Dewey was of course perfectly right in mentioning the extraordinary revival of Japan and her ability to rise out of the ashes. But one has to remember that this was a somewhat special case in as much as the American army of occupation provided a great deal of capital; and in the second place in as much as it had been a highly industrialised country and there was immense mass of trained manpower which made the revival of the industry far more easy than it was in a completely underdeveloped country. This is a small point but I think it is one to be remembered that the problem of capital, therefore, is probably more difficult in other countries than it was in Japan.

Thomas E. Dewey: I think it is a valid point. If you add up what the United States and Britain and some other Western European countries are spending and giving by way of loans and grants, they really are staggering. We are spending roughly over three billion dollars a year which is going wholly or almost wholly to underdeveloped countries. And then, as for Japan, incidentally, there is an interesting comment on the question of population. The population of Japan has been going through the roof. It was fifty million before the war, it is ninety million now and some people thought that it is going to burst all over the world, and their area is smaller than the State of California. But the population experts now say that Japan will top out at about 100 to 105 million and then decline. The rising living standards, as a result of their success in industrialising and getting themselves going,

for some reason, as happens in most of the Western world and everywhere, when living standards rise, population increases either stop or decline, and apparently that is what [is] actually now forecast for Japan.

Aldous Huxley: And there was also a very intensive birth-control campaign. I mean there was a very undesirable period when there were probably two million abortions a year. It is now being shifted over to the birth control areas so that there has been a very great conscious effort to bring the birth rate down to more or less the level [of] death rate.

Edward R. Murrow: Prime Minister Nehru, you were saying a few minutes ago that you understood why Communist China could not tolerate the continued existence of these islands a few miles off its shore. Do any of you gentlemen see any method or device for settling this current controversy?

Thomas E. Dewey: It may well be that these islands are properly part of the mainland and if so the World Court, I am sure, would say so and I am sure we will abide by it. If not, then I would hope that everybody would abide by whatever the Court decided. That's what we have: an effort to advance justice under law and settle the disputes like this and they should not be settled with guns.

Edward R. Murrow: Would you favour taking the matter to the World Court, Prime Minister Nehru?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a very odd situation. The People's Government of China on the mainland is not recognised by the United Nations. If it is not recognised, how can you ask them to recognise any organ of the United Nations? One cannot have it both ways. Either they must have a place in the United Nations, or else they would simply ignore the United Nations, as they have been doing. I do not think that is a method which would lead to any results. Secondly, whatever the rest of the question may lead up to, I mean to say the question of Taiwan or Formosa, I thought that there had been no doubt at any time in regard to these foreshore islands. And three years ago when this crisis arose⁵⁸

58. In fact, four years earlier. On 3 September 1954, China shelled the Taiwan-held island of Quemoy in the Formosa Straits four miles off the Chinese port of Amoy. Further Chinese bombardment on 4 and 5 September led to air attacks by Taiwan on military targets in and around Amoy.

it was stated fairly clearly, certainly by the British Prime Minister then,⁵⁹ that those foreshore islands should go to the mainland, they are part of the mainland, as normally little islands are just off the mainland. Now, how this is to be done is a matter to be considered, because it should be done decently and, in so far as possible, peacefully. But I have no doubt that these foreshore islands should not be made a basis for attack, a base for attack of the mainland, as they have been, and the mainland is retaliating.

Edward R. Murrow: I think we will all agree to that. Of course, it is also on the record that the principal reason that Communist China is not in the United Nations is because of United States' opposition. Is it not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I suppose so, yes.

Thomas E. Dewey: Well, also there is just another little problem as to what to do then with the two Chinas. The two-Chinas concept is one that some people who want Red China⁶⁰ in the UN are [...] delicate and difficult negotiations. In due course I think it will be solved. I just hope it is not going to be solved by guns.

Edward R. Murrow: Well, gentlemen, let us assume for the moment that one way or another we muddle through this crisis. What next? How do we keep these two armed camps a few hundred miles apart from eventually going forth on some adventure and starting a world war? How do we disengage?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Are you discussing the Far-Eastern question or the whole world situation?

Edward R. Murrow: The world situation.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know if anyone can give you a straight answer, an easy answer. But I suppose the step-by-step way is to deal with disarmament and thereby lessen these fears on either side. Because I am quite positive that no people in any country, and I would even go to say that no government, wants a war. And I do not think that the Soviet Government wants a war at all. It will come in its way of its programmes of development. Nobody else wants

59. By Anthony Eden in 1955.

60. People's Republic of China.

a war. So that if we could proceed on the lines of progressive disarmament that would mean no great danger or risk taken by any side and at the same time removing this element of fear which dominates the world today.

Edward R. Murrow: You see progressive disarmament as the primary method of reducing the fear. Is that correct, Prime Minister?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes.

Edward R. Murrow: Well, gentlemen, what about modern communications in world relations? Is it a good or a bad thing that a whisper in New Delhi on Formosa can be heard in Washington within a matter of seconds—this public conduct of diplomatic relations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, that surely depends on what the whisper contains. It may have a peaceful effect or it may have the opposite effect if something wrong is said.

Edward R. Murrow: Mr Huxley, you are something of an expert on communications. What do you think about that — speed of communications in the modern age?

Aldous Huxley: It is an interesting problem. I mean to say, as it says in the gospel, "sufficient unto the place is the evil thereof."⁶¹ We have now communications that are so good that a relatively small evil anywhere is easily propagated like waves in a strong wind to the utmost ends of the earth. In fact there is very often excitement quite beyond what the immediate small crisis, well, warrants. I mean, there is, quite clearly, this facility of communications [...] it is a very good thing, but it may be a message by which undue importance is often given to events principally quite small. I do not know what the solution of the problem is.

Edward R. Murrow: You have any ideas on this subject, Governor?

Thomas E. Dewey: I cannot but help believe that the advance in the techniques of communication is basically extremely good. Of course, with

61. There seems to be an error either on the part of Aldous Huxley or in transcribing the text. It should read: "...Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof". (Matthew 6:34)

the casual words of every political leader; for example, I was in France last year when one Senator announced in strong terms that France should get out of Algeria. Well, the sentiment in France was almost violent: I would say, everyone would lynch Americans on sight. They were furious. And I understand their fury but they failed to realise that this was a minority Senator who had no sense of responsibility or at least no responsibility for foreign policy and was not going to question France on how they should conduct their internal affairs. It requires a great deal of education among people that one voice may not speak the nation.

Edward R. Murrow: Sorry Governor, we are out of film again. Tom, I was thinking, as you were going there, that if you wanted to go on and say, and this is a presumptuous thing for me to suggest, if you wanted to go on and say that one of the difficulties of one country in judging another is to remember always that there is such a thing as domestic politics.

Thomas E. Dewey: I would like to say that. As a matter of fact I would also like to say something. I believe very sincerely that it is pretty silly for us to check views against those of other people whose problems are so different from ours as, for example, the problems of India which are staggering, and by [...] of the proximity of their neighbours, both their neighbours, and dreadful economic problems. Communications are great so long as we understand that people are speaking against their own background.

[Interruption by moderator]

Thomas E. Dewey: The communications just can't help but be good if the education of the world requires it and, of course, a major factor is that we get through the iron curtain with it. Despite the fact that they jam it, we learn more of them and they learn more of us and we are all just, as people, decent human beings, not wanting war and wanting to get along with each other. But the trouble is that people forget the background against which other people speak, and we get irritated with what somebody says and then they get irritated with what we say, and sometimes a man, I am afraid, is just talking for a local political consumption.

Then, on the other hand, there are times when nations have just such monstrously different problems from the problems that we have that we cannot even realise them. For example, if I were sitting in New Delhi I would be pretty careful about what I say about the nations who have four

or five million men under arms and a thousand miles of common border with them, as India has with Russia and China. They are there, they are very real, they are an aggressive threat, and I think I would be both polite to them and I would try to get along with them, and also if I had a nation of nearly 400 million people, who were all together, too many of them, just terribly hungry, I would be in a whale of a hurry to see that they got better fed. They know they are living in the twentieth century and they want their share of it and I think they are entitled to it.

So if we could only remember, and educate people to remember it, the background against which each political leader speaks, communication would be almost an unmitigated blessing and will certainly bring us together faster even than it is doing now.

Edward R. Murrow: Prime Minister Nehru, that brings us to what Governor Dewey has just said, to the question of neutralism or non-alignment. It will not come as any news to you what you are frequently criticised in this country for that policy.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. Well, Governor Dewey has just said something which is partly an answer. That is, the world looks different from different standpoints. If we look at it from the North Pole it will look very different; if you look at it from Washington it will not be quite the same as from Paris, or Berlin, and so on, that is Moscow or Beijing or Delhi. Because not only does the world look different but the problems look different, and are different in fact.

Now, I do not like the word neutralism and I do not like it being said that India is neutral. But I do say that India is not aligned because we have no military alliance and we do not wish to be associated with any military grouping. We think that thereby we do not serve the cause of peace or indeed any cause. Thereby we merely add to the tensions. That does not mean, of course, that we want to remain helpless and invite an invader to come to our country. Naturally we have to take our own precautions. But we do feel that military alliances have added to tension, added to fears, added to armaments and not led to any real security anywhere. In fact it has rather lessened security. That is our broad approach to this problem. And now that a war, a big war, is so terrible to contemplate, it cannot be checked by military alliances but by some other policy which leads away from these warlike approaches.

Edward R. Murrow: Mr Huxley, in the field of intellectual activity you follow a policy of non-alignment. How do you feel about it in the field of politics?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Politics, in the field of politics?

Aldous Huxley: I sympathise very much with the Prime Minister's point of view. I feel that it is very valuable to have a great country like India outside the system of alliances, standing for a position of mediation. I thought too that [...] and Yankees' utterances recently in Brazil were very interesting in the same field, this idea of creating a Latin grouping which should [...] closely tied up in with the present military situation. It seems to me that the more there is in the world which can exercise a mediating influence, the better for all concerned.

Edward R. Murrow: What would happen if US took that position.

Aldous Huxley: Well, US after all is trying doing its best to negotiate. I mean, I think the present policies in Warsaw are very promising and hopeful.⁶²

Thomas E. Dewey: Supposing we went neutralist too, who would protect the rest of the world from the immediate conquest by the Soviets? They say they are going to do it and the trouble is they might be speaking the truth and probably are intending to take over the rest of the world.

Edward R. Murrow: Prime Minister Nehru, I get the impression from some of your writings and from a conversation we had in London a couple of years ago that you have the feeling that both East and West, or more specifically the United States and the Soviet Union, are following policies that are too inflexible, that there is not a tendency to compromise on either side. Is that correct?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I do not think they are quite as inflexible as all that, except in the language of statesmen which appears inflexible often enough. I think it is realised on both sides that rigidity does not take one very far, but statesmen have got a habit of speaking in rather rigid terms.

I do not think, if I may say so, that a military alliance adds to security. That is to say, if, let us say, real aggression takes place, well, if it is real aggression it has to be resisted, I admit that. But how does a military alliance stop that aggression, is not clear to me. We have both sides, large groupings of powers

62. On 15 September 1958, talks commenced at Warsaw between the US and Chinese Ambassadors to Poland to resolve the Formosa Straits crisis.

in military alliances; probably anyhow they will support each other if necessity arose. Anyhow, it is not so much a question of right and wrong. The question of right or wrong does arise and should arise of course. But in this context of armaments and all that, the question is not solved. One may think oneself in the right and the other in the wrong, but where does it lead to? If it leads to a world war, it is all wrong; if it leads to constant tension, it is also wrong. So while protecting oneself and what one holds dear if we can reduce tensions by various processes it is all to the good.

Thomas E. Dewey: For example, South Korea could not protect itself when the Communists launched their attacks and it took quite a lot of help from other people to keep them from being engulfed and murdered and enslaved. That is the simple meaning of alliance that nobody can protect the helpless in the free world without a friendly agreement of others to come to their aid. That is what a military alliance is. If the Communists attack you, we will come to your defence. If we do not do that they will take us one by one, all the different states of the world and the people, at a time, as they did at the end of World War II when they took Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and all the way down to Albania and hundred million people. We would not like to see that continue. And the military alliance is really a very simple thing. It is simply that we say to each other that we want to remain free and if they go out to any one of us we will defend each other.

Edward R. Murrow: It would seem that the weight of history is on Governor Dewey's side. Would you not think, Prime Minister?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, you would not like me to contradict Governor Dewey, would you?

Edward R. Murrow: I am sure he would; I would.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But I do not think history points that way at all, and especially modern history, if I may say so, has seen the failure of this military alliance system in Western Asia, the complete failure. In fact the very thing that we sought to be avoided has happened there because of those military alliances. But in this matter it depends, of course, on one's approach to this question. Here in Asia, as elsewhere, you have a tremendous ferment in the populations. We cannot merely deal with the ruling authority in a country. If in Western Asia you deal with a ruling authority and that ruling authority is not thoroughly

representative of the people, then the alliance is not much good, as happened in the recent case.

[Interruption by moderator]

Edward R. Murrow: Mr Huxley is concerned that tyranny of the mind is stealing freedom from it. Governor Dewey and many Americans are concerned with the Communist threat to our freedom. Prime Minister Nehru spent a part of his life in prison in the name of freedom. How much freedom can we in the so-called free world permit ourselves in this context against an enemy where there is no freedom? Are we going to have to give up more of our freedom in order to retain part of it or most of it?

Aldous Huxley: Well, I hope not. I do not think it is; it does not seem to be necessary. I think we can combine efficiency with personal freedom. We are of course under pressure of actual warlike circumstances and it becomes exceedingly difficult but if we can keep the tension sufficiently relaxed it seems to me that we should be able to preserve our traditional freedom.

Edward R. Murrow: Governor Dewey?

Thomas E. Dewey: I am quite convinced that we can. Curiously enough, one area that I am most concerned about is the intrusion of the Congress into the day-to-day conduct of the government so that the cabinet offices have to spend so much of their time going down and testifying and every act they do all day long they have to look over their shoulder at four House Committees, and over the other shoulder at four Senate Committees, and every time they do or say anything the House Committee wants them down to ask some questions about it, the Senate Committee wants them down. They have to arrange their calendars in order to see that they can get to both places, so that the Chairman of the Committee can get some publicity by questioning somebody. My own observation in recent years—and this applies to whether it is the Republicans or Democrats who control the Congress—[is] that if we do not stop having a Congress which regards itself as a public hearing agency we will have a partial paralysis of the operation of government. It is a very great basic problem. That is the only area where I think we need a brand new kind of restraint. Otherwise I have no concern or no feeling that we need to limit personal liberty in any way and I do not think we are going to.

Edward R. Murrow: Is that a problem which confronts you in India, Mr Prime Minister?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose in some ways that problem comes up before all democratic assemblies, parliaments, the individual Member of Parliament wanting to take a much greater part, and ministers and senior officials have to spend a great deal of time in explaining things and the like. Well, sometimes the time is rather wasted but I suppose one has to put up with it, to a large extent.

Edward R. Murrow: Mr Huxley, both you and your brother Julian⁶³ have written about the problem of over-population. India certainly has a problem in both census and calories as much as the rest of the world. What about the equation of freedom and hunger? Can freedom exist...

Aldous Huxley: [...] That is, in the simplest terms, those who have a population in which 5 per cent of the people are getting 3,000 calories a day and the remainder getting under 1,200, who is then to rule whom? It is obviously the people with 3,000 who are going to have the energy and the drive to dominate the remainder. This is one of the tragedies when we talk about human rights: to what extent does the word "right" have a meaning to those who just do not ever have enough to eat. It seems to me that he has to consider at the same time that the judicial and moral problem of rights, the actual practical problem of providing people with a standard of living under which they can exercise those rights to fulfil their duties. I think this is an urgent problem which concerns the UNESCO and the human rights organisation cells, which concerns an immense number of people, and then we must not forget that according to all the recent experts, the actual conditions, the standards of living of large areas, are actually slowly declining in many parts of the world and also that the absolute number of illiterates is growing. The most recent figure of UNESCO gives 700 million adult illiterates in the world. And thus, the whole problem of freedom is quite clearly bound up with these two factors—the enormous numbers who do not get enough to eat and the rather smaller but still very great numbers who are completely illiterate.

Edward R. Murrow: Governor Dewey, would you say that in this country the people who are the best fed are the most concerned about the preservation of our freedom?

63. Julian Huxley, an evolutionary biologist, humanist and internationalist.

Thomas E. Dewey: I would think that probably they [do not] bother to think about it because they do not regard their freedom being in any danger. I do not think anybody really does. Sometimes somebody speaks out about conformity, somebody else speaks out about the bad misconduct of a Congressional Committee but in this particular country we have the embarrassing problem of worrying about too many calories. It makes you feel that there is a pretty bad maldistribution of food in the world.

Edward R. Murrow: Prime Minister Nehru, would you agree that there is a direct relationship between the caloric intake and the concern about freedom?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what direct relation there might be, but it is obvious that the satisfaction of hunger is one of the primary needs which is more important even than the satisfaction of the desire for freedom except in odd individuals. That is to say, in a country where there are large numbers of people who are not sufficiently fed, their primary need and necessity is food and all other problems are secondary. That is why the approach to questions in so-called underdeveloped countries is different from the developed countries because the developed countries have more or less solved the question of these primary necessities while in the underdeveloped countries they are the principal problem. It is not much good talking about freedom to a person who is starving, who is hungry. Of course he wants freedom but it is not a primary issue for him because he is suffering from another lack of freedom which is terrible, that is, lack of food.

Edward R. Murrow: Prime Minister, I remember you saying to me once a couple of years ago that all politicians would be the better for having spent a few years in jail. Do you still feel that way?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh, yes. I think it is a very good discipline. But that, of course, does not involve lack of food because one gets food there.

Edward R. Murrow: Some of your greatest writings were done in jail.

Governor Dewey, you wrote a book. Do you think it would have been a better book if you had been in jail?

Thomas E. Dewey: Well, I suppose it is not for me to say that it could have been much better. But I'm sure it would have been a whole lot worse if I were in jail. And this business of jail raises a question in my mind. I believe

Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf*⁶⁴ in jail, didn't he?

Edward R. Murrow: Yes, he did, most of it.

Thomas E. Dewey: Where did Nasser write his book *Philosophy of the Revolution*,⁶⁵ which is his *Mein Kampf*? I guess he wasn't in jail.

Edward R. Murrow: No.

Jawaharlal Nehru: In the British Museum, in London.

Thomas E. Dewey: So I think being in jail, there is a certain historic conflict about whether this is a good place to write a book or a bad place; the worst results come from *Mein Kampf* [laughter]. You have another curious thing: you have a country like Indonesia where practically all their leaders spent a good, large portion of their adult lives in jail on an island. And sometimes I wonder if that doesn't make people too sensitive too, after they have once acquired power, because they certainly are reluctant to cooperate with the rest of the free world.

Edward R. Murrow: Well, gentlemen, I think we have this. Would you all say goodnight to each other in just a casual fashion.

Thomas E. Dewey: It's been a great pleasure being with you. And I hope I'll be seeing you Mr PM and you Mr Huxley face to face again before long.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I hope so Governor.

Aldous Huxley: [...] It's been a great privilege to talk with the PM and the Governor. I am most grateful to Ed Murrow who made this possible to me.

64. First published in two volumes (Munich: Franz Eher Verlag, 1925 and 1926). Adolf Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle) in 1923-24 when he served nine months in prison for his attempt to seize power in Bavaria.

65. In *The Philosophy of the Revolution* (Cairo: 1953), Gamal Abdel Nasser laid out the principles of the Egyptian revolution of 1952.

Edward R. Murrow: Thank you, PM Nehru, for taking time to engage in this conversation.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Thank you.

Edward R. Murrow: Good night, gentlemen.

[Retake by moderator because of technical interruption]

Edward R. Murrow: Mr Prime Minister, how were those fifteen thousand foot mountain passes on a pony?

Jawaharlal Nehru: How were they?

Edward R. Murrow: Yes, Sir, did you enjoy the trip?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh, I enjoyed it thoroughly. It was a fascinating experience. And, as you have been discussing communications, it was a new experience not to see a newspaper or have a letter for about nearly two weeks.

Edward R. Murrow: Mr Prime Minister, I know that you have met Governor Thomas E. Dewey.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. He was good enough to come to India.

Edward R. Murrow: Mr Dewey, as you know, was for three times Governor of New York State and twice the Republican Presidential candidate. He is now a very successful member of the Bar and, of course, adviser to President Eisenhower. Governor, what are you doing in Portland, Maine? I thought the elections were over up there.

Thomas E. Dewey: They are, unquestionably [sic]. The American Bar Association [...] meeting was going on here. I came up to make a speech on the subject of "Peace through Law" which I will make tonight. I was pressed by the time factor. I've just finished a very early breakfast and Mr Huxley, I assume, has probably had his lunch, and the Prime Minister is getting very hungry for dinner. We are spanning about ten and a half hours, aren't we?

Edward R. Murrow: Prime Minister Nehru, you will shortly be released

and be able to have your dinner. Thank you very much for talking with us here today on this electronic sound table.

We would like to do an insert at this point on, when the Prime Minister said to you, Governor Dewey, on how are you going to take the matter of Formosa or the offshore islands to the World Court or to the United Nations, when Communist China is not recognised.

Thomas E. Dewey: The procedure is this—I think I mentioned this before: The United Nations can, by resolution, call on the World Court for an advisory opinion as to who owns the offshore islands, whether they are part of mainland China or whether they are islands which are to be independent. And that can be done, and those who respect law will abide by the decision, as, I am sure, all countries would.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We should all agree it does not, of course, give the whole truth. The point is, normally diplomatic recognition goes by factual state of affairs, not by agreement with the country.

Edward R. Murrow: It is an admission of the fact and nothing more.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it is an admission of a fact, yes, which, of course, may lead to other types of contact. That depends on the two countries, how far they wish to go.

Edward R. Murrow: But historically it does not imply approval of the regime that is recognised.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Undoubtedly not. Otherwise it would be very difficult for countries to recognise quite a number of other countries.

Edward R. Murrow: Certainly it is not in this country [...]. That is your view too, is it Mr Huxley?

Aldous Huxley: Yes. It implies the existence of [...].

Edward R. Murrow: Gentlemen, I think if you could all say whatever you would like to say now in terms of saying goodbye, and if you want to make further reference to the difference in time and so forth, that would be excellent, and then we will wrap this up.

Thomas E. Dewey: Good night, Mr Huxley. It's been a very great pleasure to be with you on this programme.

Aldous Huxley: Good night, Governor Dewey.

Thomas E. Dewey: PM, it has been a joy to talk to you even at such a distance and I hope that Mrs Dewey and I can again enjoy your gracious hospitality in New Delhi.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Murrow, I must thank you above all for giving me this opportunity of this quadrectangular talk, the prospect of which, I must say, rather frightened me because this is the first time I have done this type of thing.⁶⁶ But it has passed off quite easily and I am surprised that it is about two hours and twenty minutes ago that I sat down here on this chair. It has been a very pleasant and helpful talk and I am glad to have heard the voice of Governor Dewey and Mr Huxley after many years. Thank you very much.

Edward R. Murrow: Thank you, Mr PM, very much indeed. It is in fact the first time that any of us have engaged in this effort. And I hope that when you see it you will find it acceptable.

Aldous Huxley: I am looking forward very much to seeing it. I have enjoyed this a great deal and I feel that when the thing is edited it will be a most interesting talk. I am very grateful to you, Mr Murrow, for having given me this opportunity of exchanging views with the PM and the Governor. I will say goodbye to both and wish them the best of luck.

Edward R. Murrow: Thank you very much indeed, gentlemen.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Thank you, goodbye.

Edward R. Murrow: And my gratitude falls in your direction, I assure you.

66. For Nehru's acceptance of Edward R. Murrow's proposal to him to participate in the discussion, see SWJN/SS/42/p. 724.

7. Envisioning the India of Tomorrow⁶⁷

उपराष्ट्रपतिजी,⁶⁸ आदरणीय महानुभावों, मेहमानों, हम यहाँ आज जमा हुए हैं, “हिन्दुस्तान 1958”⁶⁹ को देखने। मैं सोचता था कि आजकल हिन्दुस्तान की क्या तस्वीर है? और कैसे वो इस चारदीवारी के अंदर, उसको आकर बन्द करेंगे? भारत के रूप अनेक हैं, और यह सही है। जो बातें यहाँ देखने में आयेंगी, जिनको मैंने अभी तक नहीं देखा है, वह भी एक भारत का रूप है, और बहुत एक ज़रूरी और आवश्यक रूप है। फिर भी मुझे ख़याल आया कि असली रूप भारत का इस वक़्त क्या है? और मैंने सोचा कि असली रूप कुछ और है। हो सकता है यह कभी रूप बनने वाला हो, जिसकी तस्वीर हम, जिसके देखते हैं बीज यहाँ, क्योंकि 1958 का रूप भी भारत का, एक किसान का है, और अक्सर एक नगे किसान का है, और अक्सर एक भूखे किसान का है। हमेशा हमें याद रखनी है इस बात को। हमेशा भूल जाते हैं। मुमकिन है भूल जायें अपने इस दिल्ली शहर की बड़ी इमारतों में रहकर, और नुमाइशों को बनाकर और देखकर कि असली भारत क्या चीज़ है? क्या उसके दिल में दर्द है? क्या उसके दिमाग में बातें आती हैं?

मैंने यह कहा आपसे, लेकिन कहने पर भी मेरा यह मतलब, यह नहीं कि वह जो तस्वीर हम देख रहे हैं, उसकी अहमियत कुछ कम है। इसकी अहमियत बहुत ज्यादा है। क्योंकि एक तस्वीर है, अगर आजकल की असलियत की नहीं, जो असलियत हमारे दिमाग में आकर रंग जमा रही है, जिसके बीज डाले गये हैं, और जिसके यक़ीनन बड़े-बड़े दरख़्त पैदा होंगे। अगर ख़ाली आजकल का हिन्दुस्तान जो है उसीको हम देखते और कल जो होने वाला है नहीं होता, तब असल में मुश्किल थी।

आपने सुना कि किस तरह से, किस तेज़ी से यह सामान, यह नुमाइश तैयार हुई है, वह भी एक नमूना है कि जब हम इरादा करते हैं किसी बात के करने का, तो कैसे तेज़ी से और पक्की तौर से हम कर सकते हैं। हममें माद़ा है करने का, अगर हम चाहें, अगर मेहनत करें। न करें तो लाचारी है। हमारे मुल्क में सामान है, ज़मीन के नीचे, ज़मीन के ऊपर, हमारे मुल्क में लोग हैं, जनता है, जिसके हाथ अच्छे चलते हैं, जिसका दिमाग़ अच्छा है, इन बातों को जोड़ के जल्दी से काम करना है, और जल्दी से तस्वीर को बदलना है, यह हमारा काम है। तबीयत कभी खुश होती है तेज़ी से,

67. Inaugural speech at the “India 1958” Exhibition, New Delhi, 8 October 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Nehru first spoke in Hindi and later in English.

68. S. Radhakrishnan.

69. “India 1958” was the first national exhibition of its kind. Spread over an area of 123 acres, the exhibition provided an opportunity to major public and private sector enterprises to display their products ranging from nuts and bolts to trainer aircraft in over 150 stalls. The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research also exhibited their recent research. The exhibition was held in the Exhibition Grounds, now popularly known as Pragati Maidan.

कभी परेशान होती है हल्केपन से। क्योंकि खाहिश है जल्दी से जल्दी इस दुनिया को हम बदलें, इस अपने दिमागी तस्वीरों को असली जामा पहनायें।

खैर, यह एक नमूना है बाज़ दिमागी तस्वीर का, सब तो नहीं, और किस तरह से हम उन्हें असली जामा पहना सकते हैं। आप और हम इसे अभी देखेंगे। यकीनन देखकर कुछ बातें हम सीखेंगे। नयी-नयी बातें हमें मालूम होंगी, क्या हमारे मुल्क में हो रहा है। क्योंकि बहुत कुछ हो रहा है, और जो हो रहा है उसके अंदर से नयी-नयी बातें निकलने वाली हैं। तो फिर सबक तो उससे यही सीखना हुआ कि हम कैसे जल्दी इस काम को कर सकें और कैसे हिन्दुस्तान के असली रूप को बदलें और कैसे हिन्दुस्तान के किसान को, जो कि एक नमूना असली हिन्दुस्तान का अब भी है और रहेगा एक ज़माने तक। और उसके दिल में जो आरजुएँ हैं वो पूरी हों, और वो तरक्की करे और जो हज़ारों बरस की उसके ऊपर मुसीबतें हैं वो दूर हों। अगर आप इज़ाज़त दें, तो मैं कुछ अंग्रेज़ी भाषा में भी अर्ज करूँ।⁷⁰

[Translation begins]

Mr Vice-President⁷¹ and distinguished guests,

We are assembled here today to see "India 1958".⁷² I was wondering what the picture of India is today and how you were going to portray it within the confines of four walls. India has many facets and it is true that what we are going to see here is also a very essential facet of India. Yet I wondered what India is really like today. Then I thought that the real picture of India is rather different. Maybe what we see here today are the seeds of what is to come. Even in 1958, India is a country of peasants, often of hungry and naked peasants. We must always bear that in mind. We tend to forget, living as we do in palatial buildings in Delhi and organising and watching exhibitions, what the real India is all about, her woes and her feelings and thoughts.

However, when I say this I do not mean that what we shall see here is of no significance. It is of the utmost significance because it presents a picture, though not of the reality of today, but of the vision of the future that has captivated our minds and the seeds of which have already been sown. There is no doubt about it that soon these seeds will sprout and grow into huge trees. In fact, if our sights were fixed only on the present without having a conception of the kind of future we wish to build, it would create problems.

You must have heard how expeditiously this exhibition has been put together. This is an example of the fact that when we are determined to do something,

70. After this Nehru spoke in English. The English speech is printed after the translation.

71. See fn 68 in this section.

72. See fn 69 in this section.

we can do it very quickly and efficiently. We have the capacity to do it if only we are determined to work hard. If we do not work hard, we are in a helpless situation. India has got natural resources—under the ground as well as above it. Our country is also rich in manpower. The people of India are hard-working and intelligent. We must take advantage of all these factors to change the face of India as quickly as we can. Sometimes I feel happy at the rate at which we are progressing but perturbed at other times at the slowness of things because there is an urge to change things for the better as quickly as we can and to transform our dreams into reality.

Anyhow, this exhibition is an example of how some of us envisage the future of India. Those who see it will no doubt learn something new and understand what is happening in India today. A great deal is happening and new things are going to emerge from what is taking place. So the lesson we have to learn is how fast we can go towards changing the face of India, and the lot of the peasants of India who, to a large extent, even now represent the real India and will continue to do so for a long time to come; and they should be able to fulfil their hopes and aspirations and make progress, and be rid of the miseries that have afflicted them for thousands of years. Now I shall say a few words in English with your permission.⁷³

[Translation ends]

It struck me when I heard about this exhibition taking shape and the name given to this exhibition, that is, “India 1958”, that those who have given this name were rather presumptuous, presumptuous in venturing to enclose in a small space what India of 1958 is. Well, sometimes a presumption may be justified. And anyhow we have sometimes to take leave of what might be called visual reality for conceptual reality, our concepts, our hopes, what we look forward to. Then again I thought that we should see here—I presume, because I have not been to this exhibition yet—we shall see here all kinds of activities that are taking place in India today in the industrial domain and various other types of activities, showing a great nation and a great people on the move and all that is happening in India undoubtedly. In what measure all this is changing the real of India and how rapidly that face will be changed, is a matter for anyone to, well, form his estimate or guess.

We want to do it fairly rapidly and yet we have always to remember that we have to deal with nearly four hundred million people. We are not dealing with the city of Delhi, we are not dealing with an exhibition area here where the

73. After this Nehru spoke in English.

pavilions are put up, but we are dealing with four hundred million people, with five hundred and fifty thousand villages, spread out over this vast land. And ultimately the march of India is the march of those five hundred and fifty thousand villages, of all those people who live there, for if we are on the march we are not a small band blazing the trail, we are a large company marching hand in hand, a vast multitude of, I repeat, of four hundred million people. It might have been easy for a few of us or a handful to go ahead, leaving the others behind. But that is not our purpose or our intention, we have to go together. We are all fellow travellers for the next stage of our journey. Once we were fellow travellers on another journey, for the freedom and independence of India. We saw, we dreamt dreams and we saw vision of that free India, and we worked to that end, and we, that is, the millions of India, had that dream and vision, and it was given to us to realise that dream and that vision, and we reached that goal of our dreams.

Immediately, the moment we reached it, we realised that there was no resting place, there was no time for resting, that we had to march ahead again, and so we had to pack up our knapsacks and start marching afresh to the new goal and that was a goal much more difficult of attainment than even independence and freedom, this economic goal of raising hundreds of millions of people. We are marching on that path and there are innumerable difficulties, and yet, looking back on these last eleven years or so and thinking of the great difficulties that have faced us, the perils and dangers, and how we have overcome them, we are not frightened of the future, and we are not frightened of the future essentially because we have faith in these four hundred million Indian people. They may not be all of them, by all literal standards, literate; they are not, though literacy may grow; they may not have many of the accomplishments of education of other people; but those of us who have had the honour to serve them in these past many, many years know something of the strength of the Indian people and basically even of the Indian peasant and the Indian worker. We know something of the younger generation that is coming up, trained in a different school and looking forward towards science and technology, and so many other things and making good therein. And so we have faith, and having faith in those people, it does not much matter if a few of us stumble occasionally or fall down, because there are others always to take their place.

So when you think of India in 1958 you will see some of the facets of India, some of the facets out of tens of thousands, because India is not only a big country in size but big in history, big in tradition, big in thought, big in success, big in failure, big in everything that is undertaken. And so we have his experience of the ages behind us, of thought and passion, and success and

failure, and this old tradition weighs us down occasionally and it also inspires us occasionally. That is the fate of a country with a long tradition. We cannot get rid of it, we can lay stress on the certain aspects of it which give us strength and inspire us, and we can try to brush away those aspects which are out of date, though it is not easy to do it.

India in 1958. Many years ago, I ventured to write a book called the *Discovery of India*.⁷⁴ That itself would indicate to you how my mind was searching for what India was then, before, as I tell you what India should be. And years and years I have spent in that quest, and I don't know if even after these many long years, I know exactly what India is or what India is going to be. It is too intricate a problem for me. But I do know that India is something very big, as I said, not in size only, but in depth, in intensity of feeling, of thought, of adventure of the spirit, of adventure of the hands and the mind. It may have fallen by the way, and it may have been passed by others, but is it not obvious to you that whatever our failings may have been, and may be still, that there are new stirrings and a new movement, not in a few minds but in the minds of the millions of India, and a new search and a new quest?

And if that happens in a country like India, it is sure to bear big results. The results will surely come and this exhibition, whatever it may show, the beginnings of the big industry and the rest in India, no doubt this is a sign and a symbol of what is going to grow in India in a big way. That is bound to come, because we are set on the path and nothing can deter us. Individuals may come or go, minor changes may be made, but the major direction is there, and it is not a question of our choice but the compulsion of events that forces us to go in that direction.

But going in that direction the thought comes to me, as it must come to many others, what else will India retain, when it has grown big with its factories and with its plants and with its productive apparatus growing? It is essential that we should venture forth in the realm of science and technology, because the key to wealth and prosperity today of every country lies in science and technology. There is no other way except through science and technology for wealth and material prosperity. I say material prosperity, because it is possible that we may have that prosperity and yet perhaps lose our individuality, lose something which has made India, well, what India has been in the past. I don't know what you think what India has been in the past. Some of our friends abroad have thought of India in terms of snakes and tigers, of maharajas and fakirs and the like. Well, maharajas are scarce now a days in India and grow scarcer; and fakirs are still there, plenty of them—let us hope that most of

74. (Calcutta: Signet Press, 1946).

them will be put to some useful purpose. Snakes and tigers are still there, happily. I fear sometimes they may grow less and less. I like tigers myself, I don't like snakes so much but I don't mind them particularly. But surely India is something more, has been something more than maharajas, fakirs, snakes and tigers. You would not have lasted five or six or ten thousand years, or whatever the period may be, unless there was inner strength in the people in this country and in this nation which has held them together in spite of disaster and in spite of so many perils they have had to face, and it has never made them bow their heads even to a proud conqueror, in the intellectual sense.

Therefore, I am anxious that in this path that we have chosen—and in which we are bound to succeed, there is no doubt in my mind about that—what will emerge from it apart from the innumerable plants and chimneys and hydro-electric works and colossal productive apparatus—which of course we are going to have; they are growing all over the place—and greater material prosperity? Will we have to pay too heavy a price for it, or will we be able to retain some of the other factors which have gone in the past to make India what she has been? I don't know the answer. Perhaps nobody knows the answer. But anyhow, I hope, that in our quest of science and technology, which we must pursue with vigour and earnestness and determination, we shall not forget some other aspects of human existence, which are at least equally important and so perhaps we might be able to serve not only India, but be of some service to the rest of the world also, so that in this world of storm and stress and tension and hatred and violence, the small gentle voice of India may carry a message of goodwill and friendship to all and try to serve others in reducing these tensions.

So I hope that we shall look at these small efforts of ours, this exhibition and the rest of it, not merely for what they are, but as seeds of something bigger, and something that not only has in it the future material prosperity of our people, but also their growth in cultural and spiritual spheres and their growth in freedom in every way, freedom from hunger, freedom from all the pains and sufferings of humanity and freedom also of the mind and of the spirit. And so with these words, I inaugurate this exhibition.

8. Some Matters of National Importance⁷⁵

बहनों और भाइयों और बच्चों,

मैं आज बहुत बरस बाद आबू आया हूँ। ठीक याद नहीं पड़ता कब आया था, पच्चीस बरस हो गये या उससे भी अधिक। और यहाँ बहुत सारे मैं देखता हूँ बच्चे, लड़के-लड़कियाँ हैं, तो वो सोचें कि उनके पैदा होने के पहले मैं आबू आया रहा। और अब आप लोग जो यहाँ इस वृत्त संध्या के समय जमा हैं, मैं सोचता था कि मैं क्या कहूँ आपसे? कहने को तो बहुत बातें हैं, दुनिया की, हमारे देश की, राजस्थान की, कितनी बातें हैं। अब मैं जो यहाँ बड़े आदमी हूँ, बुजुर्ग हूँ, उनसे कुछ कहूँ कि लड़के-लड़कियाँ हैं, उनसे कुछ कहूँ, बच्चे हैं उनसे कहूँ, कुछ हमारे आदिवासी भाई हैं, उनसे कहूँ, क्योंकि कुछ अलग-अलग बातें कहने की होती हैं और ऐसी भी होती हैं जो साथ सभी को कही जायें। तो मैं इस बड़े पेंच में पड़ गया हूँ।

पहले तो यह कहूँ कि मुझे खुशी है कि इतने बरस बाद मैं आबू आया और इस सुन्दर जगह का दृश्य फिर से देखा। अभी नगर पालिका की तरफ से मुझे मानपत्र मिला। उसके लिए धन्यवाद और उसमें कुछ चर्चा इस बात का यहाँ कोई दफ्तर आएँ बाहर से। अच्छी बात है, दफ्तर आएँ। मैं तो इस बारे में कुछ कह नहीं सकता। लेकिन आपसे मैं कहूँ कि अक्सर यह बहस होती है, प्रान्तों में या शहरों में, कौन दफ्तर कहाँ जाये। उसमें कोई बुरी बात नहीं है लेकिन यह आप समझलें कि किसी नगर का या किसी प्रान्त की दो-चार दफ्तर से उन्नति बहुत नहीं होती है। हाँ, कुछ थोड़ा सा, थोड़ा सा फर्क हो जाये। हमारे सामने जो सवाल है, वो तो बहुत बड़ा है। दस, बीस, पचास दफ्तर का नहीं, सौ, दो सौ या हजार नौकरियों का नहीं, कुछ दुकानें खुलें या न खुलें उसका नहीं। हमारे सामने जो प्रश्न है वो तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान का है, सारे भारत का, कैसे यह महान् देश और इसमें भी कितने चालीस करोड़ पुरुष, स्त्रियाँ और बच्चे रहते हैं, कैसे हैं, इन सभी को उठाएँ। वो दस-बीस नौकरी से तो नहीं हो जाता, या कुछ दफ्तरों से। तो और उसके उपाय ढूँढ़ने से, और उसी उपाय के ढूँढ़ने के सिलसिले में यह आपने सुना पंचवर्षीय योजना पहली और दूसरी और फिर तीसरी आने वाली है। वो सब हो रहे हैं, कठिन सवाल हैं।

हम स्वराज, आप लोगों में से बहुत लोग हैं जिनको कुछ याद हो, स्वराज की हमारी जो लड़ाई थी, बहुत लोग हैं जो उसकी याद उन्हें न रहे, कम उम्र है उनकी, बच्चे हैं। स्वराज की कड़ी लड़ाई थी। एक देश को आज़ाद करना कठिन होता है। जब एक देश दुर्बल हो जाता है, कमज़ोर हो जाता है, निराश हो जाता है, बेजान हो जाता है, तो उसमें फिर से जान डालनी कठिन बात है। क्योंकि याद रखो, कोई उठता है, चाहे तुम में से कोई व्यक्ति हो या कोई या सारा देश हो या और कोई नारों से या कोई चालबाजी से देश नहीं उठता, अपनी शक्ति से उठता है, अपने परिश्रम से उठता है। इतिहास आप पढ़ें दुनिया का कि जो देश आगे बढ़े हैं वे अपने परिश्रम से अपनी शक्ति से बढ़े हैं। चालबाजी से नहीं बढ़ता, चालबाजी से कभी इधर-उधर की हो जाए। अगर आपमें शक्ति नहीं

75. Speech at a public meeting, Mount Abu, 17 October 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

है तो आप पकड़ लिए जायेंगे, आपकी चाल चलेगी नहीं बहुत दिन। मैं इसलिए कहता हूँ यह कि शायद बहुत सारे हमारे नवयुवक हैं वो समझते हैं कि गुलशोर मचाने से, नारों से काम हो जाता है, यह तो बात नहीं होती। कभी-कभी नारे अच्छे होते हैं, तो अच्छा है कोई नारे उठाना बुरा तो नहीं है, लेकिन नारे के पीछे परिश्रम, त्याग, मेहनत, शक्ति होनी चाहिए।

जब हमारे सारे स्वराज की लड़ाई हुई जो कि भारत के इतिहास में लिखी जाएगी, लिखी गयी है, और उसमें बड़े-बड़े नेता हमारे हुए, और आप सब जानते हैं कि सबमें बड़े नेता महात्मा गांधी थे और उन्होंने सारे हमारे स्वराज की लड़ाई के ढंग को, तरीकों को बदल दिया। बहुत सारी बातें उन्होंने की जो इतिहास में लिखी जायेंगी, लेकिन सबमें बड़ी बात जो उन्होंने की उसका लिखना भी कठिन है। उन्होंने, आप समझें कि एक नयी जान भारत के लोगों में डाल दी और विशेषकर वो भारत के लोग जो कि बेचारे सबमें गिरे हुए थे, सबमें दबाए हुए थे, सबमें दरिद्र और गरीब थे, सबमें निराश थे, जिनकी कोई देखभाल नहीं करता था, कोई फिक्र नहीं करता था, चाहे वो बेचारे किसान हों, चाहे वो आदिवासी हों, कोई भी हों, भारत में तो ऐसे करोड़ों थे जो कि दबे थे और जब एक आदमी दब जाता है, निराश हो जाता है, तो वो निर्बल हो जाता है। उसकी आशा भी नहीं होती कुछ काम करने की। और जब कोई देश ऐसा हो जाता है, जो देश गिर जाता है, वो देश गुलशोर मचा के नहीं उठता फिर से। उसके दिल में आशा आ जाये, फिर से उसके दिल में हिम्मत आये, अपने ऊपर भरोसा हो, काम करने की शक्ति हो, इससे देश उठते हैं।

आप कहें, जैसे हम कहते हैं अक्सर, कि साम्राज्यवाद बुरा है। ठीक है, बुरा है। एक देश दूसरे देश पर हुकूमत करे, यह बुरी बात है, ठीक है। बुरी बात है लेकिन उसके पीछे यह भी आप याद रखें कि सबसे बुरी बात है दुर्बलता। सबसे बुरी बात है कि देश के लोग अपने को संभाल न सकें, अपने ऊपर भरोसा न करें, बेजान हो जायें, और जब एक देश दूसरे देश के आधीन हो जाता है, तब हल्के-हल्के वो बेजान हो जाता है, या कहो कि आधीन होता ही नहीं, जब बेजान हो जाता है तब आधीन होता है। यह हमारे देश के साथ हुआ। तो महात्माजी के सामने सबसे बड़ा सवाल यह था कि कैसे जो करोड़ों हमारे देश के रहने वाले हैं, कैसे उनमें फिर से एक जागृति हो, एक जान हो, जान आ जाए। तो सब बातें हो जाती हैं और अगर आप देखें तो एक दस-बीस-तीस बरस जो उन्होंने यहाँ काम किया भारत में, कांग्रेस के द्वारा और और तरह से, सारे काम के पीछे यह भी बात कि हमारी आम जनता, हमारे किसान विशेषकर, और लोग भी, कैसे वो जरा तगड़े हों, कैसे उनका सिर ऊँचा हो, डर उनके दिल से निकल जाये। क्योंकि अगर डर है तो डरा हुआ आदमी कुछ नहीं कर सकता। कोई देश जो डरता है वो क्या कर सकता है? इस तरह से उन्होंने हमारे देश में जान डाली, और अपने शान्तिमय तरीके से फिर स्वराज उन्होंने हमें दिला दिया।

स्वराज आया, फिर हमारा काम तो खत्म नहीं हुआ। स्वराज क्या है? स्वराज है कि किसी दूसरे का राज्य हमारे ऊपर न हो, हम अपने आप निश्चय करें कि क्या हमें करना है। तो दूसरे का हटा तो उससे हमारी दरिद्रता और गरीबी तो दूर नहीं हुई। फिर खाली यह हुआ कि हमारे हाथ में देश की बागडोर आ गयी। हमारे से मतलब देश की जनता के हाथ में। और फिर एक दूसरी यात्रा करनी पड़ी। पहले स्वराज की यात्रा थी, अब दूसरी यात्रा, उससे भी कठिन यात्रा, क्योंकि यह यात्रा

थी कि देशभर के चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाये, परिश्रम करके आगे बढ़ें और सबलोग फिर इस दरिद्रता से निकलकर, गरीबी से, देश को खुशहाल कर दें। हमारे इतने बच्चे हैं, करोड़ों बच्चे हैं, लड़के हैं, लड़कियाँ हैं, वो देश का धन है। देश का धन सोना-चाँदी नहीं होता है। देश का धन होता है तगड़े लोग, अच्छे लोग, जिनका शरीर अच्छा, जो सीखे हुए लोग हैं, पढ़े हुए लोग हैं, जिनका चरित्र अच्छा है, वो देश का धन होता है। मनुष्य के काम से धन पैदा होता है, धन नहीं मनुष्य को बनाता, आदमी धन को बनाता है अगर सीखा हुआ हो और तगड़ा हो।

तो हमारे देश में करोड़ों बच्चे हैं, सबमें बड़ा धन देश का वो है। जैसे वो बड़े होंगे, जैसे वो तगड़े होंगे, जैसे वो सीखेंगे, पढ़ेंगे, लिखेंगे, जैसा अच्छा उनका चरित्र होगा, वैसा ही देश तगड़ा होगा। क्योंकि आजकल के जो लड़के-लड़कियाँ, बच्चे हैं, कल बड़े होंगे, कल भारत के चलाने का बोझा उनके ऊपर पड़ेगा। तो पहली बात तो यह हो जाती है कि कैसे हम इस देश के अमूल्य धन को, जो हमारे नौजवान हैं, बच्चे हैं, लड़के हैं, लड़कियाँ हैं, कैसे इनकी देखभाल ठीक करें कि इनको मौका मिले आगे बढ़ने का, सीखने का, अपने शरीर को मजबूत करने का। उनको खाना-पीना ठीक मिले, वस्त्र मिलें, घर रहने को ठीक मिले, पढ़ने का प्रबन्ध हो, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध हो, और जब बड़े हों, तो काम का प्रबन्ध हो। सब लोगों को बराबर का मौका मिले। आजकल तो नहीं मिलता, यह आप जानते हैं। सच बात यह है कितने हमारे गरीब भाई हैं उनके बच्चों को मौका तो ठीक नहीं मिलता। चाहे उनके माँ-बाप उनसे प्रेम करें, लेकिन उनके हाथ में इतनी शक्ति नहीं है कि बच्चों का प्रबन्ध ठीक करें। तो ये बड़े-बड़े काम हैं असल में। अब यह कहो कि बच्चों का प्रबन्ध तो हम करें लेकिन करोड़ों बच्चों का हम प्रबन्ध करें तो पैसा कैसे आए उसका? कैसे प्रबन्ध करें, अस्पताल और पढ़ना, खाना और वस्त्र सभी को। पैसा कैसे आता है देश में, कहाँ से आता है? कोई दूसरे देश से तो आता नहीं है, कोई हम हाथ फैला के, और देशों से भीख मांगकर अपने देश को बना नहीं सकते। हमें अपनी शक्ति से पैदा करना है।

पैसा क्या चीज़ है, सोना-चाँदी? धन क्या चीज़ है, सोना-चाँदी? धन सुन्दर चीज़ हो और बात है, लेकिन कोई सोना-चाँदी का न कपड़ा बनता है, न खाना होता है, न कुछ। वो तो एक व्यापार की चीज़ है। असल में जिस देश में जो चीज़ें बनती हैं, सामान बनता है, वो धन होता है, जो चीज़ पैदा होती है। किसान खेत से पैदा करता है गल्ला, गेहूँ, चावल, वगैरह। धान, उसको आप खाते हैं, देश का धन हुआ। जितना अधिक ज़मीन से पैदा हो उतना ही देश का अधिक धन है। आपके यहाँ ग्रामोद्योग हों, घरों में आप काम करें, कोई चीज़ बनायें, वो देश का धन है, कारख़ाने में कोई चीज़ बने, देश का धन है। बड़े कारख़ाने, छोटे कारख़ाने। तो जितना अधिक देश में सामान पैदा हो उतना ही देश धनी है और जितना देश में पैदा होगा उतना ही लोगों के पास जाएगा बंट के आख़िर में। हाँ, इस बात का प्रबन्ध कर लें कि यह न हो कि जो धन पैदा हो देश में वो थोड़े से लोगों के जेब में चला जाये। वो तो ग़लत बात है। वो ठीक-ठीक से फैले। लेकिन पहले तो धन होना चाहिए न, फैलने के लिए। और धन आता है जनता के परिश्रम से, मेहनत से, चाहे ज़मीन से हो, चाहे कारख़ाने से हो, चाहे किसी चीज़ से हो। तो आख़िर में सवाल यह हो जाता है कि ऐसा हम अधिक सामान पैदा करें ज़मीन से और जगहों से, तब हम जो बड़े-बड़े काम देश में किया चाहते हैं वो

कर सकेंगे। बड़े-बड़े कारखाने खोलें, स्कूल खोलें, अस्पताल खोलें, तभी हो सकता है। बड़ा पेंच हो जाता है न।

आपने सुना है कि और बड़े देश बड़े धनी हैं, अमेरिका देश धनी है और अंग्रेजों का देश धनी है। और, और देश धनी आपने सुना। कैसे हो गये वो धनी? दो बातों से, कई बातों से। एक तो यह, परिश्रम से। दूसरे यह कि उन्होंने ऐसे तरीके निकाले जिससे वो अधिक सामान पैदा कर सकें, जिससे वो अधिक ज़मीन से गल्ला पैदा करें, जिससे कारखाने से चीज़ें बनायें, हज़ारों किस्म के कारखाने। तो अधिक पैदा किया उन्होंने, इससे वो धनी हुए। अधिक पैदा उन्होंने कैसे किया? एक तो मैंने आपसे कहा परिश्रम से, दूसरे यह कि उन्होंने नये-नये तरीके सीखे। नये-नये तरीके सीखे जिससे काम अधिक हो सके, नयी-नयी कलें निकालीं उन्होंने। नयी-नयी उन्होंने मशीन निकाली, कारखाने बनाये। उससे उन्होंने नया पैदा किया। यह सब चीज़ें उन्होंने सीखीं विज्ञान से, science से। विज्ञान में वहाँ तक़्की हुई तो विज्ञान से उन्होंने नयी-नयी कलें बनायीं, नयी-नयी चीज़ें सीखीं जिससे ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा हो, नये-नये खाद निकाली जिससे ज़मीन से अधिक पैदावार हो। इससे वो धनी हो गये। इससे उनकी शक्ति बढ़ी, और विज्ञान से उन्होंने नये-नये हथियार भी बनाये, उनकी फौज की शक्ति बढ़ गयी। वो विज्ञान एक आजकल की दुनिया में जिस देश में विज्ञान हो उसकी शक्ति बढ़ती है, जहाँ कि जनता विज्ञान को अच्छी तरह से जाने, और वैज्ञानिक लोग अच्छे हों।

अब विज्ञान एक और चीज़ हमें बताता है। एक आदमी की शक्ति कितनी होती है? कितना ही तगड़ा आदमी हो, एक मज़बूत आदमी हो, उसकी शक्ति दो-दो आदमी के बराबर हो जाये, चार के हो जाये, पाँच के हो जाये, इतनी हो सकती है न, बहुत तगड़ा हो तो? लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि आज एक छोटी-सी मशीन लें और उसको चाहे भाप से चलायें, पानी से जो भाप निकलती है, वो मशीन दस-बीस, सौ आदमी का काम कर देती है, कौन करता है? भाप करती है। पानी गरम करने से भाप निकलती है। एक सीधी सी बात है, सब जानते हैं, बच्चे भी। और हमेशा से निकलती आती है। लेकिन एक आदमी ने एक दफ़े सोचा, वो अंग्रेज़ था, कि भाप में बड़ी शक्ति है, इससे काम कराया जाये। उसने भाप को दबा के, पकड़ के, उससे पहिया चलाया। पहिया चलने से रेलगाड़ी बन गई। भाप से चलती है। एकदम से एक नयी शक्ति आ गयी। इसी तरह से आप, यह बिजली की रोशनी है, यह कहाँ से आई बिजली? कोई जादू तो नहीं है यह। बहुत रोज़ से लोग देखते थे आसमान पर बिजली चमकती है। वो समझते थे कि कोई देवता नाराज़ है, कुछ है, कुछ पूजा करते थे जा के, कि भई बिजली कहीं गिरे नहीं। लेकिन बिजली, अब सब जानते हैं, बच्चे भी, एक प्रकृति की चीज़ है, जैसे और चीज़ें हैं। पूजा करने से तो बिजली न गिरती है, न रुकती है, एक शक्ति है प्रकृति की। प्रकृति में बहुत शक्तियाँ हैं, जैसे मैंने कहा कि भाप एक शक्ति है, बिजली की भी शक्ति थी। फिर लोगों ने इसकी जाँच-पड़ताल की कि बिजली, जो बादल की बिजली है, वो क्या चीज़ है? तो उन्होंने जाँच करके देखा कि वो भी एक, दो, तीन चीज़ों को रगड़कर बिजली बना सकते हैं, वैसी, वही बिजली और उस शक्ति को पकड़ के तार से भेज सकते हैं और तार से भेज के उससे पहिया चला सकते हैं। एक शक्ति आ गई न, ताक़त? अब वो पहिये से कारखाने चलने लगे और क्या-क्या होने लगा। इस तरह विज्ञान से हल्के-हल्के दुनिया बढ़ी है। नयी शक्तियाँ आदमी के पास

आई और एक आदमी सौ आदमियों का काम करने लगा, एक आदमी मशीन से या बिजली की शक्ति से हजार आदमी का काम करने लगा। तो जिन देशों में विज्ञान बढ़ा, सीखा लोगों ने, उन देशों की शक्ति बहुत हो गयी, क्योंकि उनके हाथ में प्रकृति की शक्तियाँ आने लगीं।

आजकल आपने सुना है कि एक भयानक चीज़ निकली है, atom bomb, जो कि एक बड़ी भयानक चीज़ है जिससे बड़े-बड़े, एक बम से बड़ा शहर गिर जाय, ख़राब हो जाये, और कहा जाता है कि अगर ऐसी दुनिया में लड़ाई हुई जिसमें atom bomb चलाये गये तो सारी दुनिया तबाह हो जाएगी। तो यह atom bomb भी क्या चीज़ है? यह भी एक प्रकृति की शक्ति है, atomic energy, अणुशक्ति, जिससे आप बड़ा अच्छा काम भी कर सकते हैं, बुरा काम भी कर सकते हैं, वो तो शक्ति है। उसको अच्छा-बुरा कहना तो कुछ नहीं। अगर आपके पास एक चाकू हो, चाकू से आप बहुत अच्छे-अच्छे काम करते हैं, बहुत ही आवश्यक चीज़ है। अब दूसरा आदमी चाकू लेके किसी का गला काट दे तो बुरा काम हो जाता है। चाकू का क़सूर तो नहीं है। तो इसी तरह प्रकृति की शक्तियाँ होती हैं जिसको आप अच्छे काम में लगा सकते हैं या बुरे काम में लगा सकते हैं। यह तो आपके पढ़ने-लिखने, चरित्र पर है। आजकल अणु शक्ति है, atomic energy है। अगर लोग लड़ाई में उसको लगायें तो दुनिया को तबाह कर दें वो, लेकिन उसी शक्ति को लेकर हम हजार काम कर सकते हैं जिससे जनता का लाभ हो।

तो यह बातें आप समझें, क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया के पीछे ये बड़ी बातें हैं। दुनिया के पीछे वो नहीं है जो हमारे नवयुवक समझते हैं। अपने को बड़ा क्रांतिकारी समझें, इंक़लाब जिंदाबाद का नारा उठाएँ और जलूस निकालें और गुल मचाएँ? तो वो तो कोई क्रांति नहीं है। सबसे बड़ी क्रांति तो वो चीज़ है जो जनता की, जो कि नयी शक्तियों को पकड़ती है और उससे जनता का हाल बदल देती है। यह अणुशक्ति, atomic energy, इससे बड़ी क्रांति की चीज़ क्या हो सकती है, जो दुनिया में आई, बड़ी भारी, बिजली आई, यह क्रांति की चीज़ थी। उसने दुनिया को बदल दिया, एक नयी शक्ति आई। तो इन बातों को हमें समझना है कि कैसे देश बढ़ते हैं, कैसे हम अपनी कठिनाइयों को दूर कर सकते हैं। वो दफ़्तर खोलने और बन्द करने से नहीं होता। वो होता है कि प्रकृति की नयी शक्ति को हम समझें, विज्ञान को समझें और उससे जनता का लाभ करें। अब यह बात तो समझ में आती है और दुनिया में हो रहा है। लेकिन उसमें समय लगता है, इसके माने क्या हैं? कि हम अपने देश में लोगों को सिखाएँ विज्ञान। कैसे शक्तियाँ आप पकड़ते हैं और उसमें समय लगता है। बरसों लगते हैं। एक आदमी या एक बच्चा एक दम से नहीं सीख लेता है। दस-पन्द्रह बरस लगेँ और इसलिए बहुत सारी जगह यह सिखाया जा रहा है। एक तो यह बात और दूसरी यह बात बड़ी आवश्यक है कि जिन लोगों के हाथ में यह शक्ति आए उनका चरित्र ठीक हो, क्योंकि नहीं तो उस शक्ति से वो दुनिया को हानि पहुँचायेंगे, नुकसान पहुँचाएँगे। जनता के लाभ की बजाय बहुत उसको हानि होगी। यह एक बड़ी बात मैंने आपके सामने रखी कि आप समझें!

आजकल हम जिस दुनिया में रहते हैं, वो बड़ी क्रांतिकारी दुनिया है। क्रांति के माने जो मैं आपसे कहता हूँ। क्रांति के माने सिर फोड़ना नहीं है किसी का, या एक किसी पे बम फेंक देना या गोली चला देना या नारे उठाना, यह क्रांति नहीं है, यह तो बच्चों का खेल है। असल क्रांति है जो दुनिया

को उलट-पलट कर देती है, जो हमारे समाज को बदलती है, जो जनता के रहन-सहन को बदलती है, वो क्रांति है। तो इससे बड़ी क्रांति क्या हो सकती है जो दुनिया में हुई है, भाप से और बिजली से और अणुशक्ति से जो हो सकती है जिससे और देश बड़े शक्तिशाली हो गये हैं, ताकत उनको आ गयी है और बहुत धन उन्होंने पैदा किया ज़मीन से, कारखानों से। तो हमें उसको समझना है और समझके उस रास्ते पर चलना है। इसी तरह से हमारे देश की भलाई हो सकती है। और ऊपर से उलट फेर से नहीं होती। तो यह बात आपको बच्चों को भी समझानी है, और बड़ों को भी समझानी है कि कैसी क्रांतिकारी दुनिया में हम रहते हैं।

आप अख़बार पढ़ते हैं, समाचार-पत्र, और उसमें कभी देखते हैं कि वहाँ अमेरिका में कुछ हुआ और रूस में कुछ हुआ और चीन में कुछ हुआ और कहीं लड़ाई की तैयारी है और कहीं बम फेंके जा रहे हैं एक-दूसरे पर। और बहुत समाचार-पत्रों में इसका बड़ा चर्चा होता है। यह भी एक निशानी है कि आजकल की दुनिया कितनी क्रांतिकारी है, हर वक्त गर्दिश में है, करवट लेती है, पलटती है, एक कहीं जमती नहीं है, भयानक दुनिया है। भयानक शक्तियाँ फैली हुई हैं और भयानक एक और बात है कि लोगों के दिमाग़। लोगों में, बहुत सारे देशों में द्वेष भरा है, गुस्सा भरा है, एक दूसरे से अदावत भरी है। यह सबमें भयानक चीज़ है क्योंकि जब इतनी बड़ी शक्ति देशों के हाथ में है जैसे अणुशक्ति और उसके दिल में द्वेष हो तो जाने किस समय वो उस अणुशक्ति को चला दें, लड़ाई कर दें, और दुनिया तबाह हो जाए। यह सब पेंच हैं। ऐसे समय पर हमें क्या करना चाहिए? पहली बात यह है कि अपना स्वराज, अपनी स्वतन्त्रता को मजबूत रखना है, बनाये रखना है, और स्वतन्त्रता को बनाये रखने के माने हैं हमें तगड़ा होना है। दुर्बल लोग, कमज़ोर लोग, मूर्ख लोग नहीं स्वतन्त्रता रख सकते। वो ही लोग रख सकते हैं जो कि तगड़े हों, जो उसको बचाने के लिए हर तरह का त्याग करने को तैयार हों, और वो ही लोग रख सकते हैं जो आजकल की दुनिया में आगे बढ़ें। जो पिछड़ जायें, दरिद्र हों, गरीब हों, उनकी शक्ति क्या? एक गरीब देश की शक्ति बहुत नहीं होती। तो हमें तरक्की करनी है, उन्नति करनी है। तब हम अपनी स्वतन्त्रता को रखें और अपनी जनता को बढ़ा सकें।

आप देखें ज़रा आजकल की दुनिया कैसी है? कुछ दिन हुए आपने देखा कि पूर्वी एशिया में, पूर्वी नहीं पश्चिमी एशिया में जो देश हैं, हमारे अरब भाइयों के देश हैं, वहाँ उलट-पलट बहुत हुआ। अभी तक पूरा उसका शान्त नहीं हुआ है। इधर देखिए पूर्वी एशिया में चीन महान् देश है। हमारा एक पड़ोसी देश है। उसकी सरहद पर भी एक लड़ाई की झलक कई दफ़े हुई है पिछले दो-चार हफ्ते में, महीने दो महीने में। हमारी राय में, आप जानते हैं इस चीन महान् देश के साथ बहुत अन्याय हुआ है, अजीब अन्याय हुआ है। संयुक्त राष्ट्र है, जहाँ सब देश हैं, उसको वहाँ चीन के नाम से वो एक टापू है उसकी हुकूमत को रख छोड़ा है और चीन महान् देश को मानते नहीं, अजीब बात है। आप आँखें बन्द कर ले, चाहे आपको कोई बात अच्छी लगे या बुरी लगे, एक बुरी लगे बात आप आँखें बन्द कर लें और कहें कि बात है ही नहीं, यह तो मूर्खता है, अक्लमंदी की बात तो नहीं है। चीन इतना महान् देश है और उसको कहें कि है ही नहीं, हम लेते नहीं, यह आजकल की दुनिया में अजीब बात है। और यह एक बड़ी भयानक बात है क्योंकि अगर आप जो बात है उसको नहीं

स्वीकार करते तो आप धोखा खाएंगे, गलती होगी, लड़ाई-झगड़ा होगा, वो ही खतरे हैं। अभी तक भय है कि पूर्वी एशिया के उस तरफ कहीं लड़ाई-झगड़ा न हो जाये। इसलिए बुनियादी तरीके से इस महान् देश, जो चीन है, उसको और बाज़ बड़े-बड़े देश हैं उसको स्वीकार ही नहीं करते, गोया कि है ही नहीं वो। अजीब तमाशा है यह।

और लीजिए, हमारे पड़ोस में आप जाएँ, पाकिस्तान है, जो कि ग्यारह बरस हुए भारत का एक हिस्सा था। फिर उसके दो टुकड़े हुए भारत के, आप जानते हैं। हमने स्वीकार किया, दुःख हुआ, लेकिन हमने स्वीकार किया कि हम नहीं चाहते कि किसी को ज़बर्दस्ती रखें, ग्यारह वर्ष हो गये और इन ग्यारह वर्ष में पाकिस्तान जमा नहीं है। तरह-तरह के उलट-पलट होते रहे वहाँ, हमें इस बात का दुःख है। हम तो नहीं चाहते कि पाकिस्तान के लोग दुःखी हों। हम तो उनकी भलाई चाहते हैं, आखिर हमारे साथी थे, हम चाहते हैं कि हमारा पड़ोसी देश है जो हमसे मिल-जुल कर रहे, अपना काम वह करे, हम अपना काम करें। हमें किसी से लड़ाई तो नहीं करनी। लेकिन बात यह है कि ग्यारह वर्ष हुए और उसमें पचासों उलट-पलट हुए हैं और अभी एक दस-पन्द्रह दिन की बात है कि वहाँ की जो हुकूमत थी और जो वहाँ का विधान था और जो कुछ वहाँ था सब एकदम से उसको ख़त्म कर दिया एक हुक़म से वहाँ के जो राष्ट्रपति थे उन्होंने कायदा-कानून सब, अदालत ख़त्म, एक हुक़म से।⁷⁶ और अजीब बात तो यह है कि जो हुक़म से उन्होंने किया अगर विधान ख़त्म किया तो विधान में तो वो खुद राष्ट्रपति थे वो भी ख़त्म हो गये उसी सिलसिले में। (तालियाँ) खैर, यह तो उनका काम है जो चाहें, और वहाँ आजकल martial law है, फौजी कानून है। फौजी कानून क्या होता है? फौजी कानून होता है जो कानून नहीं होता है तो फौजी कानून उसे कहते हैं। वो कानून नहीं है कोई असली। तो यह बात वहाँ हो गयी। तो इस बात से कोई खुशी की बात नहीं है। मैं आपको दिखाता हूँ कि एक अच्छा देश, हमारे जैसे लोग वहाँ हैं ज़रा गलत रास्ते पर चलके कैसे ठोकर खाता है और मुश्किल में फँस जाता है। वहाँ की राजनीति में काफी परेशानी जनता को, वहाँ की आर्थिक स्थिति खराब। मैं नहीं, मेरी बातें यह नहीं हैं। अभी भी वहाँ के राष्ट्रपति थे उन्होंने जब वहाँ का वो सब विधान ख़त्म कर दिया और विधान-सभाएँ ख़त्म कर दीं और सब मंत्रिमंडल ख़त्म किया तो उन्होंने खुद ये लिखा है अपने देश की निस्वत और उसकी इतनी बुराई है कि कोई दूसरा कौन कर सकता है?

तो अब पाकिस्तान वाले अपना रास्ता ढूँढ़ें, मैं तो नहीं कोई दख़ल देना चाहता वहाँ। हम नहीं चाहते किसी और देश में दख़ल दें, चाहे वो सही रास्ते पर हो या गलत। हम क्यों दख़ल दें और हम नहीं चाहते कोई और देश हमारे देश में दख़ल दे। लेकिन मैं मिसाल, मैं दिखाता हूँ आपको कि कैसे आजकल की दुनिया में जिधर देखो चाहे यूरोप की तरफ, अमरीका की तरफ, एशिया के देशों में, उलट-पलट होता जाता है। तो ऐसे समय पर हमें और भी होशियार होना चाहिए, हमें ग़फ़लत में नहीं पड़ना चाहिए, हमें अपने छोटे झगड़ों में नहीं पड़ना चाहिए, नहीं तो हमारे सामने भी मुसीबतें आईं।

76. See item 4, fn 32.

खैर, अगर हिन्दुस्तान को आप देखें इस समय भारत के तो बहुत सारे छोटे-छोटे प्रश्न हैं, बड़े प्रश्न हैं, बहुत सारी बातें हैं, जो हमें परेशान भी करती हैं। लेकिन फिर भी भारत को आप देखें तो एक असर क्या होता है, आप पर या कोई विदेशी आए। एक तगड़े देश का असर होता है, एक मजबूत देश का होता है। अंदर में हम कितनी बहस अपनी करें, हमें कठिनाइयाँ हों, हैं कठिनाइयाँ। लेकिन फिर भी एक जमा हुआ मजबूत देश। दो बार इस दस बरस में आप जानते हैं हमारे बड़े चुनाव हुए। हमारे यहाँ कानून से काम होता है, विधान सभाएँ चलती हैं, कानून बनते हैं। बुरी बातें भी होती हैं, उसको सम्भालने की कोशिश होती है, शिकायत भी होती है, भूखे भी लोग हैं। लेकिन एक जमा हुआ देश है, जो एक रास्ते पर चल रहा है, राजनैतिक रास्ते पर चल रहा है, आर्थिक रास्ते पर चल रहा है। उसने यह पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ बनायीं जो कि देश की उन्नति और तरक्की के लिए।

पंचवर्षीय योजना क्या है? वो कोई एक चीज़ नहीं है। वो तो एक, उसमें तो एक देश के सारे काम आ जाते हैं। आर्थिक काम आ जाते हैं और कितने और काम आते हैं, जिनसे देश की उन्नति हो, पढ़ाई, लिखाई, स्वास्थ्य, सब बातें उसमें आ जाती हैं। खेती का काम, कारखाने का काम। कैसे बढ़ाए जायें, कैसे जनता उठे। कैसे जनता में शक्ति आए, खुशहाल हो। और कैसे हम इस यात्रा के अंत में पहुँचें जब कि देश में सारी जनता, कहा जाय, खुशहाल है, उसकी देखभाल ठीक होती है, उसको काम मिलता है, पढ़ाई-लिखाई सभी की होती है, और स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध, ये सब बातें, सब का है। अब इसमें समय लगेगा। एक पंचवर्षीय योजना नहीं है, एक, दो, तीन, चार, मालूम नहीं कितनी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं की आवश्यकता है। लेकिन कदम-कदम बढ़ाते जायेंगे हम। पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना हमारी हुई, उसमें हमने अच्छी तरक्की की, सब जानते हैं। दूसरी हुई, तो इसमें ज्यादा बड़ा कदम उठाया। ज्यादा और समस्या, क्योंकि जितना आप तेज जाना चाहते हैं, उतना ही आपको परिश्रम करना है, कागज़ पर लिख देने से किताब में, तो नहीं बढ़ जाते। हम कहें कि हम, फर्ज़ कर लो कि हमारी यह पंचवर्षीय योजना की एक यात्रा है। अब हम निश्चय करें कि हम इस पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमें, कहो कि हमें सौ मील हम चले। ठीक है चले गए। फिर हमने सोचा दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में, भाई सौ मील तो काफी तेज नहीं हुआ, दूर तक नहीं पहुँचे, और तेज चलना है, दूर तक जाना है। हम दो सौ मील जाएँगे इस दफ़े। तब दो सौ मील जो हम जाएँ तो परिश्रम अधिक करना पड़ेगा, वो ही बात है। हमने दूसरे पंचवर्षीय योजना में कहा कि हम ज्यादा ज़ोर से बढ़ेंगे, क्योंकि एक बात आप याद रखें कि हम परिश्रम से बढ़ें या न बढ़ें, हमारे प्रश्न एक तरह से बढ़ते जाते हैं। एक तो यह कि देश की आबादी बढ़ती जाती है, जनता बढ़ती है, उसकी गिनती, और जितने लोग बढ़ते हैं उसके माने क्या हैं? उतने-उतने खाने वाले बढ़ गये, उनके लिए धन की आवश्यकता बढ़ गयी। उतने कपड़े पहनने वाले बढ़ गये। कपड़ा उनके लिए अधिक हो। उनके लिए अधिक घर हों रहने के लिए, उनके लिए पढ़ाई का प्रबंध हो, अधिक। उनके लिए स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध हो, उनके लिए काम का प्रबंध हो कि रोज़गार मिले। तो अगर हम कुछ न करें, अपना मामूली काम करते रहें, तब भी आबादी तो बढ़ती जाती है, खाने वाले बढ़ते जाते हैं। तो हम और गरीब होते जाते हैं। इसलिए आवश्यक हो जाता है कि इतने तेज आगे बढ़ें कि जिससे नयी आबादी जो आ रही है, उसको सब कुछ मिले और फिर सब लोग और भी आगे बढ़ सकें। इसलिए तेज बढ़ना पड़ता है, हल्के-हल्के

बढ़ने से काम नहीं चलता। वो एक आबादी बढ़ती जाती है, एक समुद्र, उसमें हम गोता खा जायें अगर हम तेजी से न बढ़ें तो।

तो हमने दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में ज्यादा बड़े कदम उठाने को सोचा, ज़मीन के लिए, कारख़ानों की तरफ, और इसमें याद रखो कि कारख़ाने हमारे लिए आवश्यक हैं जिससे रोज़गार मिले, जिससे हजार काम हम निकालें, जिससे वो सामान हम विलायत से, जर्मनी से, रूस से, मंगाते हैं, वो हम खुद पैदा करें। धन हमारे देश में रहे वो तो ठीक है, लेकिन कितने ही हम कारख़ाने बनाने चाहें, पहली बात हमारे देश में खेती है। खेती से पैदा करना। मगर उससे काफी हम पैदा नहीं करते तो हमारे कारख़ाने वगैरह कोई नहीं चलते। क्योंकि वो खेती से पैदा होता है एक तो वो खाने के लिए काफी होना चाहिए। कम हो तो बड़ी मुसीबत है। कम हो तो हमें विदेश से गल्ला मंगाया तो पैसा कहाँ से आए? यह हमारी मुसीबत हो गयी। यहाँ तीन वर्ष से फसल खराब हुई, बड़ी मुसीबत हुई और हमें बाहर से मंगाना पड़ा, सैकड़ों करोड़ रुपये का गल्ला, चावल, गेहूँ। वो रुपया, हमारे पास सैकड़ों, करोड़ों होते तो कितना लाभ होता। हम इससे कारख़ाने खोलते, हम स्कूल खोलते, हम पाठशाला खोलते, वो खाने पर गया।

तो पहली बात यह है कि खेती, महज़ खेती से पैदा करने के क्या माने? आप कहें कि खेती से तो पैदा होता है। होता है लेकिन कम होता है, एक एकड़ से जितना होता है हमारे देश में, वो बहुत कम है। और देशों में उतनी ज़मीन से, एक एकड़ से, उसका दुगना, तिगुना और चौगुना होता है। अब आप सोचें, मैं नहीं जानता कि आपके राजस्थान में कितना होता है, कितना पैदा होता है, लेकिन आप सोचें। गेहूँ को लीजिए, एक औसत देश में करीब-करीब दस मन है एक एकड़ में, बहुत कम है दस मन। और देशों में बीस मन, पच्चीस मन, तीस मन पैदा होता है, एक एकड़ में। क्यों हमारे देश में न हो? यह तो नहीं कि हमारे देश की ज़मीन कोई खराब है। हमारे लोग मेहनती नहीं हैं, यह भी नहीं, लेकिन कुछ हम पुराने ढर्रे में पड़ गये। हमारे हल अच्छे नहीं। हमारे यहाँ ठीक बीज नहीं हम डालते, हमारे यहाँ ठीक खाद नहीं डालते हैं, ऐसी-ऐसी बातें छोटी-मोटी हैं जिनके करने से हम बढ़ा सकते हैं, और जहाँ-जहाँ यह किया है वहाँ खेत से पैदावार दुगनी हो गयी, बढ़ रही है। आपके यहाँ भी बहुत उपाय हो रहे हैं। वो कहते हैं क्योंकि bunding कहते हैं, जिसमें खेत का पानी बह न जाये, जमीन से बह जाता है, उससे आप जहाँ करें अपने खेत में, वो एक खेत के चारों तरफ जरा-जरा सा एक मुंडेर सी बना दें जिससे पानी बहे नहीं, कुछ रह जाय, तो उससे फौरन आपकी पैदावार बढ़ जाएगी उस खेत से। आप चुने हुए बीज लगायें, बढ़ेंगी। जरा हल जरा थोड़ा सा अच्छा हो, बढ़ेंगी। खाद जरा मिले आपको, बढ़ेंगी। इस तरह से बढ़ सकती है, कोई जादू नहीं है। अक्ल से काम करना, समझ से काम करना, जैसे और दुनिया में हुआ है।

तो यह समझ लीजिए, यह सब में बड़ी आवश्यक बात है। सारे कारख़ाने, हमारे यहाँ बहुत बन रहे हैं बड़े काम, वो सब बातें चौपट हो जाएँ अगर हमारे यहाँ खेती का काम ठीक-ठीक न चले। इसलिए हमें चाहिये कि, इसमें मैं तो कहूँगा कि इस दस बरस के अन्दर, दस बरस नहीं, तीसरे पंचवर्षीय योजना के अंत तक हमें करीब-करीब दुगना कर देना चाहिए अपनी खेती से पैदावार, तब हम मजबूत हो जाएँ। एक तो मजबूत हों कि खाना बहुत काफी हो सबके लिए, नयी आबादी के

लिए भी, और हमारे पास जो नया गल्ला पैदा हो, अधिक गल्ला, उसको बेचकर हम बाहर से सामान मंगा सकें, चाहे मशीन हो, कारखाना भी, कुछ हो।

तो पहली बात तो यह याद रखें। यह सबमें पहली और मजबूत बात है कि हमें खेती से अधिक पैदा करना है। दूसरी बात कि हम उसको कर सकते हैं, और दुनिया करती है। हमारे देश में जहाँ-जहाँ इस पे कोशिश हुई है, वहाँ दुगना-तिगुना हुआ है। अभी मैं एक जगह था उत्तर प्रदेश⁷⁷ में, वहाँ मैं कह रहा था अधिक पैदा करो। एक किसान आया मेरे पास, उसने कहा कि मैंने अपनी एक एकड़ ज़मीन में पचास मन गेहूँ पैदा किया।⁷⁸ किया था उसने, मैंने जांच करवाई। कहाँ आठ मन, नौ मन, कहाँ पचास मन, आप सोचें पांच गुना। पांच गुना तो मैं नहीं कहता, मैं तो कहता हूँ आप अपने आठ नौ मन को बीस मन कर लें कुछ बरस में तो हमारा बेड़ा पार हो गया, जहाँ तक यह बात है। यह बड़ी आवश्यक बात है, और इसलिए हमारी यह जो विकास योजनाएँ हैं, community block हैं, जो देश में, देहात में, ग्रामों में फैले हैं, वो उनके सामने सब में आवश्यक काम यही है कि वो अधिक खेती से पैदा करें। आप लोग इसे समझ लें और उनसे समझें जाके, देखें जाके। और यह बात कोई अफसरों को करने की नहीं है कि बड़े-बड़े अफसर करदें। अब अफसरों का काम जो कुछ है, वो तो है ही, काम जनता का है, पंचायतों का है, उनको उठाना है।

और जो मैंने कहा, और जगह भी, हर गाँव में, तीन चीज़ें होनी चाहिये। एक तो पंचायत, मजबूत पंचायत, और उसके जो पंच, सरपंच हों उनके ऊपर बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है। जिम्मेदारी करनी चाहिए और उनको मौका देना चाहिए। बहुत सरकारी दखल भी नहीं होना चाहिए, पंचों की ताक़त बढ़नी चाहिए। दूसरे, एक-एक गाँव में एक सहकारी संघ होना चाहिए समझें आप, सहकारी संघ, cooperative society, जिसमें गाँव के रहने वाले मिलकर अपना आर्थिक काम करें, चाहे खेती से सम्बन्ध रखें, चाहे किमी बात से। एक किसान छोटा या छोटा ज़मींदार की शक्ति बहुत नहीं है, न खरीदने की, न बेचने की, न कोई कल लाने की, न खाद लाने की। लेकिन वो सहकारी संघ बनायें अपना और उसके मार्फ़त खरीदें, बेचें, कलें मगायें, अच्छे हल मंगायें, बीज मंगायें, खाद मंगायें। तो वो कर सकता है, शक्ति है उसमें, सभी का लाभ हो इसमें मिलकर करने से। यह बहुत आवश्यक बात है। दो बातें हुई, एक तो पंचायत और एक सहकारी संघ। तीसरी बात है स्कूल होना चाहिए, विद्यालय होना चाहिए हर गाँव में। एकदम से तो नहीं होगा, मैं जानता हूँ, होना चाहिए। क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं और इसकी कोशिश करते हैं कि कोई बच्चा भारत में न रहे जिसको पढ़ने का ठीक मौका न मिले। पढ़ने से ही तो आखिर में नये भारत को बनायेंगे। पढ़ने से तो सीखेगा चाहे खेती का काम हो, चाहे कारखाने का, चाहे कोई और।

पढ़ने के माने नहीं है कि आप पढ़कर स्कूल-कॉलेज जाके बस बैठ जायें कि अब सरकारी नौकरी मिले। सरकारी नौकरी किसानों को मिले? अरे, लाख को, दो लाख को, दस लाख को मिले, चालीस करोड़ को सरकारी नौकरी तो नहीं मिलेगी। उनको तो अपनी ज़मान पर या और ग्रामोद्योग में या कारखानों में काम करना पड़ेगा। हाँ, जो सरकारी नौकरी करें अच्छा है, बुरी बात तो नहीं है।

77. Nehru visited the drought-affected areas of Allahabad District on 15 and 16 July 1958.

78. See SWJN/SS/43/p. 67.

लेकिन यह समझना कि हरेक को मिलेगी सरकारी नौकरी, वो तो एक अपने को धोखे में डालना है। तो गरज़ की पहली बात इस समय हमारे सामने ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करना, खेती से। और इतना पैदा करना कि चाहे फसल खराब हो, चाहे कुछ भी हो, हम काफी पैदा कर लें, कितनी ही हानि हो। और प्रकृति को हम चुनौती दें, कितनी ही फसल खराब करे, तब भी हम अधिक पैदा करेंगे।

पहली बात तो यह हुई। दूसरी बात जो मैंने आपसे कहा वो कारख़ानों की है, और कामों की है। हमारे सारे देश की जनता खेती नहीं कर सकती। बहुत ज़मीन पर लगे हैं लोग। और काम होने चाहिए। जब अंग्रेज़ लोग आए थे तो उन्होंने पहली बात यह की थी कि हमारे उस समय के कारख़ाने बन्द कर दिये, तोड़ दिये, इससे हम अधिक गरीब हो गये, कि जो कारख़ाने से पैदा करते थे वो नहीं पैदा हो सका, सब लोग ज़मीन पर पड़े आके, और ज़मीन पहले खाली थोड़े ही थी, पहले ही भरी हुई थी। तो इसलिए छोटे-बड़े कारख़ाने सब ढंग के। आपको याद होगा महात्माजी बड़ा जोर देते थे ग्रामोद्योग पर, और ग्रामोद्योग बहुत आवश्यक चीज़ है। क्योंकि बड़े कारख़ानों में सब लोग लग नहीं सकते हैं। बड़े कारख़ाने बड़े हैं और हम बड़े कारख़ाने बनाएंगे और बना रहे हैं।

और बड़े कारख़ाने भी कैसे बनते हैं? उसकी भी जड़, बुनियाद क्या है? दो बातें हैं। एक तो लोहा। आप जानते हैं कि लोहा तो छोटे-बड़े सब जगह लगता है। हमारे यहाँ लोहा काफी था नहीं। कारख़ाने लोहे के हैं, लेकिन कम बनाते थे, बहुत ज़रूरत है हमें। तो इसलिए हम चार बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारख़ाने बना रहे हैं जो लोहा पैदा करेंगे और बड़ा उसमें पैसा लग रहा है। गरीब देश के लिए। एक-एक लोहे के कारख़ाने में समझो एक सौ पचास करोड़ रुपये लग रहे हैं, डेढ़ सौ करोड़, कितनी बड़ी रकम है। और वो खाता जाता है पैसा और कुछ निकालता नहीं है। क्योंकि कारख़ाना तो चार-पाँच बरस में बनेगा। आपने नाम सुने होंगे, क्या नाम है राउरकेला, और भिलाई और दुर्गापुर, और जमशेदपुर बढ़ रहा है जो पुराना कारख़ाना है। अब उसमें जो हम पाँच सौ करोड़ रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं, क्यों? इसलिए कि वो जड़ है कि एक तो लोहा हमारे यहाँ काफी पैदा हो, सब और कारख़ाने भी जल्दी-जल्दी हो जाएंगे छोटे-बड़े, इसलिए हम इतना रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं उस पर। अभी उससे लाभ नहीं होता है लेकिन एक साल, दो साल बाद जब वो कारख़ाने चलने लगेंगे जोरों से तब उसका लाभ होगा।

तो एक चीज़ तो लोहा मैंने आपसे कहा। उसी के साथ कह दूँ मैं एक और चीज़ भी है कि मशीन बनाने के कारख़ाने, कल बनाने के कारख़ाने, कारख़ानों में मशीन होती हैं। हम मशीन आज तक तो अमेरिका से मंगाएँ, कोई जर्मनी से मंगाएँ, कोई जापान से, इस तरह देश थोड़े बढ़ता है। हमें अपने देश में मशीन बनानी है। तो मशीन बनाने के कारख़ाने, वो भी लोहे से निकलेंगे। पहली बड़ी बात तो यह है। दूसरी बात है, कारख़ाने चलाने के लिए शक्ति, मशीन चलाने के लिए शक्ति, कहाँ से आए? यह बड़ी मशीन आदमी पहिया हिलाकर नहीं चलाते, वो शक्ति आती है आख़िर में, या तो आप उनको कोयला जला के, भाप निकाल के, बड़ी शक्ति पैदा करें या बिजली या फिर तीसरी यह atomic energy आई है। इसलिए बिजली हमें पैदा करनी है। बिजली की शक्ति कैसे करते हैं? और बहुत तरीके हैं, कई हैं। लेकिन आपने सुना होगा कि बड़ी-बड़ी नदियाँ हैं हमारी, कहीं-कहीं गिरती हैं नीचे जोर से पानी, तो उस पानी के गिरने के वेग को पकड़कर उससे बिजली पैदा करते

हैं और तारों से भेजते हैं। वो भाखड़ा में और दामोदर वैली में और कहाँ-कहाँ देश में बड़े-बड़े, इसका प्रबंध हुआ है बिजली पैदा करने का। आप अगर जानना चाहें कि एक देश ने कितनी तरक्की की है तो आप दो बातें वहाँ पूछिये उस देश की निस्वत। कितना लोहा पैदा होता है वहाँ और कितनी बिजली की शक्ति पैदा होती है? इससे, दो बातों से आपको मालूम हो जाएगा कि देश की शक्ति कितनी है। इन दोनों को हमें पैदा करना है। अब दो बातें मैंने आपको बतायी जो हम इस देश में कर रहे हैं। यह दोनों बातें एक तरह से जड़ है, बुनियाद है। बुनियाद मज़बूत हो तो इसके ऊपर भारत की इमारत मज़बूती से बनेगी, कारखाने बनें और क्या-क्या। और उस शक्ति से जो हमें मिले, धन पैदा हो, उससे स्कूल, अस्पताल, इत्यादि बनें। अब यह बड़े-बड़े काम हैं, यह तभी हो सकते हैं जब देश की सारी शक्ति उधर लगे, तभी हो सकते हैं, और अगर देश में हमारे आपस में फूट है, लड़ाई है, झगड़ा है, बहस है, आलसी लोग हैं, तब कैसे हो? तब तो नहीं होगी।

इस वक्त सारी दुनिया हमारे देश की तरफ देख रही है कि कैसे यह स्वतंत्र देश जो है भारत, इसका पुराना इतिहास बड़ा भारी इतिहास है, अब आजकल और भविष्य इसका कैसा होगा? बड़ी भारी बात है। हमारे लिए है, दुनिया के लिए है। तो आप समझें कि यह पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ कितनी बड़ी बात है, और यह कोई सरकारी चीज़ नहीं है। यह तो जनता की चीज़ है, आपकी पंचों की, शहर में, देहात में, आम जनता की है। इसको समझें, पढ़ें, स्कूल के बच्चे समझें, कॉलेज के लड़के समझें, लड़कियाँ समझें, सभी का उसमें भाग है कुछ न कुछ। तभी देश बढ़ता है। क्योंकि याद रखिए कि हम यात्रा कर रहे हैं, सब लोग भारत के चालीस करोड़, और इसमें सब तरह के लोग हैं। कुछ बेचारे हमारे पिछड़े हुए भाई हैं, कुछ दरिद्र ज्यादा हैं, कुछ जरा अच्छे हैं, सभी को चलना है, इसलिए हमें अधिकतर ध्यान देना है जो हमारे भाई-बहन पिछड़े हैं, हमारे आदिवासी भाई हैं, हमारे हरिजन भाई हैं। इन सभी की तरफ और अधिक ध्यान देना है, क्योंकि कोई देश आगे बढ़ नहीं सकता, पूरा देश, अगर देश की आधी आबादी पिछड़ी हुई है, अगर देश की, फर्ज़ करो, स्त्रियाँ अनपढ़ हैं, पिछड़ी हुई हैं, तो देश कैसे बढ़ेगा? कुछ लोग बढ़ जायेंगे। अब समय आया कि सभी को अपना भाग लेना है आगे बढ़ने में, काम करने में, अपने-अपने ढंग से। यह तो मायने नहीं है कि सब लोग एक काम करें। किसान एक काम करेगा, कोई कुछ और काम करेगा, दुकानदार तीसरा काम करेगा।

एक बात मैं और आपसे कहूँ विशेषकर, अभी कुछ दिन हुए, और अब भी कुछ-कुछ, हमारी चीज़ों के दाम बढ़ने लगे हैं, बढ़ गये हैं, गल्ले के बहुत बढ़ गये। थोड़ा-सा बढ़ते तो शायद कहा जा सकता था कि ज़रा कमी है, बढ़ गये, लेकिन ज़रूरत से ज्यादा बढ़े हैं और यह बात ठीक नहीं थी और यह बात जो व्यापारी, चाहे थोक के व्यापारी हों, चाहे छोटे हों, उन्होंने दाम बढ़ाये थे, यह गलत बात उन्होंने की थी कि वो लाभ उठाएँ। एक देश में ज़रा कोई कठिनाई आई तो उससे अधिक लाभ उठायेँ और वहाँ फिर हमने देखा बाद में कि जहाँ-जहाँ इसकी कोशिश हुई, घटाने को समझाया गया, और उन्होंने देखा कि अगर हम घटाते नहीं तो शायद कायदे-कानून चले हमारे विरोध में, तो घटने लगे दाम। अभी आपने देखा पाकिस्तान में जब से यह martial law आया, martial law में उन्होंने वहाँ तो, जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, कानून तो कोई है नहीं, उन्होंने सज़ा रखी है कि जो आदमी दाम ज़रा भी बढ़ाएगा उसको, मुझे याद नहीं इस वक्त बहुत सारी बातों की, वो मौत की सज़ा है,

नहीं तो दस-बारह बरस कैद की।⁷⁹ वो डर के मारे वहाँ सारे भाव चारों तरफ गिर गये, सही या गलत। तो यह मैं व्यापारियों से खास कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस समय, ठीक है व्यापार करते हैं, तो उसमें उनको कुछ लाभ हो, लेकिन अनुचित लाभ लेना ऐसे समय पर यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है, बेज़ा बात है और जनता इसको बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकती है, न कोई government, सरकार, कर सकती है।

एक और तरफ से आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। हमारे देश में आम जनता अपने-अपने जो भी उसका धर्म हो, उसकी तरफ ध्यान देती है। ठीक बात है, दे। हमारे देश में बहुत सारे धर्म हैं, हिन्दू धर्म है अधिकतर, मुसलमान हैं, ईसाई हैं, जैन हैं, सिख हैं, पारसी हैं, बौद्ध हैं। सब हमारे देश के धर्म हैं, कुछ हमारे देश में पैदा हुए, वैसे हिन्दू धर्म, बौद्ध धर्म, जैन, ये तो हमारे देश में पैदा हुए। कुछ हमारे देश में आज नहीं बहुत बरस हुए आए, हजारों बरस से हैं, वो भी हमारे देश के हो गये। और सभी को मिलकर रहना है। यह तो ठीक है। लेकिन धर्म का हम आदर करें, अपने धर्म का, दूसरे के धर्म का। आज नहीं, यह दो हजार बरस से ऊपर हुए अशोक सम्राट ने लिखा है, पत्थर पर लिखा है, पढ़ें जाके, कि हमें अपने धर्म का आदर करना चाहिए और दूसरे के धर्म का भी आदर करना चाहिए। यह भारत की पुरानी सभ्यता है और संस्कृति है। यह नहीं कि आपस में लड़ें। और यह जातिभेद, इसने भारत को गिराया।

तो धर्म तो अच्छी चीज़ है, लेकिन धर्म के नाम से काफी अनुचित बातें होती हैं। गलत बातें होती हैं, काफी पैसा गलत खर्च होता है। पैसा गलत वसूल होता है, काफी लोग यहाँ हमारे देश में इस तरह से पैसा आया होता है। कितना पैसा गलत तरह आया होता है। यह मठ हैं, और महन्त हैं और यह सब लोग हैं, इसमें कुछ भले आदमी हैं कुछ भले नहीं हैं, सीधी बात है। संन्यासी हैं, अच्छे से अच्छे उनमें संन्यासी हैं, और आप जानते हैं बुरे से बुरे आदमी एक वस्त्र पहन कर संन्यासी बन जाएँ, गेरुवा वस्त्र से, तो कोई अच्छा आदमी नहीं होता, वो तो चरित्र से होता है, विद्या से होता है। और फिर इस तरह से गलत पैसे, और यह पैसे जो आते हैं और गलत तरह से खर्च होते हैं और यह महन्त और और लोग खर्चते हैं, यह बड़ी अनुचित बात है। इसका उपाय ढूँढना है हमें, कि वो पैसे मैं नहीं चाहता कि कोई government उसे ले ले, सरकार ले ले, लेकिन उसका ठीक खर्च होना चाहिए जनता की पढ़ाई में, और बातों में, जो कि ठीक है, धर्म के हिसाब से भी ठीक है कि जनता की भलाई में पैसा खर्च हो, न कि इस तरह से गलत तरीकों से खर्च हो।

आपके राजस्थान में भी ऐसे काफी महन्त बगैरह हैं जो कि गलत रास्तों पर हैं और सही रास्ते पर उनको चलना पड़ेगा नहीं तो तरकीबें निकलेंगी कि सही रास्ते पर चलाए जाएँ वो।⁸⁰ (तालियाँ)

79. On 9 October 1958, the Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Ayub Khan, issued 29 Martial Law regulations providing for summary and special military courts and capital punishment for smuggling, child-lifting, abduction of women, hoarding of food grains and dacoity as defined in the Pakistan Penal Code, and 14 years' imprisonment for adulteration of food and medicines.

80. On the subject of misuse of funds by mahants and maths, Nehru wrote to V.T. Krishnamachari on 9 October 1958 and to Morarji Desai on 29 October 1958. See items 127 and 132.

और यह मैं आज शायद यह पहली बार मैं सभा में इस बात को कह रहा हूँ, क्योंकि मैंने इस पर बहुत विचार किया है और इसमें हमें कुछ न कुछ करना है। चाहे यह मठ और महन्तों के सिलसिले में या जो और भी जो बहुत अब मेरे शहर में इलाहाबाद में, प्रयाग में, प्रयागवाले होते हैं, और इस तरह से जो कि कुछ सेवा भी करते हैं, ठीक है, लेकिन कुछ बहुत सारे लोग बिल्कुल अनुचित बेचारे भोले-भाले लोगों को पाके उनसे पैसा वसूल करते हैं गलत तरीकों से। तो हमें अब इन बातों को नहीं स्वीकार करना चाहिए। असल में तो जनता को इस बात को संभालना चाहिए, इस बात में नहीं पड़ना चाहिए और असल धर्म का पालन करें, यह गलत धर्म का, धोखेवाजी के धर्म का नहीं।

तो मैंने आपसे इधर-उधर की बातें कहीं जो मेरे कुछ मन में इस समय आई। मन में जो बहुत बातें रहती हैं और इच्छा होती है कि लोगों को बताएँ क्योंकि हमें और आपको मिलकर चलना है इस यात्रा पर। हमें और आपको अगर मिलकर चलना है तो समझना है बात को। यह बात नहीं कि मैं कोई हुकुम चलाऊँ दिल्ली में बैठकर और आप मुँह बंद करके, कान बंद करके उसको स्वीकार करलें। मैं ऐसी स्वीकृति नहीं चाहता हूँ। मैं आपके मन को चाहता हूँ, मैं आपके दिल को चाहता हूँ, आपकी समझ को चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि तभी शक्ति से काम होते हैं, तभी असल में मिलकर काम होता है।

मैं चाहता हूँ हमारे नवयुवक जो हैं, हमारे होनहार लड़के-लड़कियाँ हैं, बच्चे हैं, कि वो अभी से कुछ ठीक रास्ते पर चलें, खेलें, कूदें। मैं नहीं चाहता कि वो अपना खेलकूद छोड़कर बस भारत के प्रश्नों में पड़ जायें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि खेलें-कूदें, पढ़ें-लिखें तगड़े हों, शरीर उनका अच्छा हो, मन अच्छा हो। लेकिन सही रास्ते पर चलें। क्योंकि आखिर में एक देश उतना ही जाता है, उसी तरफ जाता है जिधर उसको जनता का चरित्र उसको ले जाता है। चरित्र अच्छा है, मजबूत है, दिल मजबूत है, तो देश दूर तक जाएगा। खाली गिनती से देश नहीं बढ़ते हैं कि हमारे यहाँ चालीस करोड़ आदमी हैं इसलिए हम दूर जाएंगे। चालीस करोड़ भेड़-बकरियों से कुछ नहीं होता है। हाँ, थोड़े से भी हिम्मत वाले आदमी दूर तक ले जाते हैं।

तो इसलिए हम इन बड़े कामों में, मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप और हम देश के सब लोग इनको समझें, इन बातों को, खाली पुराने सबक रटे हुए, पुराने नारे उठा देने से, कोई लाभ नहीं मिलता है। आजकल की क्रांतिकारी दुनिया को समझकर, आजकल की हमारी क्रांतिकारी जो बातें देश में हो रही हैं उनको समझकर हम उसमें भी भाग लें, बोझा उठायें सब मिलकर, और सब मिलकर बोझा उठाएँ तो हल्का हो जाता है, और तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ते हैं।

अब आप ज़रा किसी कदर टण्डक में यहाँ बैठे हैं कुछ देर से। तो अब मैं भी अपना भाषण खत्म करता हूँ, और आपको बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

जयहिन्द। मेरे साथ कहिए तो तीन बार, जयहिन्द, जयहिन्द, जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins]

Sisters and brothers and children,

I have come to Abu after a long time. I do not remember exactly when I was here last. I think it must have been 25 years ago or more. I must have come here before many of you were even born. So now, as I stand here facing all of you who are gathered together here this evening, I am wondering what to say to you. There is any number of things to talk about, international affairs, national affairs and so on. There are things which I would like to talk about to the elders here. There are other things to say to the boys and girls, or the tribal people who are here. Then there are some things which are meant for everyone. So I am in a great dilemma.

I would like to say, first of all, that I am very happy to be in Abu after all these years and see this beautiful place once again. I thank the Municipality for the welcome address that they gave me just now. There is some mention in it that some offices from outside should be located here. Well, that may be a good idea. I cannot say anything about that. But let me tell you that often there is an argument about where offices should be located. This is not bad in itself. But you must understand that no city or state can progress because of a few offices. There may be some marginal difference. The problems before us are immense. It is not a question of a few offices or providing employment to a few thousands. The problems before us concern the whole of India and of uplifting the millions of men and women of this great country. It cannot be done by providing jobs to a handful of people or setting up new offices. We will have to look for other means and it is in this connection that we have taken up the five year plans. You must have heard about them.

Many of you might remember the days of the freedom struggle. The children and those of the younger generation might not know about that struggle. It was a difficult struggle as any struggle for freedom is bound to be. It is not an easy task to regain freedom. When a country becomes weak and lifeless, it is very difficult to infuse new life into it. You must remember that individuals and nations grow not by slogans or cunning, but because of their own strength and hard work. If you read the history of the world, you will find that the countries which have advanced have done so through their own effort and labour. Cunning does not take anyone very far. If you do not possess strength you will get caught; your trick will not work for long. I am telling you this because many of our youngsters think that they can achieve something by making noises and shouting slogans. But that is not so. Slogans are not bad but they should be backed by hard work, sacrifice and inner strength.

Now, the history of our struggle for freedom will be written in books. In

fact such a history has been written. And, as you know, there were several great leaders of those times, and the greatest was Mahatma Gandhi. He revolutionised the method of conducting the struggle. Many things about him will be recorded in history but his greatest achievement, which it is difficult to record, lay in the fact that in a sense he infused new life into the people of India, the majority of whom had been down-trodden for centuries. They were completely without any hope and nobody cared or bothered about them. There were millions of such poor, miserable human beings, peasants and tribals and others, who were completely helpless and suppressed by society. A man who has nothing to hope for automatically becomes weak and is incapable of doing any work. When this happens to an entire nation, it leads to its downfall. It cannot raise its head again until hope and courage and strength are rekindled once more and its self-confidence is bolstered up.

All of us feel that imperialism is bad. All right, it is bad. It is bad for one country to rule over another. But if you go deeper into it, you will find that it is much worse for a country to lack strength and confidence, to be lifeless and unable to control its own destiny. A country falls prey to foreign domination only when it is internally weak and lifeless which is what happened in India. So the greatest problem before Mahatma Gandhi was how to infuse a new life and spirit among the millions of people in India. So if you see the work of Mahatma Gandhi in India over nearly 30 years, through the Congress and in other ways, his chief aim was to make the masses strong and fearless and to teach them to hold their heads high. A man who is afraid can do nothing. A nation of cowards can achieve nothing. So he infused a breath of new life into the nation and led us towards freedom by peaceful methods.

Freedom came. But our task was by no means over. What is freedom? It means freedom from foreign domination. But the removal of foreign rule did not take away our poverty. The only thing that happened was that we got the reins of power into our hands, that is, in the hands of the people. But immediately we had to embark on a new journey, a journey more arduous than the previous one, for the goal was to uplift the forty crores of Indians, to work hard towards progress, to remove poverty from the country and to make the people well off. The millions of children, boys and girls, who live in this country, are the wealth of the nation. Gold and silver are not wealth. Real wealth consists of strong people, mentally and physically strong, well educated and of strong moral character. Man produces wealth; it is not the other way round. Man produces wealth if he is strong and well trained. So the millions of children in India are a national treasure and the country will be strong to the extent that they are strong in character, and they are trained in body and mind. The responsibility of running the country will fall upon them when they grow up. So the most

important thing is to look after our boys and girls, and give them adequate opportunities to be educated and trained in body and mind. They should get enough food to eat, clothes to wear, houses to live in, and opportunities for proper education and training. Everyone should get equal opportunity to advance which is not available today, as you know. The fact is that innumerable young children whose parents are poor do not get proper opportunities. Even if their parents love them, they do not have the wherewithal to give their children everything that they need. So these are big tasks. But how are we to provide for millions of children immediately? Where is the money to come from? How are we to open millions of schools and hospitals and provide food and clothes? After all, money does not come from anywhere outside nor can we go around with a begging bowl. We have to produce wealth by our own effort.

What is wealth? Is it gold or silver or money? Gold and silver may be beautiful but they cannot be consumed. They are merely tools of trade. The real wealth of a country consists of goods that are produced in the country, from land, from industries, from village craft, etc. All these things are the wealth of a nation. The more a country produces the richer it will be and the more there will be to be distributed among the people. We must make arrangements to ensure that the wealth that is produced does not remain in the hands of a few people. That is wrong. But to begin with there must be wealth to be distributed and that can come only with the hard work of the people, on land, in industries and in other ways. So ultimately we come round to the need to increase production for that is the only way by which we can take up the great national tasks and open new schools, hospitals and big industries. So it is a very complex problem.

You must have heard that the United States and England and other countries of the West are very rich. How have they become so rich? There were several factors which made it possible. One was that the people of those countries worked very hard. Secondly, they invented new techniques to increase production on land and in industries, etc. They have set up thousands of industries which produce an enormous amount of goods. All these things are the offshoots of science which has led to the invention of new machines and new techniques of production from land. They produce new kinds of fertilisers which increase production enormously. So they became rich and powerful. They are producing all kinds of new weapons with the help of science, which has made them strong militarily too. So the country which has advanced scientifically is powerful. Therefore it is essential to advance in the field of science and produce good scientists in the country.

Now, science teaches us one more thing. An ordinary human being, however strong he is, can do the work of two or three or at the most four men.

It cannot be more than that. But, as you know, even the smallest machine, whether it runs on steam or something else, can do the work of twenty or even one hundred men. Steam is a great source of power. People have always known about steam, which is an ordinary thing. But it was an Englishman who first discovered its potential as a source of power and harnessed it to run the wheels. And so the railway train came into being. It runs on steam. Suddenly a new source of energy had been discovered. Similarly, you see the electric light. Where does electricity come from? It has not appeared by magic. People have observed lightning in the sky for centuries and they used to perform pujas in the belief that some god was unhappy. But now even a child knows that it is part of nature like other things. Worshipping it will neither cause lightning to strike nor stop it. It is a manifestation of the power of nature, just like nature has many other sources of power. Then some people began to examine what lightning is all about and found that electricity could be produced by rubbing two things together. It was also discovered that this energy could be transmitted through wires and used to run various things. So industries were established and gradually the face of the world has changed completely because of science. Man has acquired new sources of power and one human being can do the work of one hundred or one thousand men with the help of machines and electricity. So the countries which are advanced in the field of science acquired great power because they were able to tap nature's powers.

You must have heard of the terrible thing called the atom bomb. One atom bomb can destroy a huge city and it is said that if there is a nuclear war the whole world will be destroyed. But atomic energy is also a source of power which can be used for good things as well as bad. There is no sense in blaming atomic energy. For instance, if you have a knife, you may use it for various useful tasks and also to cut off somebody's head with it. That will not be the fault of the knife. Similarly, you can use the natural sources of power for good as well as bad. It depends on your character and education. The atomic energy, which can destroy the whole world, can also be used for a thousand things for the good of the people.

So it is essential for you to understand these important developments in the world. Revolutions are not brought about, as our youth seem to think, by shouting slogans, taking out processions and making noises. That is no revolution at all. The biggest revolution is the one by which the condition of the people changes for the better. What can be more revolutionary than the discoveries of electricity and atomic energy which have changed the face of the world? We must try to grasp these things and find means of alleviating the sufferings of the people. It cannot be done by opening a few offices here and there. We must learn to harness the new sources of energy and the scientific advancement

which have transformed the world. But all this takes time. No one can acquire scientific knowledge all of a sudden. It takes ten to fifteen years. So science is being taught at a large number of places in this country. This is one thing. Secondly, it is very essential that the people who possess this power in their hands must be of good moral character because otherwise they can do untold damage to the world. I want you to understand this important thing.

The world that we are living in is a revolutionary one, revolutionary not in the sense of indulging in violence, like throwing bombs, or shouting slogans, which is childish, but something which changes the entire way of the life of a people and a society. What can be a bigger revolution than the one brought about in the world by electricity and atomic energy which have made the countries of the West immensely powerful and wealthy? We must also try to grasp these things and adopt the same approach. The good of our country lies in this and not by turning everything topsy-turvy. Even children must understand the nature of the revolutionary world that we are living in.

You often read reports in newspapers about incidents of bomb-throwing in some places and of preparations for war, etc. There are developments taking place in the United States and the Soviet Union and China. This too is a sign of a revolutionary world constantly in ferment, changing all the time. It is a terrible world. There are all sorts of terrible forces at work. But even more terrible are the minds of the people which are filled with anger, hatred and bitterness. All this is dangerous because when nations hold such terrible powers in their hands and their hearts are filled with hatred, nobody knows when all this may lead to total destruction. This is the great dilemma before the world. What is our duty at a time like this? We must consolidate our freedom and make the country strong, for weak and foolish people cannot retain their independence for long. It is only the strong who can remain free, and they must be prepared to make great sacrifices for the sake of their freedom. Those who do not advance will become weak and backward and poor. A poor country cannot be very powerful. We must progress fast in order to maintain our freedom and make the people better off.

Now look at the world today. Just a few days ago there were terrible upheavals in West Asia, in the Arab countries, and the turmoil has not ended yet. Then in East Asia, China, our neighbour, is a great country. In the last few months, there have been flare-ups on its border several times. As you know, it is our opinion that a grave injustice has been done to China. China has not been admitted into the United Nations and a puppet government at an island near the mainland of China is recognised officially as the Chinese government. It is really strange. There is no great wisdom in closing your eyes and to refuse to accept reality. It is strange that the world should refuse to recognise a great

country like China. It is dangerous too because if you refuse to accept reality, you will be misled and mistakes might be made leading to war. Even now the danger of war has not receded in East Asia. So it is absurd on the part of some countries not to recognise the existence of a mighty nation like China.

Take our neighbour, Pakistan, which was, till eleven years ago, a part of India until Partition created a new country. We accepted Partition with grief in our hearts for there was no alternative. We did not wish to hold on to the unwilling people. Eleven years have gone by and even now Pakistan has not become stable. All kinds of upheavals take place there which grieves us. We do not want the people of Pakistan to suffer. We wish them well for the people of Pakistan and the people of India were all together till recently, and now we want to live in peace and amity with our neighbour, with no interference in the internal affairs of each other. We do not wish to fight with anyone. But the fact is that Pakistan has been going through tremendous upheavals in the last eleven years. Just ten to fifteen days ago, its President abrogated the Constitution of Pakistan with an ordinance.⁸¹ The strange thing is that by abolishing the Constitution, the post of the President had also been abolished. Well, anyhow, it is their business and they can do what they like. Nowadays there is martial law in Pakistan, which is, in fact, no law at all. All this is not a good thing. I am trying to show you how a country can go wrong by deviating even slightly from the right path and get into terrible difficulties. The political instability leads to great suffering among the people and their economic condition is also not very good. These are not my observations. The President of Pakistan, who has abolished the Constitution and the Cabinet and the Council of Ministers, has himself said all this about the conditions in Pakistan.

It is for the people of Pakistan to find their own way. I have no desire to interfere for it is not our policy to interfere in the affairs of another country, whether that country is following the right path or not. Similarly, we do not wish any other country to interfere in our affairs. I am merely giving you an example to show how the whole world, whether it is Europe, the United States or Asia, is in turmoil. We must be even more vigilant at a time like this and not be led astray. We must not get embroiled in petty feuds among ourselves for otherwise we will face tremendous difficulties.

Anyhow, there are innumerable problems before us in India today which perturb us a great deal. Yet what impression you get or an outsider who visits the country gets? It is of a strong and stable country, in spite of the internal problems and feuds. As you know, twice in the last ten years, we have had big general elections, and the work in our country goes on according to the

81. See fn 76 in this section.

Constitution and our laws. I do not say that everything that is happening in India is good. Some of the things are bad, mistakes are made, but there is an effort to rectify them. People complain and are often unhappy. But India is stable politically and economically and steering a straight course. The five year plans are taking her on the path of progress.

What is a five year plan? It is something which encompasses all kinds of national tasks, economic and social: development projects, education, health, agriculture, industry, etc. It aims at making the people better off and we will not reach the end of this long journey until everyone in the country is well off and properly looked after, with good facilities for education and healthcare, opportunities for employment, etc. All this takes time. We will need not one but several five year plans. But we are moving in that direction step by step. We have made good progress during the First Plan, as everybody knows. With the Second Plan, we have taken a more ambitious step. We have invested more into it because the harder we work, the faster we will be able to progress. It cannot be done by merely drawing up a plan on paper. For instance, let us think of the five year plans as a journey and we may have travelled one hundred miles during the First Plan. Then during the Second Plan, we have decided that that is not enough and so we have set a target of two hundred miles. Now, that would obviously require much greater effort. Please remember that whether we progress faster or not, our problems are increasing all the time in a sense. For one thing, the population of the country is increasing rapidly, which means more mouths to feed. We require more food, more clothes, more houses and more of everything else. Arrangements for healthcare and education will have to be made for more people and employment has to be provided to all of them. If we do not progress faster than we are doing today, and the population keeps increasing, we will become poorer. Therefore it is essential for us to keep pace with the growing population and provide them with all amenities. So our progress should be fast. We cannot afford to move slowly. The growing population is like a sea in which we will flounder if we do not make progress at a fast pace.

So we have drawn up a more ambitious plan and are laying great emphasis on agriculture as well as industries. We require industries in order to open up more avenues of employment and to produce machinery and other essential goods which we now import from England, the United States, the Soviet Union and Germany and thus save our precious foreign exchange. That is all right. But no matter how many industries we put up, the most important thing will still be agriculture in India. If we do not produce enough food for our requirement, our industries will not flourish. What we produce in the fields should be enough for our requirement. If there is a shortage of food, we will be in difficulties for we cannot afford to import it from outside owing to shortage of currency.

This is the constant dilemma before us. Three years ago, when crops were damaged due to various reasons, we had to import foodgrains worth several crores of rupees from outside. We could have utilised that money for other more useful things, to set up industries, schools and hospitals, etc.

So the foremost thing is agriculture. What does that mean? You may say that that obviously means agricultural production. But the issue is the amount of production. In other countries they produce three or four times as much as we do from an acre of land. I do not know what the average yield per acre is in Rajasthan. But take wheat, for instance. Our average yield per acre is ten maunds per acre which is very little. When other countries produce twenty-five to thirty maunds per acre, why can we also not do the same? There is nothing wrong with our soil and our people are hard-working. But we have got into some old ruts and do not use good ploughs, seeds, fertilisers, etc., which will help to increase production. Wherever these small improvements have been made, production has doubled and is increasing. In Rajasthan, bunding has been taken up to conserve water for irrigation in fields by building small walls around the fields. Good seeds, better ploughs, fertilisers, all help in increasing production. There is no magic in all this. It requires thinking and hard work, as people in other countries have been doing.

So, you must realise that agriculture is our first priority for without adequate production of food, our industries will come to a halt. We must try to double our food production within ten years or maybe earlier, by the end of the Third Five Year Plan. Only then will we become strong and stable, and there will be enough for everyone to eat, including the growing population. We can use the money acquired by exporting the excess food to import machines.

So the first thing that we should remember is that our first priority is agriculture and, secondly, that we can also achieve what other countries have done. Wherever special effort has been made, production has been doubled or even trebled. Recently when I was in Uttar Pradesh⁸² I told the farmers there that they should produce more. One farmer came to me and said that he had produced fifty *maunds* of wheat from one acre of land.⁸³ I had the case examined and it was true. Look at the difference between eight to nine maunds per acre and fifty maunds. It is five times as much. I do not expect everybody to increase production five times, but you should be able to produce twenty maunds per acre in a few years. All our problems on the food front will be over then. So it is essential that the community blocks which are being set up in the villages should teach the farmers modern techniques and methods to increase

82. See fn 77 in this section.

83. See fn 78 in this section.

production. You must understand these things and go and explain them to the villagers. This is not something that can be done by officials. The task is that of the people and the panchayats.

As I have said elsewhere, there should be three things in every village. One, a strong panchayat. There is great responsibility on the panchs and the sarpanch for the village. They should have the responsibility and they should be given an opportunity to exercise responsibility. There should not be excessive interference by officials. Secondly, a cooperative society which will direct the economic activities in the village, like farming and other things. A small farmer lacks the strength to do very much on his own, to buy and sell, to procure things like good fertilisers or ploughs or seeds or small machines. But a cooperative society can do all this on behalf of the village community and help it to increase production enormously. The people will benefit greatly if they come together and work in mutual cooperation. Thirdly, there should be a school in every village. I know that it is not possible to have a school in every village immediately. But we are making every effort to see to it that there may be no child who does not have the opportunity to go to school. After all, it is only by education and training that he will learn to do his work well, whether it is on land or in industry or something else.

You must not think that education means a job in one of the government offices. How many people can, after all, be given jobs in offices? Perhaps a lakh or two or ten lakhs can get government jobs but not all the forty crores. The others will have to work on land or in industries and factories, etc. Government jobs are not bad. But it is foolish to think that everybody can get them. But the most important task before us at the present time is to increase food production. We must produce so much that we can tide over any crisis like failure of crops or damage due to other reasons. We must be in a position to challenge Nature itself.

This is one thing. The second thing is about industries and other professions. After all, the entire population does not work on land. There must be other avenues of work in the country. The first thing that the British did was to close down the factories which were in existence then, with the result that we became poorer. The pressure on land increased. It is because of this reason that Mahatma Gandhi laid great stress on village and cottage industries, as you may remember. It is not possible to provide jobs for everyone in factories, though big industries are essential and we are setting them up all over the country.

What is the basis of heavy industries? There are two things—one is steel which is required for small as well as heavy industries. We have some steel plants but they are not producing enough for our needs. Therefore, we are setting up four large steel plants at enormous cost. We are investing about one

hundred and fifty crores of rupees in each plant which is an enormous amount for a poor country like India. There are no returns at the moment because it will take another four-five years for the plants to go into production and in the meanwhile we have to sink in more and more money. You must have heard of Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur; Jamshedpur is an old plant. We are spending five hundred crores of rupees on them because steel is a basic requirement for our industries and once the output is large enough, India will become rapidly industrialised. That is why we are spending such enormous sums though there are no immediate benefits. That will come a year or two later when the plants go into production.

So, as I said, steel is a basic industry and the second is machine-making industry. If we have to keep importing machines from the United States or Germany or Japan, we will never advance. We must produce the machines ourselves and for that also we require steel. This is one thing. Secondly, where is the power to run these industries to come from? Heavy machines cannot be manually operated. You need some source of energy like steam power or electricity or atomic energy. So it is essential that we should produce electricity. There are many ways of doing so. You must have heard of the big river-valley projects from which hydro-electric power will be generated. These schemes have been taken up in Bhakra, Damodar Valley and other places in the country. If you want to know how advanced a country is, you must find out how much steel and electricity it produces. Then you will know how much power that country has. We must produce both these things. I have told you about two things that we are doing in this country. Both of them are the foundations upon which the edifice of India will be built. Industries will come up and with the wealth produced in them, schools and hospitals, etc., will be built. These are big tasks and can be successfully completed only when the country puts her entire strength into it. If there is disunity and fighting and arguments in the country and the people are lazy, we can achieve nothing.

At the moment, the entire world is looking towards India to see what the destiny of this ancient, historic country is going to be. It is a big thing for us and the world. You must understand that these five year plans and other things are not governmental things. They belong to the people, in the villages and cities, to the panchs, to the masses. Every one of you, boys and girls in schools and colleges, must read the Plan and try to understand it because everyone has a role to play in it. Please remember that 40 crores of people in India have embarked on a long journey. There are all kinds of people among them. Some are poor and downtrodden while the others are slightly better off. Everybody has to march together and the weaker sections of our society like the tribals and the Harijans must be given more help. A country cannot progress if half its

population is backward or illiterate. How can a handful of people go ahead while the others remain backward? The time has now come when everyone must participate in the task of nation building, each according to his or her ability and strength. It is obvious that everybody cannot do the same job. The farmer's job is different; the shopkeeper does something else and so on.

I would like to tell you one thing more. Recently the prices of foodgrains have gone up tremendously. A small rise would not have mattered, but they have gone up very high which is not right, and the wholesale dealers and retail merchants are all at fault. It is improper that they should take advantage of a national crisis to line their pockets. Efforts were made to bring down prices by explaining the situation to the merchants and when they saw that new laws might be passed against them, if they did not reduce the prices voluntarily, they complied. In Pakistan, ever since martial law was enforced, there is a very stringent rule against raising the prices—I do not remember exactly but it is either the death penalty or ten to twelve years' imprisonment.⁸⁴ Automatically, out of fear, the prices have crashed. So I want to tell the merchants and traders especially that they must certainly make some profit but unbridled profiteering and taking advantage of a crisis is wrong. Neither the people nor the government can tolerate it.

I want to draw your attention to another thing. The people of India follow many religions, which is quite understandable. The Hindus are in a majority, but there are Muslims, Christians, Jains, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists, etc. All these religions belong to India—some of them are indigenous to the country and others have come from other countries. But they came to the shores of India thousands of years ago and have now become part of India's culture. So everyone must live together in peace and amity. We must not only respect our own religion, but give respect to other religions too. More than two thousand years ago, Emperor Asoka had this message of religious tolerance and mutual respect for all religions engraved on stone. This is the ancient culture and civilisation of India. So we should not quarrel among ourselves. It is the caste system that has often been responsible for India's downfall in the past.

Religion is a good thing. But a lot of improper, wrong things are done and wasteful expenditure takes place in India in the name of religion. A lot of money is ill-gotten by some and is wasted. There are *maths* and mahants, and others. Some of them are good and others bad. There are some very good people among the sanyasis but there are some scoundrels too who pose as sanyasis. By wearing saffron-coloured robes, a sanyasi does not become a good man. Goodness depends on one's character and education. A lot of money pours in

84. See fn 79 in this section.

and it goes to mahants and others and they misuse it. This is a very improper thing. We shall have to find a way to deal with this problem. The government does not want to take away the money. But it should be spent in good causes like education and other things. It is good from the religious point of view also that the money is used for the good of the people and it is not put to any ill use.

There are many mahants in Rajasthan who are doing various wrong things. They will have to mend their ways. Otherwise a way will be found to compel them to do so.⁸⁵ I think this is the first time I am mentioning this matter in a public meeting but I have thought about it a great deal and we shall have to take some steps regarding these *maths* and mahants or whosoever else is involved. There are many of them in my own town of Allahabad, Prayag. Some of them do good work among the people. But there are others who cheat poor, gullible people and extort money from them under false pretexts. We must not accept these things. In fact, it is the people themselves who must take care and not allow themselves to be duped by such people. They should follow the real religion, and not a fraudulent one.

I have told you of many things which occupy my mind. There is always a desire in me to share my thoughts with the people because you and I, all of us, have to march together on our journey and for this it is necessary to understand what is happening in the country. I cannot sit in Delhi and rule while you blindly accept everything I do. I do not want such acceptance. I want acceptance which comes from your minds and hearts and from your understanding because that will ensure your real cooperation.

I want our young boys and girls and children to follow the right path. They must play and enjoy themselves too, for I do not want them to give up their childhood pastimes and get weighed down by the country's problems. They must play and read and become strong in mind and body. But they must follow the right path because ultimately a country travels in the direction in which the character of its people takes it. If the character of the people is strong and they are strong willed, the country will go far. A country does not become great merely because of its numbers. We cannot go far merely because we are forty crores of us. Forty crores of sheep cannot do anything. On the other hand, even a handful of courageous people can take the country very far. So I want all of you to understand the big tasks that we are undertaking in the country today. There is no point in repeating old lessons learnt by rote or shouting the same slogans. We must understand the revolutionary world of today and the revolutionary things that are happening in the country and participate in them and shoulder the burden together. A burden which is shared becomes lighter

85. See fn 80 in this section.

and we progress fast.

You have been sitting here in this cold for a long time. So I will finish my speech now. Thank you very much. Jai Hind. Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind.

[Translation ends]

(d) The Press

9. Press Conference—I⁸⁶

Subjects suggested for discussion:

Situation in Formosa

Pakistan

UP food situation

Racial riots in Britain

Interview given by Shri Morarji Desai to *Time* correspondent

Currency smuggling out of India

Loans to India

Kerala situation

Dumping of cheap Chinese goods

Implementation of Punjab Regional Formula

Prime Minister: What shall we talk about?

I think I may dispose of some of the minor things. Implementation of the Punjab Regional Formula.⁸⁷ Let it be implemented as rapidly as possible. That is my answer. It is a very good formula, an excellent formula. It should be implemented.

86. New Delhi, 7 September 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in File No. 43(73)/56-58-PMS and JN Collection.

87. The Punjab Regional Formula was one of the several schemes devised to solve the language problem in Punjab without recasting the State on linguistic lines. It was announced in March 1956 on the heels of negotiations between the Government of India and the Akali Dal. It provided for i) amalgamation of the Part B state of Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) with Punjab, ii) dividing it into Hindi and Punjabi speaking regions, iii) regional councils empowered to legislate on specified subjects.

Question: There is a statement from Master Tara Singh⁸⁸ that it is not being implemented. He wants to start an agitation.

Prime Minister: I am sorry I cannot keep pace with Master Tara Singh's statements. I am sorry but I just do not know what he has said. And it is a question you should ask the Punjab Government. Where do I come into the picture?

Question: Clarification from your side will remove any misunderstanding.

[New topic] Currency Smuggling

Prime Minister: Somebody asked me about currency smuggling. I really do not know what you expect me to say about currency smuggling.

Question: Is it a fact that a very substantial fund estimated at Rs thirty to forty crores of Indian currency is being smuggled out of India and is freely convertible into sterling in Persian Gulf areas where the rupee circulates as legal tender?

Prime Minister: Yes. It is difficult to say how much it is, but it is a fairly substantial sum. Those are regions of Western Asia, Persian Gulf and all that, where the rupee is legal tender. We are trying what we can, but it is not very easy to stop it so long as the rupee is legal tender there.

[New topic] Formosa

You know that it is a very serious situation. So far as we are concerned, we recognised the People's Government of China, and we do not recognise the Formosan Government. From that, it obviously flows that we are of opinion that these islands⁸⁹ should have pertained to the Chinese State. That has been our attitude not today, but right from the beginning, for the last eight or nine years. Three years back, there was a big crisis there, in the Far East, about these very islands, but fortunately the tension then eased. You will remember that there are two parts of this problem. One is the basic problem of Taiwan or Formosa. The other, which is a part of it, but the most immediate problem, is

88. Prominent Sikh leader; led the demand for a separate Sikh state.

89. Quemoy and Matsu.

of these offshore islands. These offshore islands are, I believe, about a dozen miles off the mainland. It is patent that no country can possibly like or tolerate an island twelve miles off its shore being used as a base for attack on it. It is an impossible situation. It is surprising that it has continued all this time. So we have no doubt whatever. We have said that these offshore islands and later Formosa—for the moment I am talking about the offshore islands—should go to China. We have however always pleaded that this question should be decided peacefully. And apart from pleading that, there is nothing more, because you cannot do anything else about it. Unfortunately it appears that rather rigid attitudes have been taken up on every side, and threats and the like are thrown at each other. There is no doubt in my mind, whether it is today or tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, that these islands will have to go to China. There can be not a shadow of a doubt. And this fact should be recognised and acted up to peacefully. There is nothing more that I can say about it.

Question: You talked of the peaceful settlement of this issue. Since the Peking regime is not recognised as a member of the United Nations, do you think this peaceful settlement is obstructed by its non-recognition?

Prime Minister: They are all tied up together. I suppose both flow from the fact of non-recognition.

Question: What is your reaction to the Chinese extension of territorial waters to the twelve-mile limit?⁹⁰

Prime Minister: I do not think there has been much excitement about it in Delhi, either in the External Affairs Ministry, or anywhere else. We have survived it, without thinking twice about it.

You know, there was a conference recently in Geneva, about these matters.⁹¹ And the conference could not really come to any agreed decisions. There have been two basic approaches in the past. The great powers, the great naval powers especially, were always in favour of this limit being a short one, so that they had an advantage; the shorter the limit the greater their advantage. So, all

90. On 4 September 1958, China extended the limit of its territorial waters from three to twelve miles offshore, covering the islands of Quemoy and Matsu. According to the official announcement, the new limit "applies to all the territories of the People's Republic of China, including the Chinese mainland and its coastal islands, as well as Taiwan and its surrounding islands." It also warned foreign ships and aircraft not to enter the limit without permission.

91. The United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was held at Geneva from 24 February to 27 April 1958. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 681-682.

along the nineteenth century and the twentieth century, they favoured a three-mile limit. That was put up with. Now, the tendency for other countries is to have a longer limit. Sometimes, it is six miles and sometimes twelve miles. There is no high principle involved in it.

I think at the Geneva Conference, we have taken up an attitude that it should be left to individual countries to lay down the limit, within certain limitations. But, as I said, no agreement was arrived at. It really does not matter what the limits are, provided countries are at peace with each other. It does not make much difference if the relations are peaceful; it does make a difference when the relations are not friendly and cooperative, and it does make a difference also in regard to fishing rights. There is rather a remarkable conflict going on now between one of the greatest world powers and one of the smallest countries, namely, Iceland and United Kingdom, over fishing rights.⁹²

Sometimes they lay down different areas for fishing purposes, one distance, and for other purposes, another distance. It does not follow that there should be only one for the lot.

Question: At the Geneva Conference, the stand that India took, as you said, was that each country should be free to fix its territorial waters up to a limit of twelve miles. Now that China has made this declaration of extending the limits of her territorial waters to twelve miles, does that mean that we for our part recognise that and accept it?

Prime Minister: There is no question of our accepting it or not accepting it. We are not concerned really. For our part, we certainly would not go about opposing it. We have no reason to oppose it. It does not really concern us. If it concerned us, we would probably try to come to an understanding. If we had any of our ships going up and down there, and if there were any difficulty about how they were treated and so on, we would try to come to an understanding about it.

Question: Does India propose to extend her limits to twelve miles?

Prime Minister: No, I think we have done it six miles. I do not quite remember what the position is, I have forgotten, but I think it is about six miles. Sometimes, difficulties arise when between two adjoining countries, these six or twelve

92. On 25 May 1958, the Government of Iceland unilaterally declared a twelve-mile limit to its territorial waters and forbade foreign fishing there after 1 September. The British Government rejected the claim, prolonged negotiations failed, and British fishing continued within the twelve-mile zone after 1 September.

miles overlap. Obviously adjoining countries are bound to overlap. I remember there was some needless worry in Ceylon when we declared our limit. We do not wish to come in the way of Ceylon in any way. We made a statement about our general six-mile limit.

Question: The US Army Secretary⁹³ met you yesterday. Would you throw some light on what one lakh of KMT soldiers are doing in the Quemoy Island,⁹⁴ and whether there are some American soldiers also there?

Prime Minister: He threw no light on that whatever. In fact, he did not mention it.

Question: With UN recognition of Formosa, is there any possibility of a solution by the UN to stave off the present crisis over these islands?

Prime Minister: I do not know what particular solution there can be. The immediate problem is that of the foreshore islands. The Formosa problem is there, but rather in the background; in the distance it is the foreshore islands that is the question.

Question: Is there a prospect of war coming nearer because of the fact that the USSR is backing China while the USA is supporting Formosa?

Prime Minister: I do not know. The situation is pretty serious. But finally everyone wants to avoid war. The only difficulty is that perhaps after succeeding in avoiding war a dozen times, sometimes countries may go too far and slip into it and come back. There is always that risk.

Question: Do you agree with the Canadian Prime Minister⁹⁵ that the whole issue should be committed to the United Nations?

Prime Minister: I do not quite understand how the United Nations can deal with a country which, in its view, does not exist. If it does not recognise the People's Republic of China, how can it deal with it?

93. W.M. Brucker.

94. The Kuomintang Defence Ministry on 1 September said that artillery on Quemoy Island had sunk 11 Communist Chinese vessels and damaged five others.

95. John Diefenbaker.

Question: In view of the fact that Communist China is not recognised by the UN and, therefore, it is causing some difficulties, would you care to move in the matter yourself to bring the two countries together?

Prime Minister: My own difficulty is that they are too near each other. It is not a question of bringing them together but setting them apart is the point.

Question: Have you taken any step to set them apart from each other?

Prime Minister: I am afraid not.

[New topic] Tibet

Question: Are there any reports of recrudescence of large-scale trouble in Tibet again?

Prime Minister: No, not that I know of. There were some minor reports of internal difficulties, but we have no knowledge of recent large-scale trouble.

[New topic] Pakistan

Now, I come to Pakistan. The Prime Minister of Pakistan is coming here in two days' time and will stay here nearly two days. The main purpose of this meeting and our talks is about these border disputes.

Question: Apart from the border disputes, won't you be discussing anything else?

Prime Minister: How can I say what we will discuss and what we will not discuss? We can discuss any subject. You will very much appreciate that when he is coming here for trifle under two days, and he has to go back by a certain time, because the 11th of this month is, I believe, the death anniversary of Mr Jinnah⁹⁶—he has to be back for a function there. So in this limited period, we can hardly discuss the world's problems or even all our problems. We are meeting to discuss a specific issue, but there is no bar to discussion of any other issue. But I say this is just not the time or the opportunity.

Question: Is he likely to come back again?

96. M.A. Jinnah, who was the Governor-General of Pakistan from 1947 to 1948, died on 11 September 1948.

Prime Minister: How do I know?

Question: What will be the effect of Pakistan having repudiated this agreement about the waters from these three rivers?⁹⁷

Prime Minister: This is the first time they have published their repudiation of this agreement or treaty which was made in 1948 between India and Pakistan. As a matter of fact, it is true that they repudiated it privately some years back. We never accepted their unilateral repudiation of that treaty. In fact, the basis of our supplying them with water from this canal system is more or less on the basis of that agreement. And, it is on the basis of that agreement also that they have paid or not paid, as the case may be, for that. What I mean is this: At that time, it was agreed that the payments demanded by India should be divided into two categories: (i) the accepted payments and (ii) the other disputed payments, disputed by them. They have paid, except for some lapses, now and then the accepted sums. And, I was supposed to decide every quarter as to what the accepted sum was and what the disputed sum was, or rather what came in the accepted category and what in the disputed category. It was really a calculation of what came within the disputed category and what in the other. Every quarter or so I write to them or rather our Government writes to them that I have indicated what the accepted sum is and what the disputed sum is.

Now, by and large, the accepted sum has been paid by them. In regard to the disputed sum, it was then decided that they should deposit the amount in the bank, not to be drawn either by us or by them, till the dispute is settled. As far as I remember, they have not been up to date at all in paying up the disputed sum; the accepted sums, they have paid.

Question: Do you regard Mr Firoz Khan Noon's sudden conversion to a policy of peace with India as an expression of sincere and genuine desire for peace?⁹⁸ Because, to follow his own line of argument, he has ruled out war against India not because he has faith in a peaceful and friendly

97. The waters of the Indus were apportioned between India and Pakistan by the Inter-Dominion Accord of 4 May 1948. By this, India was to release specified volumes of water against Pakistani payment. Pakistan repudiated the accord on 4 September 1958 claiming duress in 1948.

98. On 15 April 1958, Firoz Khan Noon offered a "no-war" declaration with India provided India agreed to settle all outstanding issues between the two countries by negotiation, mediation, or arbitration, and on 5 July 1958 at Lahore, he said, "talk of war between India and Pakistan is nothing short of lunacy."

approach but because he says war may mean stoppage of military aid to Pakistan?

Prime Minister: How can I discuss what motives for any declaration or action may be in the minds of the leaders of Pakistan? But I am quite sure that whatever anyone might say there, they must necessarily realise that a peaceful settlement of our problems and peaceful relations is the only final objective to aim at.

Question: Are you going to write accepting this abrogation of the agreement for canal waters? And if so, does it not follow that we should not supply waters subsequently?

Prime Minister: I have told you, they have been writing to us and we have been writing to them about it for a number of years, about this denunciation of that agreement. It is nothing new to us. It is only that they have announced it in their Assembly now.

Question: What exactly did Pakistan mean by the use of the term "duress"?

Prime Minister: I have myself asked them.

Question: When did they first repudiate it?

Prime Minister: I think they did it about two years after the agreement or maybe two and a half years. That will be sometime in the latter half of 1950. When this was first mentioned, I expressed my very great surprise, because I was myself involved in it; I am one of the signatories of it. It is not as if some officers had done it. On the other side, was Mr Ghulam Mohammad who became the Governor General of Pakistan, and the Ministers of the two Punjab Governments also were there.⁹⁹ It was as high level a conference as could be held. I played some considerable part in drafting that agreement then and there; it was not done elsewhere. We sat down and we drafted it and we initialled it then and there, that day.

I really could not understand it. It is rather surprising that this should occur to them two and a half years afterwards that this was done under compulsion. What compulsion? When I asked them, they said the compulsion

99. It was signed by Ghulam Mohammad, then Finance Minister of Pakistan, and Shaukat Hayat Khan and Mumtaz Daultana, then Ministers of the West Punjab Government. Ghulam Mohammad was the Governor-General of Pakistan from 1951 to 1955.

was, you might cut off the water. If we want to do that we could have done it, if we wanted to bring that kind of stress and strain on them. Obviously, we did not want to do it. But I repeatedly asked them then. I am not sure, but I think I wrote to Mr Ghulam Mohammad.¹⁰⁰ I said, "You were present there; will you tell us if you think that any compulsion or coercion was exercised on you or your colleagues?" To that I got no answer. There is no question of compulsion and there could be none.

Question: There have been a number of statements made during the debate on foreign affairs in the Pakistan National Assembly and a number of ex-Prime Ministers made statements, the bulk of them concentrating on attacking India.¹⁰¹ Would the coming talk serve any useful purpose if the psychology created by these speeches is taken into account.

Prime Minister: I do not want to say anything about the psychology of ex-Prime Ministers. I am still a Prime Minister. Maybe, when I am not a Prime Minister, I shall understand it better. Shall we go on to food and UP?

[New topic] Food Situation

Question: The statement of the Chief Minister of UP criticising Mr Jain's statement?¹⁰²

Prime Minister: I do not think the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh has grasped the context of Mr Jain's statement. It is one thing to consider the constitutional liability. The question was discussed in the Lok Sabha as a constitutional issue. It is quite another thing if you like to call it the moral liability, and obviously the Central Government cannot say to any State: "You go to blazes; we are not

100. In fact, Nehru wrote, on 12 September 1950, to Liaquat Ali Khan, then Prime Minister of Pakistan. See SWJN/SS/15 pt I/pp. 320-322.

101. During the two-day debate in the National Assembly of Pakistan on 3 September 1958, former prime ministers, Chaudhuri Mohammed Ali and H.S. Suhrawardy, spoke in that vein.

102. At a press conference in Lucknow on 5 September, Sampurnanand, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, was critical of Ajit Prasad Jain, the Union Food Minister. He said that food was not the sole responsibility of the State Government, that it could not freely assume powers under the Essential Powers Act, that food was on the concurrent list also, that he had been asking for the export of rice from UP to be prohibited, and that the UP Government was not an independent state to act on its own. Rice export from the three eastern districts of UP was subsequently banned.

responsible for you". That is an impossible position; food or any other thing, we are responsible. But the question raised was a constitutional one.

So far as the food position is concerned, obviously it is due basically to certain shortages. Those shortages are not too great. I am of course keeping in mind the imports that have come. With the imports we have had, we have enough if we take care. Even now, take UP for instance. It is not correct to say that there is not enough food in UP, in the godowns of the Government or the traders, fair price shops and all that.

I don't think the rather sudden spurt in prices in UP about two or three weeks ago was justified by the facts. There was a certain element of artificiality about it. You might say that a little rise might have been justified but not that much. The heavy rains which came just then, followed by waterlogging and all that for a few days, made transport difficult; foodgrains could not come into the mandis. It could not go to certain places. That was an immediate cause for a local rise in prices, which ought to have been a temporary affair, but I think unfair advantage was taken of this situation and of certain scares by some members of the trading community to raise their prices more. It is very improper, I think.

You realise that in these matters there is the basic question of the quantities available and there is a certain psychology created, the psychology of shortage, the psychology of fear that a person may not get something later. Unfortunately this psychology has been created or intensified. So a situation that was a difficult one, has been made much more difficult, if I may say so without meaning any ill, by the activities of the Opposition parties in UP. If you go about saying all the time what they have been saying, the result is that the farmer does not part with such foodgrains as he has got, and the shopkeeper also wants to raise his prices to get as much as he can. All that wrong type of psychology is created.

I am not for a moment absolving the Government of its responsibility. I am not saying that they are not responsible for this, but I am merely pointing out that a difficult situation was made much more difficult by the statements and activities of the Opposition in UP. I still think that the difficulty there can be met and is being met in fact. You may have noticed a certain tendency for prices to come down. Partly that was due to the realisation by the traders, if you like, due to the pressure of public opinion on the trading community to bring down prices. I know for a fact that in some places they brought down the prices because of that. Take, for instance, Khurja or Dehra Dun.¹⁰³ Also there are some new crops coming in, being harvested; what is it called? Sawan

103. The foodgrain prices had come down in Khurja and Dehra Dun. See items 169 and 172.

crop; and in about ten or twelve days, corn or maize will come in; so that the peak of the difficulty is more or less past although, of course, some of it will remain.

I am not too much worried about the immediate difficulty. We shall get over it. I am worried and exercised about this basic problem of food production, because after all the only way to deal with it is to increase our food production considerably. I do think that various forces have been set in motion which are likely to lead to good results, relatively good results, next year, next Rabi and after. But even so, I confess, I am not satisfied and I hope that more progress would be made on this front, even more than what has been laid down.

Someone asked me about the meeting I held the day before yesterday, when I invited some leaders of Opposition parties in Parliament.¹⁰⁴ You may remember that Acharya Kripalani made this suggestion in his speech in the Lok Sabha, and I gladly accepted that and invited them. We had a friendly and cooperative meeting. I do not say that we are likely to agree always and there is no reason why we should agree always. I don't understand this total agreement business. But the point is an attempt, a mental attitude of cooperating and forgetting the party approach to a problem like the food problem. And so this informal committee that I have formed, I intended it to be a continuing committee, not to meet once and part. But we shall meet, I hope, at more or less frequent intervals. You see, the problem may be divided into three parts—the immediate, the short term and the long term. For the moment, we are dealing with the immediate problem; the short term one will no doubt follow. I should like our State Governments also to follow, more or less, the same policy, that is, invite the cooperation of the Opposition groups in this food problem. But it does become a little difficult to do so when, what is called Direct Action or satyagraha is taking place. Whom is one to invite, and how is one to invite? In UP, I see that Dr Sampurnanand has said that he would like to confer with them and discuss with them these matters; but it is just not feasible when they are not there to confer with, and instead are leading batches of satyagrahis somewhere else. It is obvious that whatever justification for criticism or resentment there might be in the policy of the Government, on the part of the Opposition, it is obvious that by the action they are taking they are not helping the solution, but they are hindering the solution of the food problem. That is as obvious as anything can be, and one is inevitably driven to the conclusion that this is for political reasons that they are doing this. They do not increase food production. They do not add to better distribution or anything else.

104. For Nehru's note on the meeting held on 5 September 1958, see item 172.

Question: Dr Sampurnanand has said that the Centre has not accepted the demand for the inclusion of UP into the Punjab Zone, and even in the matter of the Essential Supplies Act, it is the Centre which has to decide; and therefore, the State Government even if it wants to do anything about decreasing the price or getting the availability of supplies, it cannot do without the permission of the Centre.

Prime Minister: It is true that the Centre, after consultations, etc., has created certain zones which are supposed to be, more or less, self sufficient. There are some other restrictions too. But surely that does not mean that the State loses its freedom to do much. Does the State want freedom, let us say, to get wheat from the Punjab? Surely if the Punjab says "No" then whose freedom is to prevail, the Punjab's "No" or the UP's "Yes"?

Question: You rightly said that the rise in prices in UP was not justified in the circumstances and, since this has become an endemic habit of traders for the past eleven years to raise prices on every occasion, would you like to implement the promise you made before independence to hang a few of them?

Prime Minister: I never said that. It is oft repeated but what I said twelve years ago was with reference to the Bengal famine. I said, "Any person, who has made money at the cost of the death of thousands of persons ought to be hung." That is what I said.

Question: Won't you consider some other firm steps to stop this tendency to raise a scare and then raise prices?

Prime Minister: We consider every step. If you have any suggestions you can send them on to me.

Question: One suggestion is that the anti-social activity in the country should be declared an offence punishable with capital punishment. There is no other way to remove these anti-social elements. This is very simple. In Kashmir, they flogged a few of them and brought down the prices.

Prime Minister: It is rather easy for you or for me to make these statements, but it is much difficult to give effect to them unless you want to put an end to all our system of judiciary, law, the Supreme Court and others. They come in the way all the time, and if I may say so, normally they come in the way

rightly too.

Question: You are reported to have suggested to the Chief Ministers of various States that they may take over the Food portfolio to inspire greater confidence in the people in the States. Do you propose to take over the Food portfolio at the Centre?

Prime Minister: I do not know what impression you have as to the relations of Ministers inter se. The food portfolio is not a separate State or Empire controlled by the Minister for Food and Agriculture. We have a Food Committee of the Cabinet. There is hardly a day on which I do not discuss the matter with the Food Minister or communicate with him, in Cabinet, outside and informally. The fact that a person holds a portfolio naturally places him in a special position in regard to that subject. But, so far as the policies are concerned, especially in the matter of food in India, they are all policies of the Government and I, as Prime Minister, come into them even more than any other Member of the Government, I mean by way of consultation and the rest. Then, there is the Planning Commission and much more coordinated decisions are arrived at there. They may be right or wrong; that is a different matter but these are not independent decisions of anybody.

Question: You said that the fundamental problem is to increase food production. In this task, what precise role do you assign to land reform? In this context, may I draw your attention to the latest land legislation of the Andhra Government which fixes a ceiling of Rs 5,400 net income? Do you think that this kind of land legislation will ensure the land reforms that you have in mind?

Prime Minister: If you will forgive me, I shall not discuss the land legislation of States. I shall not fall into the error of some Chief Ministers who criticise the Central Government, and I shall not criticise the State Governments.

Question: May I ask a general question? What are the reasons for less production in our country besides floods and drought?

Prime Minister: Basically backwardness in agricultural techniques, and lack of resources of the agriculturist. These two act and react on each other, of course. There is a psychological aspect too. People have been so much in the rut, they cannot pull themselves out too easily; and they have lost—not now, even before—that spirit of relying on themselves and expect the Government to do

the job for them. It is bad spirit.

Question: Are you considering the feasibility of introducing some form of rationing in the urban areas and in the industrial areas, because there are press reports and the authorities have warned the traders here that unless they brought down the prices some kind of rationing may be introduced?

Prime Minister: Such a situation can arise when there has to be rationing, when it possibly cannot be avoided. Of course, nobody likes rationing partly because of the difficulty involved in it, and we are trying to avoid it, but a situation may arise. I do not think it will now arise because the situation is slightly improving, but all these are, you will remember, remedies to meet a critical situation. The main thing is: greater and far greater production. I think that production can only come by a fundamental and frontal attack on the out-of-date agricultural practices, ways of thinking, and in providing better seeds, better manure and fertilisers, plus better training.

Question: The better type of fertilisers are mostly going to the advantage of cash crops and they are not sufficiently made available for purposes of food production.

Prime Minister: Therefore we should have more fertilisers for both.

Question: Don't you realise the political implication of the party in power inviting the cooperation of the Opposition parties in the solution of the food problem? Naturally the Opposition parties will ask: what have you done during the last ten years?

Prime Minister: Well, if they have not got their history straight, we shall tell them.

Question: There are these implications behind the same suggestion because once you form these committees of the Opposition parties also to consider the food problem, naturally their next demand will be: without power we cannot do anything; therefore there must be sharing of power.

Prime Minister: We want to share with them their ideas, their suggestions, everything. If you mean executive power, of course the Opposition cannot demand it, so long as it is in the opposition. But in a democratic government, in Parliament, we have all kinds of committees functioning, composed of various

parties and various groups. We have got Select Committees and apart from them there are various other committees composed of all parties and groups. There is nothing at all odd about it. In fact, the choice before us is whether we should have, as was suggested, a rather formal committee of Parliament to consider food position questions, including members of the Opposition, or we should have an informal committee. I was prepared for either, but I myself thought, and when I discussed it with some of the leaders of the Opposition, they agreed with me that an informal committee would be better. It is flexible; there were no hard and fast rules governing it; we could relax the rules in an informal committee and all that. But there is no constitutional impropriety in having a formal committee. One must get out of the rut of thinking that an opposition has to oppose on every problem.

Question: You declared that food is a national problem and you would discard party approach to it. Doesn't it follow that decisions of this informal committee would be automatically put into action without any undue interference from the Cabinet or from the Food Ministry?

Prime Minister: There will be no decisions of the informal committee as such, unless the Members of the Government on that committee agree to them. If the Members of the Government agree to them, the Cabinet will agree to them.

Question: Little progress has been achieved, because the modern knowledge about agriculture has not reached the farmer?

Prime Minister: That is what I meant. Everything is known to us or to those who issue directions, Food Departments and Agriculture Councils and all that. All these modern techniques are very well known. Some have been evolved here, but they do not seep down to the farmer. That is the problem. It is there that the Community Development schemes and blocks come into the picture. We have built up this Community Development scheme; it is a magnificent scheme, and it is amazing how it has spread in under six years over this vast land of India to 300 thousand villages. It is true that in doing so, it has become rather difficult and we have not been able to keep the quality as we wanted to. Nevertheless, a basis has been laid of a tremendous organisation all over India. It is that organisation, and that alone, that can tackle this food problem, and take better ways to the farmer; not by some direction from top, but by doing the job themselves with him. That is the only way to do it.

Question: Would you also consider the advisability of issuing a directive

that agricultural exhibitions and seminars are not held in the urban areas but in the rural areas?

Prime Minister: I thought they were held in the rural areas, maybe held in Delhi sometimes, but I think they are quite adequately held in rural areas. In fact, our directive is that in every community block, there should be a permanent model farm and a semi-permanent exhibition there.

Question: But they are always held in the urban areas. An international exhibition is going to be held in New Delhi.¹⁰⁵

Prime Minister: That is not an agricultural one that is going to be held here.

Question: For this they have asked for a subsidy of Rs five lakhs from the Government of India?

Prime Minister: After all, a city is a centre of rural areas too. Suppose you had it in one corner, in some village of Delhi; no doubt, it would be a good thing, but other villages will be far away from it.

Question: Talking about more food production, has your attention been drawn to the fact that some who know agriculture have suggested that this unit of thirty acres is a big hurdle in the way of more production and probably for that reason the Andhra Government has gone away from Rs 3,600 to Rs 5,400 limit?

Prime Minister: Many people have suggested, and it is an argument that can be advanced, that in a big farm, you can introduce newer techniques more easily than otherwise. On the other hand, that argument applies only to a very, very few persons who have more than thirty acres in India. You must remember that the vast majority of people in India have, I forget, an acre or two. How are we to deal with them? We cannot liquidate them and make big farms out of them. The only way therefore is to have these small farms organised in cooperatives so that they get the benefit of working together, of, in a sense, largeness, and yet maintain their own farms. I am all in favour of the small cooperatives you know.

105. The India 1958 exhibition opened in New Delhi on 8 October 1958.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[New topic] Morarji Desai's Interview to *Time* Correspondent

May I enquire why you are exercised about what Mr Morarji Desai said?¹⁰⁶

Question: It is a very important portfolio. Whatever a Member of Government says should be taken very seriously.

Prime Minister: Perfectly true, but what is wrong with what he said?

Question: We take particular objection to his condemning the whole nation as mentally and physically weak? Members of Government should speak more responsibly.

Prime Minister: You can ask him when he comes back, what he said, what he meant. I think what he said was, he referred to past history, not the present. I differ from him in the interpretation of our past history, but that is a different matter.

[New topic] Foreign Aid

Question: In connection with this mission abroad, the national mission of getting foreign aid, you must have seen the humiliating plight of this country being described as bankrupt and insolvent and so on. Can you draw any lesson for future planning by this?

Prime Minister: I must say that while naturally I am grateful to the countries that are giving us loans and credits because we needed them, and I am very grateful to them. But the type of press comments that have been made—not the countries' governments, but the press comments that have been made—to the effect that India is on the verge of bankruptcy and insolvency, well, it has not been very agreeable reading. Of course it has absolutely nothing to do with facts. India's economy is a strong economy. Let there be no doubt about it and to talk about insolvency and bankruptcy is to display an exceeding ignorance of the subject. The fact that in the process of our development, our foreign

106. The reference is to certain statements made by Morarji Desai, the Union Finance Minister, in an interview to *Time* magazine. See item 16.

exchange commitments outrun our resources for the moment is not an unusual fact in the history of countries. And most of the very big and important countries in Europe have not met their commitments in the past. They have just not met them. Nobody has, I think, called them bankrupt and insolvent. In fact they repudiated them. As for a lesson for the future, the lesson always of course is that we must rely on ourselves. What else?

Question: When I said about the lesson for the future, I had in mind more the fact that while drawing up the Second Plan we had provided for external assistance to the order of Rs 1,200 crores. I want to know whether while drawing up the Third Plan, on which you are concentrating now, there will be no allowance for external assistance and the country will have to depend on its own resources.

Prime Minister: I am not going to tell you now what the Third Plan is going to be, because I do not know wholly myself. How can I tell you? There are certain factors which have to be borne in mind. What you say is one factor. Another factor is that we must go ahead fast, and we cannot simply sit down. Some people say: "Do not go fast; do not be ambitious." We are going to be ambitious; we are going to be over-ambitious and very ambitious. We are not going to fail, I hope, by too much caution and too much fear of progress.

What else?

[New topic] Dumping of Chinese Goods in India

Somebody said something about Chinese dumping. We know that in Hong Kong and elsewhere Chinese goods are coming out at a very low price, and it may be that in some places they may compete with Indian textiles. Why should we begin crying about it or shouting about it? We have to face it.

Question: In a meeting of the Export Promotion Advisory Council in Delhi last week, the President of the Textile Export Promotion Council said that India was facing a very grave threat from China and suggested that we must take up the matter at diplomatic level either with the Chinese Government or persuade President Nasser, for instance, not to allow Chinese Government to dump textile goods in Egypt, because these things are not only undermining our efforts for promotion of exports, but are even cutting into our traditional market.

Prime Minister: I do not know who the President of the Export Promotion Council is. I should like to tell him that kind of thing is not done.

Question: Has your attention been drawn to the fact that one of the reasons for the dwindling export trade of India is that our manufacturers do not produce the right type of things? Do you know that our manufacturers show a certain sample and the goods actually supplied are not the same as the sample, and that is why we lose some of the markets?

Prime Minister: Well, it may have happened sometimes. As a matter of fact, what is happening here, and is likely to happen, is that gradually the nature of our exports is going to change. Of course, the fundamental exports have been jute, tea and all those things. And they will continue. Textiles have in the last few years come into the picture. They are likely to continue, though they may have to compete with Japan, China and, maybe, other countries too. But, more and more, I think, you will find other types of exports coming in, like small machines and the like. I have no doubt that our exports will go up.

[New topic] Speculation about Nehru's Successor

Question: Some of the foreign papers are maintaining that Mr Desai will succeed you. Are you in agreement with it?

Prime Minister: The choice of my successor, in the inevitable course, will lie in others than me. When I am no more, either as Prime Minister or in the world of the living, people will choose who will succeed me. Why should I worry myself about it, I do not know, really.

A correspondent: Gandhiji chose you.

Prime Minister: Not at all. Don't get mixed up. First of all, Gandhiji's choice was an expression of opinion [and] had no relation to Prime Minister's and the like; it was on another field that he spoke.

[New topic] Goa

Question: Has there been any development in the liberation movement of Goa? We have not heard about it for a long time. What is the status of Dadra and Nagar Haveli which liberated themselves sometime ago? Are those areas incorporated into India?

Prime Minister: The status of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and others is rather an odd one. They are not in India certainly, constitutionally or legally. They liberated themselves, or their people did it, and they manage their own affairs—a few small villages. Naturally, it is obvious that they could not do so unless they have the goodwill of India. But they liberated themselves and they carry on, and I am told that they are carrying on fairly well.

As for generally the Goan question, there has been no marked change. Some little time ago, some Indian prisoners and others too were released.

[New topic] Racial Riots in England

I do not know enough about them, but I was interested naturally in finding out whether any Indians were involved.¹⁰⁷ My information is that by and large, they were not involved in this, and that, whether accidentally or deliberately, one Indian suffered damage, but otherwise, Indians were not involved. Naturally I regret these riots. What more can I say?

[New topic] Reorganisation of Bombay State

Question: After your speech at Aurangabad about the reopening of the Bombay issue, there has been some communication to you from the President, according to the reports, that the issue can be opened earlier than the next general election.

Prime Minister: What I said at Aurangabad was really a repetition and an elaboration of what I have been saying all along.¹⁰⁸ It is basically this: that this question was decided by Parliament and decided by a bigger majority, not by a unanimous vote certainly, but by a vote of all the parties there, excepting the Communist group. We did not wish to push through anything against persons' wishes. We tried to do our best. The proposal accepted by Parliament was a proposal put forward by a leading Member of the PSP in Parliament, and we accepted it and it was passed. We are bound down by Parliament's decisions; only Parliament can set it aside. If those people who do not agree with this matter want to change it, they should adopt democratic and parliamentary methods. They may take a little time, if you like, but the other methods may not succeed either, and may take even longer. I do not know what the consequence

107. There were race riots in London, 30 August–7 September.

108. For Nehru's speech at Aurangabad on 23 August 1958, see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 60-81.

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of any change might be, because, once you upset something, unforeseen consequences arise.

I said further, that in the final analysis, it is the people of those areas whose will must prevail, but this is not the way of making a will prevail, by violence and arson, incendiarism and all that. This is really attacking the basic structure of the state.

Question: Can Parliament come to any decision until and unless you agree to it?

Prime Minister: There are methods. I said at Aurangabad that I strongly disagreed with the disintegration and separation of Hyderabad, but as people wanted Hyderabad to be split up into three parts, I submitted to it.

Question: So far as Parliament is concerned, undoubtedly the Congress holds a majority, much more than even in the Bombay Assembly. You say that it is Parliament's decision. The PSP leader who, at that time, took that view has publicly stated that he has changed his view, if you had Mr Asoka Mehta in mind. Therefore, the question which is often asked is: what do you mean when you say that Parliament has to decide, when the majority Party is the Congress Party?

Prime Minister: There are democratic ways of considering and discussing a matter, apart from the question of final voting in Parliament. There are obvious difficulties. I do not know what the final shape might be, if the matter is reopened. I have no power to close the door to any change. I cannot do it; nobody can do it.

Question: Can any inference be drawn from the results of the by-elections since the last election? Is it an indication of the way of things in that region?

Prime Minister: I should imagine that, broadly speaking, in the Maharashtra area, they had been in favour of the candidates standing for a separate Maharashtra province.

Question: Is it conceivable that before the next elections, the Congress itself will take the initiative to have a change? Otherwise, if any of the Opposition parties takes the initiative, will you give the Congress members freedom to vote?

Prime Minister: You are asking what will happen two or three years later. How can I say about that? There is one more question.

[New topic] Kerala

Question: What about your talks with Mr Namboodiripad?¹⁰⁹

Prime Minister: Surely, you would not expect me to make public my talks with anybody. They are rather personal and private.

Question: At the end of the talks Mr Namboodiripad said that the relations with the Centre are not as happy as he would desire them to be. During the course of his talks had he indicated the state of affairs or conditions prevailing in Kerala? As a result of that, is there any change in your opinion or has your opinion been further strengthened?

Prime Minister: I do not think I have referred to Kerala at any time, except in two press conferences, one in Calcutta and one in Delhi.¹¹⁰ I referred to the Kerala situation on both occasions, in answer to questions. I did not wish to go out of my way and say anything about the Kerala situation, because I try to observe the proprieties between the Central and State Governments, between the Prime Minister and the Ministers of State Governments. I have, sometimes, criticised, rather strongly, some State Governments, that is, Congress Governments. I have not hesitated to do that in regard to some matters. Nevertheless, I do not like, by and large, for the State Governments and the Centre to enter into wordy warfare. That is why when I was asked in Calcutta, I rather tried to avoid saying much, partly because I did not know all the facts or things that were happening. Now, my trying to avoid saying much led some people to say that I was patting the Kerala Government on the back. That was not correct. I said that the people of Kerala have been among the most peaceful in India.¹¹¹ I was contrasting that to their present condition when they are not

109. Namboodiripad met Nehru in New Delhi on 21 August 1958.

110. The press conference in New Delhi was held on 3 July and in Calcutta on 27 July 1958. For the proceedings of the press conferences, see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 585-607.

111. At a press conference in Calcutta on 27 July 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/p. 331, fn 4, and p. 604. The *National Herald* of 28 July 1958 reported: "Paying a tribute to 'peaceful mind of the people of Kerala', the Prime Minister said apart from politics and other things, 'Kerala is the most peaceful area in India. The people there do not break their heads. It is, therefore, most unfortunate if these people indulge in violence'."

peaceful. This sentence was taken out to show how peaceful Kerala is now, although that was in contrast to the previous years. So, last time, here in this room, in the conference when you asked me this question, to the best of my recollection, I said that a considerable section of the community in Kerala have a feeling of insecurity. I said further that some incidents, notably two, had shocked me greatly.¹¹²

These are two statements that I made. These statements appear to have somewhat displeased and almost unnerved many of the authorities in the Kerala Government. Numerous references have been made and numerous leading articles have been written in some of their newspapers, resolutions passed, theses produced, on the subject of the Centre and the States. I was surprised at this reaction to a statement which I made, a statement than which nothing could have been simpler and a statement which can hardly be challenged by anybody.

I repeat that the statement was that a considerable section of the community feel insecurity there. How can anybody challenge that? You may say that the proportion of those feeling insecurity is less or more. One may challenge the percentage of it. As a matter of fact, nobody can challenge it. So, I am surprised at these tremendous reactions there.

Naturally, I have been going into this matter of facts again, and have spoken to some people from Kerala including the Chief Minister, and I found no reason whatever to change my opinion or what I said here. In fact, it has been confirmed by subsequent developments and subsequent information, about this state of insecurity. I do not for a moment say that the Opposition parties there have acted rightly all the time. I am not for a moment trying to defend them, but naturally the responsibility lies much more on the Government when such things happen, and they have to produce a psychology of security.

Remember when I say security and insecurity, the insecurity of, let us say, a dacoit-infested area is one thing. It is a failure of law and order in a dacoit-infested area, somewhere, let us say, in Madhya Pradesh, in those ravines. But it is another thing to have some kind of political insecurity which is slightly different. Political parties being made targets and political parties being protected from targets, create a new situation.

It is an unfortunate situation. It may be, I do not know, that the Government of Kerala has not brought about this situation deliberately, but it becomes a natural consequence of some steps they may have taken. I am sure they do not

112. The reference is to Nehru's press conference in New Delhi on 7 August 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 607-627, here p. 615-622.

like insecurity. Who likes it? No government likes it but it may be the result of some step one takes and forces are let loose which cannot be controlled.

Question: Would it not be better on the part of the Opposition parties in Kerala not to shout about insecurity but cooperate with the Government in arriving at an agreement for promoting security in that State just as you prescribe for the Opposition parties in UP that instead of going about talking of shortages of food they should cooperate with the Government and solve the problem?

Prime Minister: I am opposed to people shouting anyhow. You must remember that I am rather an old person getting on to sixty-nine. I am myself surprised how old I am. I would not have believed it but for the historical evidence of it. And my birth was in the 19th Century; remember that. It seems ages ago. I was bred up in this 19th Century and early 20th Century tradition when shouting was considered rather bad.

Question: You said that it might be an inevitable consequence of some steps taken by the Kerala Government. Now, the approach of the administration and formulation of policies by the party in power there and that in the rest of India, can the two coexist?

Prime Minister: I won't argue that. That is too difficult a question. It depends on the degree, and all that. They may or they may not.

[New topic] Bhutan Visit

Just I have one thing to tell you. I am going, in eight or nine days, to Bhutan. Long years back the Maharaja of Bhutan invited me to go there and I have been wanting very much to go there but I found that no country in the wide world is so inaccessible as Bhutan. It is most extraordinary, it is difficult, as most countries have opened out; even to Tibet you can go by air. Here to Bhutan, you have got to walk up to it or, if you like, ride a mountain pony about fourteen or fifteen miles a day over high mountain passes. It takes me six days from Delhi to reach one of the border towns of Bhutan. It means twelve days just for going and coming, and as I intend spending four or five days there it means about sixteen to seventeen days' absence, a long absence; you could go to the far ends of the earth and come back.

10. Talk with Pressmen¹¹³

Nehru Returns to Delhi;

Conclusion of "Fascinating Trip" to Bhutan; Comments on Events in Burma
(From Our Correspondent)

New Delhi, Oct. 2. Prime Minister Nehru, who returned to the Capital this evening from Bhutan, was given a rousing reception at the airport. Mr Nehru, who was been cut off from world events in far away Bhutan, with no modern means of communication, faced a battery of questions from Pressmen on current developments, particularly in Burma and Tibet.

Mr Nehru commenting on the events in Burma said, "It is not the Army but U Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, who decided, himself, what should be the proper arrangement for the interim period".

On Tibet, Mr Nehru said, "Obviously conditions in Tibet, from such reports as one gets here are not fully normal".¹¹⁴ He could not say anything further on that subject or about Algeria or about the resumption of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union because, as he himself explained, he had not read any newspapers for the last two weeks and did not get much information about world events except occasional radio messages from Delhi. "It is extraordinary how one could get out of touch with the outside world for more than two weeks", said the Prime Minister. He went on to give a graphic account of what he called "the fascinating trip to the lovely country of Bhutan". The Prime Minister, a lover of mountains, went into raptures describing his journey and all that he had seen.

Mr Nehru looked tanned but was suffering from a severe cold. He told his friends that he had contracted it, not in Bhutan, but in Gangtok, yesterday.

Exhilarating Trek

The Prime Minister said: "The main thing is that I have had a fascinating time in this exhilarating trek to Bhutan and my stay in that lovely country, which is unlike any other country, being difficult and inaccessible". Paying a tribute to

113. Palam Airport, Delhi, 2 October 1958. *The Hindu*, 3 October 1958.

114. The *National Herald* of 3 October 1958 reported, "The Prime Minister was asked to comment on reports in the foreign press about disturbed and abnormal conditions in Tibet. (Pandit Nehru passed through some Tibetan territory on his way to Bhutan). The Prime Minister said, 'What can I say? I passed through Yatung late in the evening. But from such reports that I have had, obviously conditions in Tibet are not fully normal. But apart from that it is difficult for me to say anything'."

the people of Bhutan, Mr Nehru said, "They are a brave people, tough people, these Bhutanis, not having any modern amenities. Yet many of them are possibly better off than those who have modern amenities. They have good food to eat. They have fairly good housing, no unemployment, and mind you, there are no beggars at all in Bhutan, though, of course, they have not the knick-knacks of civilisation.

When asked whether the Bhutanis were happy about the offer of help from India, Mr Nehru replied, "There is no formal offer of help. This offer has always been there. You will be surprised to know that they are reluctant to have any help and are not happy to have any help from us, though, if they had asked for it they could have got it".

Asked what the reaction of the Bhutanis was to the possibility of civilisation overtaking them, Mr Nehru said, "I do not know what the reaction of the Bhutanis is, but if I was a Bhutani I would be anxious to avoid the flow of civilisation coming over, traders, money economy, poverty. But gradually they will have to adapt themselves, though not in a sudden rush".

The Prime Minister smilingly brushed away questions about reports of an attempt to kidnap him, saying that he only heard it while on his return.¹¹⁵

In spite of repeated questions on various topics, Mr Nehru was inclined only to point out that he had not had the opportunity to get any full information and went on to give his impressions of Bhutan.

"Bhutan is another world", he said. "It is not a world of roads or wheeled vehicles of any kind. I do not think I have seen a finer spectacle than the welcome they gave me when I arrived at Paro. A long procession of people in curious attire, dances, church dignitaries coming down the winding mountain steps, was an extraordinary spectacle, perhaps a thing that has been happening for thousands of years".

Mr Nehru expressed the wish that if he visited Bhutan again there would be some kind of road. He hoped that it will be taken on hand by the West Bengal and Assam Governments on this side as well as from the other side. He was full of praise for the Indian engineers who had built a magnificent road to the difficult mountain terrain between Gangtok and the Nathula Pass. They had been building it for three years and had hurried it up a month before he made this trip.

115. According to the *National Herald*, "Pandit Nehru said he was very much amazed when, on his way back from Bhutan, he had seen reports in the western press about the possibility of his being kidnapped by Tibetan guerillas and that the Chinese Army had been sent to protect him."

Mr Nehru declined to comment on Algeria or the UN debate saying that apart from the fact that he had not seen the newspapers, "one's mind was turned in another direction. I was not terribly anxious to learn what was happening and was also tired by the daily trek." The first thing he would like to do was to bring himself up to date to what was happening.

As he alighted from "Megh Doot" which brought him from Gangtok, Mr Nehru was received by the Vice-President, Dr S. Radhakrishnan, Mr G.B. Pant, the Home Minister, Mr Morarji Desai, the Finance Minister, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Mr M. Ananthasayanam Iyengar, other members of the Cabinet, and high officials and Members of Parliament.

Srimati Indira Gandhi left the airport earlier to see her husband Mr Feroze Gandhi who is recovering from a heart attack.¹¹⁶

Asked by a correspondent whether it was the most difficult journey he had undertaken, Mr Nehru replied with a smile, "Yes, at this age. But I have done more difficult mountaineering".

11. Press Conference—II¹¹⁷

Subjects suggested for discussion:

Change in Pakistan and its impact on Indian politics

Rocket to the moon

Quemoy and Matsu

Resumption of nuclear tests by Russia

Your visit to Bhutan

Closure to UPI

Recognition of Algerian regime

Prime Minister: Since I met you last nearly five weeks ago,¹¹⁸ a great many things have happened, apart from my having travelled abroad. No doubt what has happened is full of interest, but it is not the kind of thing on which you can expect me to say much or anything at all, for instance, the developments in Pakistan, martial law, etc, abrogation of the Constitution. It is patent that this is

116. Feroze Gandhi, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Rae Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh, suffered a heart attack in New Delhi on the night of 22 September 1958.

117. New Delhi, 12 October 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available from Press Information Bureau.

118. For Nehru's previous press conference, held on 7 September 1958, see item 9.

a development of high importance, not only, of course, to Pakistan, but to other countries, whether neighbour or far away. Such a development is a big change and a big portent, but it would not be obviously proper for me to discuss this, although I am naturally interested in it. Our broader attitude, of course, is that it is for the people of Pakistan, for the Government and the people of Pakistan to decide how they wish to function. We do not wish to interfere. And all I can say is that we shall watch these developments, naturally, with a great deal of interest, sometimes with a tinge of anxiety, as to what they might portend.

Someone asked what is its impact on Indian politics? I do not know if I can say anything very useful about that. The impact, of course, is not directly on Indian politics, hardly any I should say, but on people's minds you might say, indirectly in that sense. Naturally all these things that happened affect people's mind and their thinking. You are perhaps in a better position than I am to judge the impact on the people's thinking and minds. It is anybody's guess.

Question: Will the Indian rulers take a lesson? By this, I mean the leaders and the politicians.

Prime Minister: I thought you said rulers, that is, you normally refer to rulers, the old Indian princes.

I should say that every intelligent person has always lessons to learn from the events that are happening. Even certainly the politicians in India have a lesson to learn; equally certainly, I suppose, the Press has lessons to learn. You see the effect on the Pakistani Press of what is happening in Pakistan. It is quite remarkable how the same newspaper has completely changed overnight.

Question: Many issues of outstanding nature between India and Pakistan might come up for negotiation. Now, we wish to know with whom will you negotiate, or you will keep those issues pending until a stable Government is restored in Pakistan?

Prime Minister: We deal with the Government that functions in Pakistan and it is not for us to determine its constitutional nature. As a matter of fact, President Mirza has himself described the present regime there as a revolutionary regime, that is, something which does not derive from the Constitution but from an act of revolution or change or whatever it is; he has described it as such. Probably that is the only true description, because it has not derived any authority from the past Constitution. That Constitution itself has been abrogated and presumably in abrogating that Constitution, the President, who is part of the Constitution,

is also abrogated. Therefore, all these difficulties follow. We deal with the existing Government which functions in the country.

Question: Do you consider the present Government as one established by law? Do we recognise it?

Prime Minister: We consider it as a Government established by fact. That is good enough for us.

Question: There are some exponents of international law who say once martial law is promulgated in a country, then the new regime has to be given recognition afresh, and the old government with all its treaties and other things stands null and void. We do not know because we are not experts in international law. It is rather your domain.

Prime Minister: No. I am not prepared to answer that question. Also I am not an expert in international law. If the necessity arises, then the matter will be considered by those who are experts.

Question: Is the Government of India recognising the new Government?

Prime Minister: It is not a question of recognising a new Government. Whatever internal changes may happen, we are treating it as a Government of Pakistan.

Question: What is the position in the Commonwealth because the Commonwealth so far has not recognised any military dictatorship, particularly one which is going to last for several months or several years?

Prime Minister: I cannot answer that question, obviously.

Question: Will it be advisable on the part of the Government of India to continue negotiations with the Pakistan Government knowing fully well that regimes in Pakistan are not very stable and the treaties may have to be revised and other things?

Prime Minister: I have said, we shall continue to deal with the de facto Government of Pakistan, and whatever problems come up, either we do not deal with anybody at all, or we deal with them. We shall certainly deal with them.

Question: Both India and Pakistan started off with a similar administration. Where do you think they went wrong? And have we avoided the same dangers?

Prime Minister: Obviously the state of affairs in India and Pakistan at the present moment, whether constitutional or other, is very different. Now, the reasons for this difference may be many. It is not correct to say that India and Pakistan started off in the same way. There is a basic point to remember. India was following a path for decades which led to a certain conclusion, step by step, our national movement, the development of that movement, the development of our national organisation, the Congress, and all that. Step by step, it led to a certain denouement. Pakistan's path was different, while our path was, if I may say so, a positive one, politically wanting something definite; and economically, broadly looking forward to certain economic changes and reforms. In Pakistan, the stress was always a negative one. I mean in the old Muslim League, the stress was a negative stress, ultimately of cutting off from India by partitioning based largely on communal reasons and not positively and for political or economic goals as in regard to the Indian national movement. So there was this basic difference with the result that when we continue India as a continuing entity, it is not only politically, but ideologically and organisationally. We have innumerable difficulties, but we have a certain political and economic ideology. We have our Five Year Plan, this and that. And it is not very material, the internal differences between us, let us say about economic matters. They are important, but they all fall in that major set-up.

Now, on the other side, Pakistan came into existence as an anti-cry, anti-India, anti-unity of India, with no positive content, if I may say so. When the anti-cry was satisfied there was Partition. There was not much positive content left. Of course they could develop it. That is a different matter. I was merely saying they have not that background. The position is vitally different. You may say, to begin with both came into the Commonwealth originally; later both became independent Republics. These are forms, but the whole content is different, of leadership. Because of the lack of positive content, there has been this lack of political or economic stability. There has been a groping for things, a searching for things. There has been no election since independence there. This perhaps might have helped in developing some stable parties.

Question: Do you think that the present revolution in Pakistan has been engineered by some foreign power or is it a native product?

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Prime Minister: I don't think it has been engineered by anybody, and I do not myself see how it is to the interest of anybody to engineer it.

Question: You said about the lesson to India. Won't you agree that the talks in season and out of season by politicians like Jayaprakash Narayan¹¹⁹ that parliamentary democracy in India has failed might contribute to the Indian people also thinking of similar steps?

Prime Minister: I should think not, when you are particularly referring to Jayaprakashji because obviously whatever his thinking may be, it is entirely different from what is taking place in Pakistan. It is completely different. I don't agree with him, that is another matter.

Question: You have been often stressing the essential unity between the people of India and Pakistan, historical past and feelings and all that. Do you think the Pakistanis would like this?

Prime Minister: Who am I to say what Pakistanis will say? It is quite possible that the initial reaction among considerable number of people may be one of approval, that is to say, prices coming down, this, that, the other consequences. An average person may say, well, we are fed up with the old quarrels and all that, but that does not really help in understanding the situation. If it is correct, as I think it is correct, a martial law regime, wherever it may be, obviously cannot be fitted in with any kind of economic progress. It is a suppressive and restrictive regime, which can keep law and order, which might even keep, in a sense, prices down and all that, but it does not allow any capacity for growth and, therefore, the solution of any basic problems. Therefore, basic problems continue and some way has to be found to solve them. Pakistan will have to find some way. I have no doubt they will find it sometime or other because you cannot solve national problems by martial law. If I understand history at all, the problems of a growing economy, the problems of the countries of Asia, are not solved by martial law. All you solve is perhaps the law and order problem. That you may solve by martial law, so that even though people may like the change for the moment, it will not lead ultimately by itself to the solution of the problems that exist there, political or economic.

119. A prominent Sarvodaya leader.

Question: Do you think that involvement of Pakistan in various military pacts¹²⁰ has contributed to the disintegration that is taking place today?

Prime Minister: I do not think so, not directly. You may say that those policies did not fit in with conditions in Pakistan, but I do not think there is any direct connection between the two.

Question: What are your reactions to the direct references to India by President Mirza in his proclamation?¹²¹

Prime Minister: I do not know what you mean. The reference was that he wants to be friendly to India, as far as I remember.

Question: He did not say that. He wanted to be friendly only with the USSR, the UAR and People's China. There was another sentence for India.

Prime Minister: That is because he was presumably criticising some of the Pakistan politicians who had been inimical to these countries. So he was trying to show that he was not inimical to them. He did not say much about India as a matter of fact. He certainly criticised sharply people who talked about war with India.

Question: General Ayub Khan said that war with India would be popular in Pakistan in certain circumstances. What do you think of the implications of the statement?

Question: He also said he did not want war with India.

120. Pakistan joined the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) in 1954 and the Central Treaty Organisation, also known as the Baghdad Pact, in 1955.

121. President Iskander Mirza in his proclamation of 7 October said, "We desire to have friendly relations with all nations, but political adventurers try their best to create bad blood and misunderstanding between us and countries like the USSR, the United Arab Republic and the People's Republic of China. Against India they scream for war, knowing full well that they will be nowhere near the firing line. In no other country in the world do political parties treat foreign policy in such a fashion as in Pakistan...."

Prime Minister: Yes. He did not want war with India although war would be popular in Pakistan — I think something like that.

Question: That is what every Pakistani politician has been saying.

Prime Minister: I think it is very difficult to take these little sentences out of their context, and try to analyse them as if they were holy writ.

Question: I want to know from you as a historian, whether the genius of the people of India, Pakistan or even Burma permit a military dictatorship? Can it be ever popular?

Prime Minister: The idea of a dictatorship is that, in the final analysis, it is not based on popularity. Temporarily it might represent a wave of feeling. Therefore, I would say that ultimately no military dictatorship is popular. If it was popular, it would assume a normal shape and form and cease to be a dictatorship.

Question: What do you think is lacking in the Asian scene that so many newly independent nations which started out with democratic institutions have gradually put these aside and have now got military governments? On the other hand, we have the example of the attraction of Communist States. In both cases, the meeting ground seems to be a strong centralised Government which imposes its will on the people to accomplish the economic growth that you had mentioned earlier. Do you think that it is the lack of education or the lack of a minimum industrial growth that has brought about the circumstances in which these countries feel they cannot progress sufficiently fast at this stage with the apparatus of parliamentary democratic government as it exists in the West, after centuries of industrial development?

Prime Minister: That is a very long question and a very interesting one. I would rather like to discuss this matter with a group of persons at a seminar or elsewhere. But it is hardly a question which I would care to reply at a Press Conference. It is interesting. I do not know what you call a democracy, because there are various types of democracy. In a sense, the strictly parliamentary type of democracy exists in very, very few countries today, very few countries of Europe or America, and even that in bits of Europe not all Europe. And people talk vaguely today of democracy, and sometimes, people who have no democracy at all talk the loudest about it. They talk about the free world including in its scope dictatorship and everything. All this is very confusing.

One of the main distinctions—I do not think this is really a kind of racial trait—the major distinction today, I think, as I said at the Bank Conference,¹²² is the industrialised nations, and therefore developed, and therefore nations with certain standard of living, wealth production, etc., and the undeveloped or underdeveloped countries. And the underdeveloped countries have these great stresses and strains; and they have these stresses and strains often at a moment when they have got political freedom, that is, a political revolution, that is, political consciousness in the masses. They have got that political consciousness with no resources to be able to meet the demands that political consciousness makes. So these stresses and strains come. It is not some theory of democracy that one is for or against. It is problems of life that come and shake people up.

We have been very fortunate, I think, in India for quite a variety of reasons. One is, I think, an old tradition, however limited but nevertheless an old tradition, of democratic working, whether it is a village democracy or whatever it is, in a small way. I am not talking about vast democracies, but it is ingrained in the village; the village panchayat idea is a democratic idea.

Then, the whole development of our national movement in the last seventy years or so has made people think on those lines and act on those lines, whether it is in our national movement or gradually in the wider political field, so that the idea is not novel. People get accustomed to it more and more. It is a question of getting accustomed to a way of doing things. And by and large, in spite of many difficulties and failures, the idea has worked with success. All these factors have gone in favour of India. I think the major factor probably is the development of our national movement right from the earliest days.

Question: You have said that there have been strains upon this country. Does it mean that those parliamentary democracies which have not been able to meet the economic demands of the people have failed?

Prime Minister: These are mixed questions. One fails to meet the economic demands and another does not. In the final analysis, it is the quality of the people that counts. It does not matter what your economic theory might be, capitalism, socialism, Gandhism or any ism; but it is the quality of the people that counts. A stout people will work any theory and make it a success almost; a weak people will go to pieces with the best of theories. So, it is a question of judging the quality of the people, the quality of holding together, of not giving way to fissiparous tendencies, of—and that is important—being considerate to those who may differ from you. It is highly important. The essence of democracy

122. On 6 October 1958. See item 320.

is not merely to think of yourself or your group, even if it is in a majority, all the time, but to think of larger group or larger community, that is, the nation, where there are differences of opinion, of trying to hold it together, trying to consider differences, to have tolerance, what is called in Urdu *lihaz*.¹²³ That is the essential quality. If everybody wants to go his own way, you simply split up. You may be all very wise people, but all the wise people end in disaster by the process.

Question: Do you think that the new Government of Pakistan will be more aggressive in its relations with India?

Prime Minister: I cannot answer this question. How do I know?

Question: Following on what you said previously that in India there is an element of getting accustomed to democracy and there has been a national movement in her history by which it has come about, would you say that it is really Gandhiji's major contribution which is carried on, that you take the will of the small man into account in everything that you do, which is the basis of this quality of getting accustomed to democracy as it works in India? This was his major contribution rather than spinning and other things.

Prime Minister: Yes, the biggest part of that is Gandhiji's contribution. There was also something apart from that, before Gandhiji, the old Indian tradition which has an element of democratic working, not at the top but rather in the villages. Secondly, there has been our national movement, even prior to Gandhiji, that is, its ideology was democratic. But Gandhiji came in and not only enforced that particular ideology, but what is much more important in practice, he built up this conception of unity of India in the mind of the villager, in the mind of the peasant; he brought the national movement down to the level of the peasant and the worker, thereby creating a unity. Of course, his whole conception of peaceful methods, ahimsa, etc., fitted in with democracy, and did not fit in with, if I may use the word, dictatorship and the like to which he was opposed completely. If there was a contradiction in terms of dictatorship in Gandhiji's idea, it was the dictatorship of affection and personal influence.

I remember a friend of mine, who is long dead, calling Gandhiji in the early twenties "the beloved slave driver". He did drive us all. But it was just his affection and respect for him that did it; there was no whip behind it, no punishment behind it, except perhaps his disapproval which always mattered.

123. To have consideration or to show respect or deference.

Question: Do you think that Pakistanis cannot be a nation unless they own their past? And their past happens to be intricately connected with ours.

Prime Minister: I would put it differently. Nobody can deny his past and nobody can cut himself off from his past, without injuring oneself. We can't uproot a nation. The fact of the division of India did not necessarily mean the people of Pakistan denying their past.

A country can divide itself and acknowledge both its old roots and the new state, and develop their nationalism accordingly. So the mere fact of Partition did not mean that they should deny their past. But it is true that the leadership, not the common people, did try to deny that past and, therefore, lost roots in that past. It may happen, I do not know, hundreds of years later, that new roots are formed but, for the moment, the result is rootlessness, and it is a weakening factor in a community.

Question: Would you prefer to give any advice to the people of Pakistan?

Prime Minister: I have no advice to give, except to send them my good wishes.

Question: How far do you think the large-scale military aid given by America to Pakistan had been a contributing factor for the present state of affairs?

Prime Minister: I do not think that had been any contributing factor to the internal political or economic difficulties.

Question: American aid elsewhere also has resulted in the same way—Iraq, China, etc.

Prime Minister: May be, but the point is that it is a divergence between the ruling party and the people that creates difficulties.

Question: Would you consider making representations to the United States and the United Kingdom to stop further supply of arms to Pakistan in view of the recent developments?

Prime Minister: No, I will not consider it.

[New topic] Burma

I think we better go on to some other subject now. You mentioned Burma. Of course, the case of Burma is essentially different. It is not easy to analyse, but

it is a different case. First of all, it is admitted to be a temporary phase, leading to an election; here there is no election in view. Secondly, it was done consciously, deliberately, by the Prime Minister, U Nu. It is not for me to criticise it or to judge it. All I can say is that I have a high regard for U Nu's judgement, opinion and person. So, there was not that element of going against democratic working as we see in Pakistan. It was a temporary expedient till the next election, a way taken by the Prime Minister in consultation with the leader of the Opposition, both of them agreeing. It is not for me to say whether it is right or wrong; it is for them to judge.

Question: Even then, is it not a peculiar process? Generally the Prime Minister has to give his resignation to the President and it is the President who calls upon anybody he likes to form a caretaker government. Why should the Prime Minister on his own choose to call the Commander-in-Chief of Forces and hand over the Prime Ministership to him? Is it a democratic process?

Prime Minister: It is more democratic than for the President to decide.

Question: But the President has certain functions.

Prime Minister: The President's chief function is to carry out the advice of the Prime Minister.

Question: But the Prime Minister cannot hand over his office to anybody he likes?

Prime Minister: It is not just handing over—I do not know, I can't say what exactly is happening there. But, when the leaders of the Government and the Opposition agree to a certain course of action, one presumes that their parties also agree; in other words, that the major parties in the Parliament there agreed to a certain change. And, if that is so, that is the normal democratic way. I do not know all the facts about Burma; therefore, I cannot precisely say what has happened. I am merely saying that it is completely democratic for the Prime Minister feeling that a certain change is desirable, a certain caretaker governments, etc., consulting the leader of the Opposition, consulting the other parties concerned, and advising the President accordingly. All the democratic forms are kept, whatever the content may be.

Question: There are two immediate neighbours having military governors. How do you propose to stop this contagion?

Prime Minister: I would say that it is more likely that the contagion may spread from India to our neighbours.

Question: Shri Vinoba Bhave¹²⁴ has said that if you think that a similar thing cannot happen in India, we are living in an ivory tower.

Prime Minister: Yes, anything may happen anywhere.

[New topic] Algeria

You asked me about Algeria. We have been giving a great deal of thought to this matter and, as you well know, we have been completely in favour of Algerian independence for years, ever since this question arose. We have referred to it in the United Nations, in public, in our diplomatic correspondence, etc. We have also felt that Algerian independence should be achieved as far as possible by peaceful methods. We have been greatly distressed by the very cruel repression of the movement in Algeria by the French authorities and armies. So our sympathies and all that are there.

The question of immediate recognition of the Provisional Government in Algeria¹²⁵ raised rather difficult aspects. I will not go into them, because it is recognising a government which might be called a government existing outside the territory it is supposed to govern. But the real test in our minds has been how we can help in this matter and not merely make a gesture without helping. Therefore, at present, we are not giving normal recognition. The matter will be kept in mind all the time, and we shall watch, but we are very anxious that Algerian independence should be recognised.

There is one aspect now. The French Government have often said that they did not know whom to deal with. I think it may well be said that the present, what is called, the Provisional Government of Algeria, represents all the elements in Algerian nationalism, moderate and extremist, and, therefore, it should be easy to deal with them as representing Algerian nationalism. And I would hope that the French Government—General de Gaulle¹²⁶—deals with these people, because it is obvious that there is no other way of settling the Algerian problem except in recognising Algerian freedom.

124. Social reform leader and a prominent disciple of Mahatma Gandhi; launched the Bhoodan movement in India in 1951.

125. A Provisional Government of the "Republic of Algeria" headed by Ferhat Abbas of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) was established in Cairo on 19 September 1958.

126. Charles de Gaulle, the Prime Minister of France.

Question: Would you say that the FLN represents all the elements, when the referendum has gone in favour of integration?¹²⁷

Prime Minister: That is a matter which is very difficult to say. But I find it exceedingly difficult to accept the thesis that the people who have voted in this referendum are opposed to Algerian freedom and independence. I am told that the proportion of soldiers among the voters in Algeria is one in three or four. It is a very big proportion. The conditions are abnormal there. The fact that such a vast army is there does not indicate that the great majority of the Algerian people are content with things as they are.

[New topic] Rocket to the Moon

There was some question about the rocket to the moon.¹²⁸ I have nothing to say about the rocket to the moon, except that this is another tremendous triumph of modern science. It is straying from the straight and narrow path. The fact that it has been sent out is another great advance which will no doubt be followed up by more.

[New topic] Offshore Islands

About Quemoy and Matsu, I have expressed our Government's opinions about these offshore islands previously on many occasions.

Question: Are the Warsaw talks¹²⁹ proceeding satisfactorily?

Prime Minister: The mere fact that they are proceeding, to that extent is a healthy sign.

Question: What about your giving advice for a ceasefire?

Prime Minister: Why should I go about offering advice to everybody? Naturally I would like this matter to be settled in a peaceful way. At any rate, so far as the offshore islands are concerned, which is an immediate issue, I think it is generally

127. Referendum of 28 September 1958 approving the new constitution of France, which led to the Fifth French Republic.

128. The USA dispatched a Pioneer I unmanned craft to the lunar orbit on 11 October 1958. Software error led to failure.

129. See item 6, fn 62.

recognised by everybody almost that the offshore islands pertain to the mainland of China. I think it is a continuing and a very grave irritation for any hostile power to be sitting there.

Question: What was the exact implication of Mr Krishna Menon's¹³⁰ statement that Quemoy and Matsu are not so much in the picture as the South Chinese seas?

Prime Minister: Unless I see the full speech, it is difficult for me to say anything about it. But the point is, in those seas, there has been a continuous interference with normal traffic of trade, etc.

Question: What about the British Labour Party's proposal that Formosa should be put under UN Trusteeship?

Prime Minister: We have been of opinion, not recently but for the last so many years, that this should be done, not only for Quemoy and Matsu but for all the offshore islands, as I just said. We said this three or four years ago when this issue became acute. Not only we, but Sir Anthony Eden,¹³¹ the then Prime Minister of UK, said so too.

Question: About Formosa?

Prime Minister: No, about Quemoy and Matsu.

Question: The correspondent wants to know about the British Labour Party's proposal that Formosa should be placed under UN Trusteeship.

Prime Minister: We have thus far been of the opinion that as we recognise only one China, the countries which have been part of China should be with that China.

[New topic] Bhutan

I now come to Bhutan. It has been a fascinating trip to Bhutan which, in spite of its physical exhaustion occasionally, was most exhilarating, a completely

130. Defence Minister and leader of the Indian delegation to the UN General Assembly at this time.

131. Prime Minister of the UK from 1955 to 1957.

new type of country—by new type I mean from the point of view of modern amenities and modern developments—a country where there are no roads, no wheeled traffic, no wheels, practically speaking. It is an extraordinary country; not a primitive country at all. The people are not primitive; the people are good, stout, intelligent people. You put them in any of the schools and universities, they will do well. It is a country of peasant farmers and there are not very big differences between the rulers and the common peasants. No unemployment and no beggars, each person having a patch of land, five, six, seven, eight, or ten acres of land, sometimes a little more, having his wooden log hut, fairly good, and probably having some cattle, some pigs, some poultry and maybe some yaks.

Question: Are there newspapers there?

Prime Minister: There are no newspapers there. There is rather a primitive system of postal service, couriers taking it occasionally, not much. Of course, they maintain this kind of seclusion for a very laudable reason, that is, because of their desire to maintain their freedom. They thought this might be imperilled if they were too anxious to invite people from outside.

Question: Isolation from the outside world? Does it apply to the traffic with Tibet also?

Prime Minister: Certainly, it applies fully now. But with Tibet, in the past I mean, there was the bond of religion and the Dalai Lama was looked up to by them and the pilgrims, etc., went there. They had some trade also with Tibet. There is a part of Bhutan adjoining Bengal and Assam where, of course, people come and go from India. There are regions in the interiors which are rather mountainous and it is difficult to go there.

Question: What has been the influence of the large Nepalese population that has settled in Bhutan and in Sikkim also? Has that affected the development of the political structures?

Prime Minister: Nepalese went into Bhutan, I forget exactly when, some forty, fifty or sixty years ago, and some previously too. They formed rather a different and alien element for some time.

Some years back their further entry was stopped, not because of any feeling against them as individuals, but chiefly because of a feeling that they might become more than the indigenous population in numbers alone. Now, I

believe, the policy of the present Government is to incorporate them more and more into Bhutan. They have got some kind of Advisory Council in the State. This was going to hold a meeting soon after I went there, and representatives had already started coming, and there were Nepalese representatives in that Council too. Remember, it takes so long for people to travel from one end of Bhutan to the other. It may take three weeks to attend a meeting.

Question: Are there a lot of Chinese there in Bhutan?

Prime Minister: Hardly any. I did not come across a single person. There may be some, but I do not think so.

Question: What kind of diplomatic relation has Bhutan with Tibet?

Prime Minister: Bhutan has a trade agent in Tibet, but no diplomatic representation. You must remember that our treaty with Bhutan, made in 1948 I think,¹³² was Bhutan recognising that it would be guided by India's advice in regard to foreign affairs.

Question: Bhutanese merchants come every year to Bengal and Assam in hundreds, if not in thousands. Do they ever go to the interior part?

Prime Minister: Some of them come, but I do not think there can be very many.

Question: Does the willingness of Bhutan to have a road go from India to their border, to be linked with their main towns, indicate any recognition on their part of their desirability of closer political and economic contact with India?

Prime Minister: Our relations with Bhutan are exceedingly friendly. It is not any reluctance or any apprehension on their part, but it is a general desire not to get overwhelmed by an outside population coming in, a thing which I completely understand. In fact, if I may say so, I advised them to prevent outsiders coming. My definite advice to the rulers was: certainly get your experts and others, but do not encourage too many people to come, even from India. I tell you why. We do not encourage traders to go into the North-East Frontier Agency, which is India. We just do not like our traders going there, and if I may use the word,

132. In fact, the Indo-Bhutan treaty was signed in Darjeeling on 8 August 1949.

exploiting the people and spoiling all their tastes, selling cheap articles there which are normally neither tasteful nor good, and uprooting the tribal people from their habits without giving anything good enough in exchange. Therefore, I advised the Bhutanese Government, not that my advice was very necessary, not to encourage too much of this kind of thing but to take persons they wanted, and they do want experts, whether engineers or surveyors or maybe educationists, to take such persons for short periods. Or, better still, they can send their students to India to be trained, which they do not.

There are quite a number of students in India and they can go back and work in their own country.

Question: Is Hindi being taught in schools?

Prime Minister: Yes. Hindi has been introduced, not at my saying, but even before it had been introduced. Quite a few people know Hindi, not the common people but quite a few people, Government officials, because they have to come to India quite often, Kalimpong, Darjeeling, those are nearby, and quite a few have even been to Calcutta.

[New topic] Agriculture Pamphlet

Question: About food production. The Government policy has been to ask peasants to do their best. The guidebook issued by the Agriculture Ministry says, in regard to taccavi, the application should be made by the peasant to the Block Development Officer, who will refer it to the Revenue Assistant. The people who have prepared the guidebook are frank enough to say that the taccavi would not be forthcoming for the rabi season? Is this treatment of the question on a war level?

Prime Minister: I have not seen that guidebook, but now that you have drawn my attention I will send for it and have a look at it.

[New topic] Agreement with Pakistan

Question: What about your agreement with Mr Noon?

Prime Minister: It is already published; there is nothing secret about it.¹³³

133. For the joint communiqué issued on 11 September 1958 after the talks between Nehru and Firoz Khan Noon, see item 275, and for Nehru's statement in the Lok Sabha on 12 September 1958 on his talks with Noon, see item 278.

Question: What about Tugergram?

Prime Minister: There is some mention about this somewhere. Tugergram is a part of a larger area which is, broadly speaking, in dispute. The decision on the larger area has some effect on Tugergram in that sense. It was decided that the two Forest Commissioners should meet and the two Chief Secretaries to decide on the line of Patharia forest, a provisional line subject to final approval. When that was done, Tugergram should be vacated. That was the broad agreement, I should say.

Question: But that has always been part of India?

Prime Minister: That is not quite correct. You are quite correct in saying that it has been in India's possession all this time; that is correct. It is situated, as you perhaps know, on the other side of the bulge of the river on the Pakistan side.

Question: An objection was raised in Parliament about this transfer and it was made known that the matter had been referred to the Ministry of Law. What has happened since then?

Prime Minister: These are minor adjustments of the frontier, which do not require, so far as we understand, any change in the Constitution or even in law. These are rectifications. But it is probable that the transfer of the Cooch-Bihar enclaves from India to Pakistan and Pakistan to India—that probably requires some legislative action. We are looking into this matter. It is before the Calcutta High Court also.

Question: What is to be the future of Tugergram? Whether we are going to take it back or it will stay as disputed territory?

Prime Minister: I have just tried to explain. Naturally it remains disputed until the dispute is settled. Obviously it is under dispute, otherwise it would not have been considered at all.

Question: It is a modification of your policy. Earlier you said that you would insist on transfer of Tugergram before you hand over other territories to Pakistan.

Prime Minister: I do not know to which policy you are referring. We have a number of disputes with Pakistan. When we consider them, naturally we are

guided by the advice of the State Governments or their representatives, Assam, West Bengal, etc. We come to certain decisions which naturally involve a certain measure of give and take, on both sides. It is difficult to take one isolated instance.

[New topic] Nuclear Tests

We have been always of opinion ever since these tests began, that they should not only be suspended but prohibited, forbidden, and we were happy when the Soviet Union announced that it would suspend them. Then, as you know, the UK and the USA Governments said they would suspend them after a certain period. We welcomed their decision. Now, the USSR has gone back and ended the period of suspension because others didn't.¹³⁴ Others say now, I believe in the United Nations, "Let us have further suspension." I want all of them to have suspension and put an end to this business.

[New topic] Banaras Hindu University

Question: The [Banaras Hindu] University is closed now.¹³⁵ Is it a form of satyagraha meant to bring about a change of heart in about half a dozen urchins there?

Prime Minister: I do not quite know if this question is meant to elicit a reply or to show the cleverness of the questioner. I do not think there is anything very clever about the question or about the situation.

Question: Half a dozen students create disturbances. Instead of putting them into their proper position, the University is closed now.

Prime Minister: This is a denouement which has come off not suddenly but gradually. You may perhaps say that if some stronger action had been taken earlier, this might have not occurred. It is a possible view to take but as conditions

134. On 31 March 1958, the Soviet Union had announced suspension of nuclear tests. However, on 1 October 1958, it announced resumption of tests as both the USA and the UK had continued testing.

135. The Executive Council of the Banaras Hindu University, at its two-day meeting held at Banaras "outside the University campus" on 27 and 28 September, decided to close down the University from 8 October. The decision followed "acts of grave indiscipline and defiance of law committed systematically and in an organised manner by a number of students" during the previous six weeks.

were, it was becoming impossible for the University to function properly. It is true that only a relatively small number of people were obstructing, more than half a dozen boys, a number of people, some from outside the University, some from inside, and it becomes impossible when the Vice Chancellor cannot function, the Registrar cannot function; other officials of the University, some professors cannot function; the whole atmosphere becomes one which is as far removed from an academic atmosphere as is possible. The Executive Committee could not meet in the University premises; these young men stood there preventing them from going in. It is quite impossible for a University to function in that way. I agree entirely that the great majority of the students there have nothing to do with this, and it is very unfortunate that they should suffer in their studies because of this. I hope that this will not last long. Anyhow, in this month of October there are the Puja holidays and the rest. So it was decided to close it now and see what happens afterwards.

Question: After this how will the University authorities find out that there is a change because the students have been sent away; the University is closed. What will be the criterion to judge that the University should be reopened?

Prime Minister: That is for the Executive Council to consider. It is not a question of the feeling of an individual person doing this or that. When they feel that, broadly speaking, there is a chance for the University functioning properly, it will function. As a matter of fact those who have been making some trouble, some of them at least are fairly well known.

Question: They have been put into prison. Thirty-four students have been sent to jail.

Prime Minister: That is because of a breach of some law or of some violent obstruction.

Question: Would you consider shifting this University to some other State as a way out of this trouble?

Prime Minister: Well, it is not a question of shifting the University but we might as well shift Banaras itself.

Question: Has it not become a matter of prestige that for one person who has been appointed as Vice Chancellor,¹³⁶ who has also proved himself not

136. V.S. Jha was the Vice-Chancellor of the BHU from 1956 to 1960.

capable of holding that high office, the University is closed indefinitely?

Prime Minister: I do not think so. It has nothing to do with one person. If you read not only the report¹³⁷ but the evidence behind the report, it is something continuing year after year till it became very difficult. The present Vice Chancellor has behaved, I think, with quite extraordinary courage in very difficult circumstances. It is not a question of this continuing there or not. As I said in Parliament, he offered his resignation to us at an early stage.¹³⁸ We had requested him to continue for the present at least.

[New topic] UPI Closure

Question: Closure of UPI?¹³⁹ Is Government taking any action?

Prime Minister: There appears to be some disagreement about facts.

Question: In fact it is closed. Only the name exists.

Prime Minister: I am very sorry it is closed. This is all I can say and we have always been of opinion that it would be a good thing for the country to have more than one news service. But the UPI came to grief, because apparently it was hopelessly mismanaged, and again and again we suggested that it should be put on a more stable foundation. The people owning it had different views on the subject apparently, and all kinds of complications, financiers and others coming in, and it came to this that any help that Government might indirectly have given was helping the gentleman who will be financing it, not anybody else. Government was not prepared to do that. Although Government is very anxious to have, as I said, good, independent agencies, we do not want Government agencies to function but Government can put facilities in their way. That they are prepared to do, and we came to the conclusion that probably it will be better for a new start to be made than try to do anything which is something which is so tied up with all kinds of complications and debts and what not.

137. The reference is to the report of the Banaras Hindu University Inquiry Committee submitted in April 1958. See item 213, fn 258 and 259.

138. See item 213 for Nehru's speech in the Lok Sabha on 2 September 1958.

139. The United Press of India (UPI), one of the two national news agencies, had suspended its service from 1 October. See also item 49.

Question: You prefer an agency owned by small newspapers?

Prime Minister: Yes, certainly. I do not know what you mean by small or big newspapers. They can all own it. It should be an independent agency. If the small newspapers can run it, well and good; I do not know what you call a small one, big one.

Question: Why should not the Government take the initiative when it finds the management of such news agency is not interested in keeping it alive?

Prime Minister: You cannot have it both ways. You cannot have an independent news agency on the one side and a Government organising it.

Question: Reuters was established by a charter of the Parliament of England?

Prime Minister: You are right; there is a long historical growth there.

Question: UPI is closed and there is an imminent strike in PTI. At this rate, there will be no news agency left.

Prime Minister: Then we shall have a state of affairs which presumably will be approved of by Mr Jayaprakash Narayan.

[New topic] "India 1958" Exhibition

I would like to say a word about this India 1958 Exhibition. I have been only to three pavilions thus far, and spent about two and a half hours, the Science pavilion, the Atomic Energy pavilion and the Defence industries pavilion. I propose to go more. But I do think it is a remarkable achievement, this exhibition which has been put up in roughly two and a half months' time and many of the pavilions in about six or seven weeks' time; it is quite extraordinary, how rapidly it has been done. It shows the capacity to do things effectively and rapidly, if you put your mind and hand to it.

Apart from that, I do think that this exhibition—and mind you, I have only seen the parts I have mentioned and the rest are no doubt good too—is well worth not only a visit but a careful visit, and an exhibition to show the progress we have made in science and more especially in its application to industry, etc.

(e) Interviews

12. With Ramnarayan Chaudhary—I¹⁴⁰

रामनारायण चौधरी:¹⁴¹ बच्चों से आपको इतना गैर-मामूली प्रेम क्यों है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: इसका जवाब मैं नहीं दे सकता भाई, न मैं समझता हूँ कि इसका कोई खास जवाब हो सकता है। कम से कम मेरे लिए नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपके एक ही सन्तान है, क्या इसलिए? आप अपने माता-पिता के एक ही लड़के थे और बहुत लाड़-प्यार से रखे गये थे, क्या इसीलिए?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह कोई वजह नहीं है कि मैं अपने माँ-बाप का एक ही लड़का था, या मेरे एक ही लड़की है, इसलिए मैं बच्चों से ज़्यादा प्रेम करता हूँ। या और भी जो आपने बातें रखी हैं।

140. Interview with Ramnarayan Chaudhary, New Delhi, 19 October 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

Nehru gave nineteen interviews in Hindi to Ramnarayan Chaudhary between 1958 and 1960 on matters regarding Nehru himself and his activities as also on his views on various matters. These were later published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, in Hindi and some other languages. The title of the book in Hindi is *नेहरूजी, अपनी ही भाषा में: विविध प्रश्नों के नेहरूजी द्वारा दिये गये उत्तर* (1962); and in English *Nehru—In His Own Words: His Replies to Various Questions* (1964). The first two interviews are included in this section.

141. Ramnarayan Chaudhary (1895-1989); a prominent public worker from Rajasthan; participated in the freedom movement and was imprisoned several times; taught and worked as a social worker in Wardha, 1916-20; was associated with the Rajasthan Seva Sangh, 1920-28; worked under Mahatma Gandhi for several years from 1929; ran the Rajputana branch of Harijan Sevak Sangh, 1932; lived in Sevagram Ashram, 1939-42; was in rapport with Nehru from 1954 onwards; Information Secretary, Bharat Sewak Samaj (BSS), 1954-59; quit BSS owing to differences with Gulzarilal Nanda and set up in 1959 an all-India organisation, Gram Sahyog Samaj, which laid emphasis on the method of cooperation to solve people's problems; edited several newspapers and journals in Hindi, Urdu and English, including *Tarun Rajasthan*, *Naya Rajasthan*, and *Gram Sahyogi*.

रामनारायण चौधरी: तो क्या दूसरे बच्चों के साथ बुरा बर्ताव होते देखते हैं, इसलिए? अथवा कमलाजी का देहान्त जल्दी हो गया,¹⁴² इसलिए?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: क्यों है, मैं इन सब बातों का जवाब नहीं दे सकता, लेकिन है और वह बढ़ता ही गया है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: बच्चों पर देश के भविष्य का दारोमदार है, इसलिए? या फिर किसलिए?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: और मुझे हमेशा यह ख्याल होता है कि जो आज के बच्चे हैं वे कल का हिन्दुस्तान होंगे और उनकी देखभाल ठीक हो तो वैसा ही कल का देश हमारा बनेगा।

रामनारायण चौधरी: क्या बच्चों के साथ मार-पीट या डाँट-डपट आप किसी भी हालत में अच्छी नहीं समझते?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैं नहीं पसन्द करता बच्चों को मार-पीट करना या किसी को भी। हाँ, मैं यह भी नहीं पसन्द करता या ठीक समझता कि अगर वे गलती करें तो उनको समझाया न जाय, या हो सकता है कि कुछ सज़ा भी दी जाय, लेकिन मार-पीट की सज़ा मैं बिल्कुल पसन्द नहीं करता।

रामनारायण चौधरी: शरीर बच्चों को सुधारने के लिए कोई खास तरीक़ीब?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: बच्चों के लिए शरीर सुधारना अच्छा खेल-कूद होता है। कोई जादू की वर्जिश या कसरत छोटे बच्चों के लिए करना चाहें करें। लेकिन...

रामनारायण चौधरी: शरीर से मतलब body नहीं।¹⁴³

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: तो क्या?

रामनारायण चौधरी: शैतान बच्चे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अच्छा, शरीर बच्चे! ऐसे बच्चे सुधारने से आपका मतलब है? भई, मैं समझा नहीं था। (हँसी)

142. Kamala Nehru died in 1936.

143. Nehru understood "sharir" to mean "body", as in Hindi; but Ramnarayan Chaudhary meant by it "naughty", as in Urdu.

रामनारायण चौधरी: ऐसे बच्चों को सुधारने का कोई रास्ता?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह तो एक, उसका प्रेम अपनी तरफ खींचना, उसका आप पर भरोसा हो। अगर ऐसा नहीं है और शरीर बच्चा आपको दुश्मन समझता है, तो उसको सम्भालना नामुमकिन है, जब तक वह आपको दोस्त न समझे और यह न समझे कि दोस्त ठीक बातें कहते हैं। और अलावा इसके महज़ डाँट-डपट से कम असर होता है। तबज्जोह को दूसरी तरफ झुका देने से, ध्यान झुक जाए किसी काम की तरफ, जिसमें ध्यान झुक जाये, लगा देने से, काबू हो सकता है, जैसे यहाँ दिल्ली में एक संस्था कुछ बरस हुए खोली गई थी। क्या नाम था उसका?

रामनारायण चौधरी: बाल भवन?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं, नहीं, मैं भूल गया उसका नाम क्या है। बाल भवन नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: बाल सहयोग?¹⁴⁴

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, बाल सहयोग। वह ऐसे बच्चों के लिए था जो बेचारे सड़क पर मारे-मारे फिरते हैं, कभी कोई फुटकर काम कर लिया, कभी किसी की जेब भी काट ली और कभी कुछ। अब बजाय इसके कि उनको पकड़कर हम कहीं रखें ज़बर्दस्ती, उनको आज़ादी दी कि आओ यहाँ जब तुम्हारा जी चाहे, दो-तीन घंटे काम सीखो। तरह-तरह के काम हैं, उनसे तुम कमा सकते हो, दिलचस्पी होगी। और बच्चे जब जी चाहे आएँ, जब जी चाहे नहीं। कोई ज़बर्दस्ती नहीं थी। काफी बातें उन्होंने वहाँ सीखीं, काफी कमाने के ज़रिए हो गये और दिमाग एक दूसरी तरफ झुक गया। गरज़ कि बच्चों को मौके मिलने चाहिए बढ़ने के, और रास्ता सही तरफ खोल देना चाहिए। बच्चा, कोई ज़बर्दस्ती नहीं फूल की तरह झुका दिया, उधर खींच लिया। वह ऐसा नहीं होता। और उसमें खतरा होता है कि, बहुत सख्ती वगैरह से, कि वह अन्दर से कहीं टूट ही न जाय, उसका बढ़ना ही बन्द न हो जाय।

रामनारायण चौधरी: बच्चों के लालन-पालन के पूर्वी और पश्चिमी ढंगों में आपको क्या गुण-दोष दिखाई दिये?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, बच्चों का लालन-पालन, अब यह पूर्वी और पश्चिमी तो कहलाता ही है, लेकिन उसमें एक और फर्क भी है और वह है खुशहाल लोगों का और गरीब लोगों का। यह फर्क हो जाता है। तीसरे यह भी है कि अब और मुल्कों में, पश्चिम में सब मुल्कों में सब बच्चे स्कूल

144. Bal Sahyog, a residential centre to train destitute children in handicraft and useful trades, was established by Indira Gandhi in New Delhi in 1954.

जाते हैं, कोई बचता नहीं है उससे। तो बड़ा फर्क हो जाता है न, कि उनके करीब दस बरस स्कूल में सर्फ होते हैं—छह बरस से लेकर समझौ पंद्रह-सोलह बरस तक—तो स्कूल का असर होता है। जहाँ स्कूल न हों वहाँ वह स्कूल का नियम और discipline वगैरा नहीं आता।

आमतौर से हिन्दुस्तान में प्यार और लाड़ से बच्चों को नुकसान हो जाता है। प्यार तो एक बिल्कुल ज़रूरी और आवश्यक चीज़ है। क्योंकि एक तो natural चीज़ है। ठीक है, कुछ माँ-बाप का और कुछ औरों का हो। लेकिन उसी का सबसे ज्यादा असर इन्सान पर होता है, खासकर बच्चों पर। लेकिन उसको इतनी दूर ले जाना कि उसमें गलत आदतें बच्चों की हो जाएँ और छोटी-छोटी बातें जैसे खिलाने-पिलाने और कपड़ा पहनाने वगैरह की इतनी गलत आदतें हैं, और बच्चे को इतने कपड़े पहनाते हैं कि सर्दी न लग जाये, कि उसे हमेशा के लिए कमज़ोर बना देते हैं। इतना खिलाने की कोशिश करते हैं कि हमेशा के लिए उसका पेट खराब कर देते हैं। ये बातें गलत हैं। प्यार तो ठीक है, पर इन दोनों के बीच में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: दूसरी तरफ मार-पीट भी करते हैं हमारे यहाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: खैर, मार-पीट तो है ही बुरी चीज़, वह तो है ही किसी क़दर। अब स्कूल जाना हो छह-सात बरस की उम्र में, चौदह-पंद्रह बरस तक होता है, तो दूसरी ज़िन्दगी हो जाती है। अब यह वहसतलब बात है कि बहुत ज्यादा boarding वगैरा में रहना उससे फायदा होता है या घर में रहने से। दोनों बातों से फायदा होता है। मेरा ख़याल है कि कुछ दिन boarding school वगैरह में, घर से बाहर रहना होता है। नहीं तो बच्चा तंग दायरे में रहता है। वहाँ और बच्चों के साथ रहने में वह खुलता है। इसी के साथ-साथ माँ-बाप से बहुत अलग-अलग रहना भी अच्छा नहीं है छोटी उम्र में। दोनों का असर होना चाहिए ज़रा बराबर मिलाके।

रामनारायण चौधरी: पश्चिम के लोग क्या करते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: पश्चिम में आपको क्या बताऊँ? पश्चिम में जो लोग खुशहाल हैं?

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उनका एक ढंग है, जो और लोग हैं उनका दूसरा ढंग है। हालाँकि दोनों में फासला कम होता जाता है। खुशहाल लोगों के जो तरीके हैं, वे काफी सख्त हैं बच्चों के साथ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा!

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जी, उनका ढंग उल्टा है। वे काफी सख्त हैं, क्योंकि उनके सामने यह बात है

कि बच्चा तगड़ा हो और डरे नहीं। बच्चे से ऐसी बातें करवायेंगे जिनमें खतरा है। यहाँ जैसे बच्चे को बचायेंगे खतरे से, वहाँ खतरे की बात करवायेंगे उससे। थोड़ा बहुत खतरा, ज्यादा नहीं, ताकि बच्चा आदी हो जाये खतरे का सामना करने का। यहाँ तक कि वहाँ के स्कूलों में, अब तो शायद नहीं, पुराने ढंग के स्कूलों में, काफी सख्तियाँ होती थीं और अच्छे ऊँचे स्कूलों में यानी खुशहाल लोगों के बच्चों के स्कूलों में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जिन्हें public school स्कूल कहते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, जिन्हें public school कहते हैं वहाँ काफी सख्ती होती थी। खाना-पीना कुछ सादा, किसी कदर सादा, किसी कदर कम भी। पेट भी कम भरता था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा! (हंसी)

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: और ऊपर से खेल-कूद की तरफ ज्यादा तवज्जोह थी। और जो ढीला हो उसमें उसको कुछ सज़ा देना या नाराज़गी का इज़हार करना उसके साथ। अब इसमें भी हर मुल्क के अलग-अलग दस्तूर।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अंग्रेज़ों का अलग, औरों का अलग, लेकिन वमुकाबले हिन्दुस्तान के, वहाँ के खुशहाल लोग अपने बच्चों को लाड़ से खराब नहीं करते थे। उन्हें बहुत फिक्क रहती थी कि वो ढीले न हो जायें, उनका शरीर या दिमाग, बल्कि कुछ दूसरी तरफ झुक जाते थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: और कुछ नीचे के तबके वालों का क्या? आपने कुछ फरमाया था?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नीचे का तबका, जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा, असल में नीचा तबका तो वहाँ कोई खास रहा नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: सभी के बच्चे स्कूल जाते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: Boarding school नहीं, घर पर रहते हैं। लेकिन पहले बच्चों की कोई खास फिफ्ट नहीं थी। मोहब्बत थी। मेरा मतलब, फिफ्ट से मतलब, कोई खास देखभाल नहीं थी, जैसा होता है हर मुल्क में। पहले एक मोहब्बत तो थी अपने बच्चों से। अक्सर ज्यादा, ज़रूरत से ज्यादा बच्चे होते थे। कुछ दबाव होता था गरीबी का, तो एक बच्चा दूसरे की देखभाल करे। तंग जगह रहे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: तो ये सब दिक्कतें जो होती हैं गरीबी की, होती थीं हर मुल्क में, ज़रा वहाँ एक मायने में कम होंगी। यानी इतनी गरीबी नहीं थी वहाँ। दूसरी यह भी बात है कि सर्द मुल्कों में बाहर भी रहना ज़रा मुश्किल होता है। यहाँ तो रह भी सकते हैं। वहाँ तो चाहे गरीब हो, चाहे कुछ हो, बाहर रहना दुश्वार है। तो यही सब पेंच पैदा होते थे और उससे लड़के कुछ बुरी बातें भी सीख जाते थे, शराब पीना, ये, वो, बचपन से, क्योंकि माँ-बाप से अलग नहीं रहते थे। और उसी के साथ कभी-कभी तगड़े भी ज्यादा हो जाते थे दुनिया की मुसीबतों का सामना करने के लिए। दोनों ही बातें हैं उसमें।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपका अपनी बहनों के साथ कभी झगड़ा हुआ? उनको कभी आपने मारा-पीटा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मेरी बहनों में और मुझमें उम्र का बहुत फर्क था। पहली बहन¹⁴⁵ मुझे करीब ग्यारह बरस छोटी थी और दूसरी¹⁴⁶ अठारह बरस छोटी है। तो कभी यह सवाल नहीं उठा मुकाबले का मेरे दिल में। अलावा इसके मैं कम उम्र में विलायत चला गया¹⁴⁷ और उनसे मिलना भी कम हुआ। बल्कि दूसरी बहन तो पैदा ही तब हुई जब मैं विलायत में था। मुझे याद नहीं है, मैं नहीं समझता कि ऐसा हुआ होगा कि मैंने कभी अपनी बहन को मारा हो। यों कभी कोई चपत लगा दी हो तो और बात है, या डाँट-डपट कर दी हो।

रामनारायण चौधरी: नौकरों के साथ आपका कैसा बर्ताव रहा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: नौकरों के सिलसिले में मेरे ऊपर असर हुआ जो बरसों मैं वहाँ विलायत वगैरह में रहा। वहाँ तो कोई नौकर था नहीं, स्कूल में या बाहर कहीं भी। इसलिए अपनी देखभाल करने की आदत हुई। और दूसरे वहाँ कम से कम जो सभ्य लोग हैं उनके यहाँ कहावत है कि कभी नौकरों से बहस नहीं करनी चाहिए या किसी ऐसे शख्स से जो जवाब नहीं दे सकता। यह शान के खिलाफ

145. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, née Nehru.

146. Krishna Hutheesing, née Nehru.

147. In 1905.

बात है। यहाँ वापस आकर जो पहली बात मैंने महसूस की वह यह है कि लोग कितना चिल्लाया करते हैं एक-दूसरे पर, यानी मामूली बातों पर भी, और नौकरों पर गुलशोर चारों तरफ करते हैं। तो यह मुझे कुछ अजीब-सा मालूम हुआ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: हरि¹⁴⁸ का आपने कुछ जिक्र किया था उस दिन।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, यह हरि जो यहाँ काम करता है वह तो करीब-करीब पहले दिन से जब मैं विलायत से वापस आया सन् 1912 में, अर्थात् छियालीस बरस हुए, वह मेरे साथ रहा है। सिवाय बीच में कुछ बरस मेरे पिताजी¹⁴⁹ का काम करता था। घर में ही था या बीच में कुछ दिन वह MLA हो गया था Uttar Pradesh Assembly का, तब भी साथ तो मेरे था, लेकिन वहाँ जाया करता था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उसके साथ भी कभी आपने सख्ती की?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, सख्ती से मतलब कभी डाँट-डपट की हो मैंने, चिल्लाया-विल्लाया होऊँ उसके ऊपर, लेकिन मार-पीट का सवाल कभी नहीं हुआ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपके बचपन में पर्दे का क्या हाल था?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, मेरे बचपन में आमतौर से पर्दा लोगों के यहाँ होता था, हिन्दू-मुसलमान सभी के यहाँ, सिवाय दक्खिन के। लेकिन उत्तर में होता था। या पारसी वगैरह नहीं करते थे। लेकिन कश्मीरी घरानों में, याने कश्मीरी हिन्दू और मुसलमानों में तो और भी ज्यादा। आपस में कभी पर्दा नहीं रहा है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी मुसलमानों में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं, नहीं, मुसलमानों का मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ। लेकिन कश्मीरी हिन्दुओं में आपस में कभी पर्दा नहीं रहा। कोई कश्मीरी हिन्दू दूसरे के घर में जा सकता है, यह हमेशा से कायदा रहा है। और जब दावतें हमारे यहाँ होती थीं तो मर्द-औरत हमेशा साथ बैठते थे, बातचीत करते थे। रिश्तेदारियाँ होती थीं बहुत कुछ दूर-दूर की। चुनांचे कश्मीरी औरतों में एक माने में कुछ ज्यादा आजादी शुरू से रही है मिलने-जुलने की, बातचीत की। पढ़ने-लिखने में भी अक्सर लड़के-लड़कियाँ साथ पढ़ते थे।

148. Harilal, personal attendant to Nehru.

149. Motilal Nehru.

रामनारायण चौधरी: उस वक्त भी साथ पढ़ते थे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: छोटी उमर में, बड़े होकर नहीं। यानी मास्टर आये, घर में लोग रहते थे। मेरा मतलब स्कूल जाने से नहीं।

[Translation begins]

Ramnarayan Chaudhary:¹⁵⁰ Why are you so extraordinarily fond of children?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot answer that question, nor do I think that there can be any special reply to that, at least as far as I am concerned.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Is it because you have only one child? Or is it because you were an only son of your parents and were brought up with much love and affection?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That I was an only son of my parents or that I have an only daughter, or the other things you mentioned, is no explanation for my fondness for children.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Then is it because you see other children being ill-treated? Or is it because Kamalaji passed away early?¹⁵¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot answer why I am fond of children. But I am surely fond of children, and my fondness has kept on growing.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Is it because the responsibility for the future of the country depends upon them? Or for what reason?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am always conscious of the fact that the children of today will be tomorrow's India and if they are looked after well, so will the future of the country be.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Do you think that children should not be scolded or spanked under any circumstances?

150. See fn 141 in this section.

151. See fn 142 in this section.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not like the idea of beating children or anyone. I also do not think it is proper that if they make mistakes some guidance is not given to them, or possibly some punishment. But I totally disapprove of corporal punishment.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Any special method to reform sharir [naughty] children?¹⁵²

Jawaharlal Nehru: Games and sports is a good way for children to develop their bodies. They should regularly do some exercises meant for them. But...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: By sharir I don't mean body.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Then what?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Naughty children.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I see! Naughty children! You mean to say how to reform naughty children? I had not understood. [Laughter]

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Any method by which such children could be reformed?

Jawaharlal Nehru: One is to get their affection and confidence. If this is not done, the naughty child considers you as an enemy. It will be impossible to manage such a child until he considers you as his friend and thinks that friends give the right advice. Besides, mere scolding is less effective. He can be disciplined by diverting his attention to some activity. For example, here in Delhi, an institution was started some years back. What was it called?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Bal Bhawan?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no, I forget what it is called. It is not Bal Bhawan.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Bal Sahyog?¹⁵³

152. See fn 143 in this section.

153. See fn 144 in this section.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Bal Sahyog. That was for the waifs and strays who roam the streets. They do odd jobs or pick pockets. Instead of arresting them and forcibly confining them somewhere, we gave them access to this centre which they were free to visit for two-three hours every day to learn something useful. There was work of different kinds there and the children might be interested in them and could earn something. They were free to come whenever they liked; there was no compulsion. They learnt a great deal there; they also had the means of earning something; and their attention was diverted. So children should be provided with the opportunities to develop and they should be given proper direction. There should be no compulsion. You cannot pull a child this way or that way like a flower. Children are not like that. And there is a risk involved in that as too much strictness can lead to the spirit being broken and the growth and development being stunted.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What are the good and bad points in the upbringing of children in the East and the West?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, there is a distinction between the Eastern and the Western way of bringing up children. But there is yet another difference, the difference between the rich and the poor. This difference is there. The third distinction is that in other countries, in all countries in the West, every child goes to school. No one is left out. That makes a big difference, spending ten years in school, from the age of six to the time the child is about fifteen to sixteen. Where there are no schools, you cannot expect the children to learn school discipline.

Generally speaking, in India, children are spoilt through too much love and affection. Love is, of course, important and necessary, because, first of all, it is a natural thing. The love and affection one gets from parents and others has a great impact on that person, and it especially applies to children. But, if it is carried too far, especially in the matter of food and clothing, etc., then children get into wrong habits. For instance, children in India are bundled up heavily to protect them from the cold, with the result that they become delicate forever. Or they are over-fed and their digestion is spoilt forever. These things are wrong. Love and affection is alright; but there should be a balance.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: On the other hand, children are beaten too in our country.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Beating the children is bad, no doubt. But that is there to certain extent. Now, schooling from the age of six-seven to fourteen-fifteen makes all the difference to a child's life. It is debatable whether a child should

stay in the boarding or stay at home. There are advantages in both. I think it is good for a child to be in a boarding school, away from home, for some time. Otherwise the child lives in a confined atmosphere. In a boarding school, he interacts with other children and his personality flowers. At the same time, it is not good for a child to stay away from parents at a tender age. Both influences should be there in equal measure.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What is the system in the West?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Are you asking about the people in the West who are well-off?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Their ways are different, while others follow a different system, though the gap between the two is narrowing. The well-off people are quite strict with their children.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, their ways are different. They are very strict because they want their children to be strong and fearless. They even make them do things which are dangerous, whereas here we try to protect them from dangers. They expose them to dangers, to some extent, not much, so that they can learn to face dangers. Even in the schools there, in the old-fashioned schools for the children of the well-off, a lot of strictness used to be there which is perhaps not there now.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You mean the ones that are called public schools?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, there used to be great strictness in the public schools and, in fact, the food served to the children used to be very simple and meager, so much so that they could not eat their fill.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Really! [Laughter]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Moreover, great stress was laid on sports and games. Those who were lazy would be punished or reprimanded. Now, even in this matter, customs differed from country to country.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: How?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, the English customs were different from others. But, unlike in India, the well-off people there did not spoil their children by doting on them. They were very much concerned that the children should not become soft in mind or body; they rather swung to the other side.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What about those in the lower rungs? You mentioned something about that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, as I mentioned to you, there is no longer anything like a lower rung there.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I see.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Every child goes to school.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: They do not stay at the boarding; they live at home. Earlier, the people were not greatly concerned about children. They did have affection for them. By concern I mean that children did not get any special care as happens in most countries. But earlier, people certainly had affection for their children. Often there were far too many children in the family. There was the pressure of poverty, so the children looked after each other. The living space was small.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So the usual problems of poverty were to be found in all countries; maybe there the problems were, in a sense, less, that is, the poverty was not so much there. Secondly, in the cold countries, it is rather difficult to live outdoors; here it is possible. There it is difficult to live outdoors whether you are poor or whatever. So all these complications were there and as a result the boys would learn some bad habits, like drinking, since childhood, because they did not live separately from their parents. At the same time, they sometimes became tough enough to face the problems of the world. So both these things were there.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you ever quarrel with your sisters? Did you ever beat them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There was a big difference in age between my sisters and myself. The first one¹⁵⁴ was eleven years younger and the second¹⁵⁵ eighteen years younger. So the sense of competition never arose in me. Apart from this, I went to England¹⁵⁶ when I was young and so I did not meet them much. In fact, my younger sister was born when I was in England. I do not remember any occasion when I would have spanked my sister. It is a different matter if I gave a mild slap or scolded occasionally.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What was your behaviour towards servants?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As regards servants, my behaviour was influenced, to a large extent, by my long stay in England. There were no servants there in school or anywhere outside. Therefore, I got into the habit of looking after myself. Secondly, the etiquette among the civilised people there was never to argue with servants or anyone who could not answer back. That was considered beneath one's dignity. When I returned to India, the first thing that I noticed was the way people shouted at each other even over minor matters, and also at servants. I found it rather strange.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You mentioned Hari¹⁵⁷ the other day.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh yes. Hari, who works here, has been with me practically from the day I returned from England in 1912. So he has been with me for forty-six years, except for a few years when he attended to my father.¹⁵⁸ But he was very much in the house. He remained with me even when he was an MLA in Uttar Pradesh Assembly for some time, though he used to keep going there.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Were you ever strict with him?

154. See fn 145 in this section.

155. See fn 146 in this section.

156. See fn 147 in this section.

157. See fn 148 in this section.

158. See fn 149 in this section.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I may have scolded him, or shouted at him. But there was never any question of beating him.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What about the practice of purdah in your childhood days?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh yes, purdah was very common among both Hindus and Muslims, except in the South. It was there in the North, though the Parsis and some others did not observe it. But in Kashmiri households, that is, among the Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims, it was observed more strictly. However, purdah was never there within the family.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Among Muslims?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no. I am not talking about Muslims. But there has never been purdah among the Kashmiri Hindus within the family. They are free to visit one another's houses. That has always been the tradition. When there were parties at our place, men and women mingled together. Even quite distant relationships were maintained. Nevertheless, right from the beginning, Kashmiri women have, in a sense, enjoyed much freedom in the matter of social interaction. Boys and girls were often educated together.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: They were educated together even then?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Only when they were small; not as grown-ups. So when the tutor came, there were people around in the house. I do not mean studying together in school.

[Translation ends]

13. With Ramnarayan Chaudhary—II¹⁵⁹

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपकी माताजी¹⁶⁰ श्रद्धालु महिला थीं और धर्म-कर्म को मानती थीं, फिर गांधीजी की तरह आप पर आपकी माताजी की धार्मिकता का असर क्यों नहीं हुआ?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह तो मैं नहीं जवाब दे सकता कि मेरे ऊपर मेरी माताजी की धार्मिकता का क्या असर हुआ। उनसे मुझे प्रेम था, उनका आदर था और उनसे मैंने बहुत कहानियाँ सुनी थीं, हमारी पुरानी, यानी रामायण, महाभारत की कहानियाँ, जैसे बच्चे सुना करते हैं। उनसे और उनसे ज्यादा उनकी बड़ी बहन से, जो बेवा हो गई थीं। वो अक्सर हमारे यहाँ रहा करती थीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: नाम क्या था उनका?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नाम क्या था उनका? हम तो उन्हें बीबी अम्मा कहते थे। अब जो कुछ समझो। (हँसी) इस वक्त मुझे याद भी नहीं।¹⁶¹ बहुत बरस हुए यानी बचपन में बेवा हो गई थीं। हमारे साथ रहती थीं और फिरा करती थीं। सब भारतभर में यात्रा करती थीं अकेली। उनकी अजीब कहानी है। मैंने उसको कहीं लिखा भी है अपनी किताब में। जब मेरी माताजी मरीं, हालाँकि उनसे बहुत बड़ी थीं, लेकिन तगड़ी थीं। यात्रा करते-करते तगड़ी हो गई थीं। एक वक्त खाना खाती थीं। तो उनकी देखभाल करती थीं। जब मेरी माँ मरी, रातभर उनकी तबीयत खराब रही, पड़ी रहीं बेहोश, सुबह मर गईं।¹⁶² ठीक चौबीस घंटे बाद बीबी अम्मा, उसी तरह से जैसे उनकी बहन बेहोश हो गई थीं, बिल्कुल हूबहू, और रातभर पड़ी रहीं और चौबीस घंटे बाद वो भी मर गईं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: एक दिन भी ज्यादा ज़िन्दा नहीं रहीं उनके बाद वो।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अजीब बात है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हालाँकि काफी तगड़ी थीं उस वक्त, लेकिन ऐसा धक्का लगा बहन के मरने का या जो कुछ समझिये। एक और मेरी चाची थीं।

159. Interview with Ramnarayan Chaudhary, New Delhi, 21 October 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

160. Swarup Rani Nehru.

161. Bibi Amma's name was Rajvati.

162. 10 January 1938.

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यानी मेरे बाप के भाई की बेवा।¹⁶³ मैंने अपने बाप के भाई को कभी देखा नहीं। क्योंकि मेरे बाप से वो पन्द्रह-बीस बरस बड़े थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: तो वो भी घर में रहती थीं। उनसे भी हम बहुत पुरानी कहानियाँ सुना करते थे, पूजाएँ होती थीं, वगैरह-वगैरह, इस किस्म की बातें। उन बातों से दिमाग में, मज़हबी असर तो कहना सही नहीं होगा, लेकिन इस मज़हब के background का असर बहुत कुछ होता था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: क्या मामूली अर्थ में आप धर्म और ईश्वर को नहीं मानते?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: धर्म और ईश्वर को मानना या न मानना, यह सवाल मेरी समझ में नहीं आता।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैं क्या कहूँ, यह एक बहुत ऊपरी सवाल है, superficial सवाल है, बुनियादी नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन आप देखेंगे कि आगे जो मैंने बात रखी है उससे बुनियादी, मेरी दृष्टि से, हो जाता है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: इस बारे में मैंने कुछ अपनी *Discovery of India* में लिखा है। उसे आप देख सकते हैं, क्या चीज़ें हैं। ये बातें इन्सान के दिमाग के बाहर हैं। मुझे इस मामले में गौतम बुद्ध ने जो कहा है वह approach बहुत ज्यादा पसन्द है। उनसे किसी ने पूछा तो उन्होंने कहा, "मैं जवाब नहीं दे सकता इसका। न तुम्हारी समझ की बात है, न किसी की। जब समझ के बाहर बात है, तो जवाब क्या दूँगा?" न हाँ कहा, न ना कहा। मुझे वह बिल्कुल पसन्द है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन आपको याद होगा, पंडितजी, एक दफ़ा आप बिल्लियों को खिला रहे थे सुबह और मैं वहाँ आ गया था। तो मैंने कहा कि लोग तो कहते हैं कि आप धर्म-धर्म को मानते नहीं हैं, फिर यह धर्म नहीं तो क्या है? तो आपने कहा था कि अगर यही धर्म है तो मैं मानता हूँ इसको। यानी उनको जिस प्रेम से आप खिला-पिला रहे थे।

163. Nandrani, the widow of Nandlal Nehru.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, हाँ, धर्म की बात आप देखें। आप देखिए डा. राधाकृष्णन लेनिनग्राड में थे¹⁶⁴ तो वहाँ की University में कुछ बातें हो रहीं थीं। उन्होंने कहा, “तुम अपने को कहते हो कि God को नहीं मानते।” उन्होंने कहा, “हम नहीं मानते।” Professor वगैरह वहाँ मौजूद थे। तो उन्होंने कहा कि—मैं उनके अंग्रेजी शब्द बताता हूँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: “तुम truth को मानते हो?” उन्होंने कहा कि “हाँ”। उन्होंने कहा कि “तुम goodness को मानते हो?” कहा कि “हाँ”। उन्होंने कहा कि “तुम beauty को मानते हो?” उन्होंने कहा कि “हाँ”। उन्होंने कहा कि “यही तो God है। यही तो तरीका होता है कहने का।” तो उन्होंने जवाब दिया, “अगर आप इसको God कहते हैं तो हम मानते हैं उसे।” (हँसी)
देखिए न, इसी तरह “हाँ” या “ना” इन सवालों के जवाब नहीं होते। हमारे वेदान्त को लीजिए। अक्सर वेदान्त में God नहीं है। इसके माने यह तो नहीं कि वेदान्त materialistic है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : हाँ, हाँ नहीं है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: या बौद्ध धर्म materialistic है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : नहीं, नहीं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: लेकिन God नहीं है उसमें as such।

रामनारायण चौधरी: हाँ, ठीक है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: तो यह शकल है। आजकल तो science भी ऐसी जगह पहुँच रही है, ऐसे region में, जहाँ matter और energy सब मिल जाते हैं। अब energy है क्या? यानी ज़ाहिर है कि हमारे दिमाग जैसे हैं, हम जैसे हैं, एक तीन dimensions के। हम चौथे और पाँचवे dimensions का जवाब नहीं दे सकते।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, हाँ, कह दें, लेकिन दिमाग में आ नहीं सकती है बात जो कुछ है। यह कहना कि दुनिया सिर्फ वह नहीं है जो हम देखते हैं, जाहिर है कि इसके अलावा भी बहुत कुछ है, जो

164. S. Radhakrishnan was the Ambassador of India to the USSR from 1949 to 1952.

हम हल्के-हल्के समझ सकते हैं या ख़ास हैसियत में होके समझ सकते हैं, चाहे वो समझना एक तजुर्बे से हो, experience से हो, या experiment से हो science के, या intuition से। जो कुछ भी हो, इससे ज्यादा चीज़ें हैं। क्या हैं वे? जो जाने सो बताये। हम कैसे कह सकते हैं?

रामनारायण चौधरी: गांधीजी भी तो यह कहते थे कि अभी तो हम सीख रहे हैं, बहुत-सी बातें जान रहे हैं। लेकिन पंडित जी, यह तो बताइये कि आप किसी ख़ास धर्म की ज्यादा इज़्ज़त करते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: किसी ख़ास धर्म की ज्यादा इज़्ज़त, मैं नहीं जानता किसी ख़ास धर्म की ज्यादा इज़्ज़त क्या? मुझे ज्यादा तजुर्बा नहीं है, क्योंकि मैंने ख़ास study तो की नहीं है सब धर्मों की।

रामनारायण चौधरी: बौद्ध धर्म की क्या चीज़ आपके लिये सबसे ज्यादा आकर्षक है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कुछ जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा बचपन से एक आदमी पर, हिन्दू society में, एक गिलाफ चढ़ जाती है सोचने के तरीकों की, बातचीत से। वो belief या unbelief की बात नहीं है। वह एक conditioning होता है सुन-सुन के। लेकिन जहां तक हिन्दू धर्म का ताल्लुक है एक दिमागी असर मेरे पर उपनिषदों का हुआ। बाद में ज़रा बढ़कर हुआ। यह मैं नहीं कहता कि मैं उनको पूरा-पूरा समझता हूँ, लेकिन गीता-उपनिषद् का असर मेरे ऊपर ज़रूर है। उनको पढ़ने से मेरे ऊपर एक असर होता है। ज्यादा मैं नहीं कह सकता। दूसरे, मुझपर बचपन से गौतम बुद्ध की कहानी ने बड़ा असर किया है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: दो बातों ने ख़ास तौर पर, एक तो सारी उनकी ज़िन्दगी की कहानी और दूसरे, जिसको मैं समझता हूँ, उनका एक scientific attitude।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: Ethical और scientific attitude। इसने असर किया मुझपर, मुझे attract किया। और यों तो और धर्मों में अक्सर बातें हैं ऊँचे दर्जे की, appeal की, इसमें शक नहीं।

[Translation begins]

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Your mother¹⁶⁵ was quite devout and observed religious customs and practices. Why is it then that, unlike Gandhiji, you were not influenced by your mother's religious beliefs?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot tell you what influence my mother's religious beliefs had on me. I loved and respected her. I heard many stories from her, stories from our old epics, that is, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, as children generally do, and many more from her widowed elder sister, who often lived with us.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What was her name?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Her name? We used to call her Bibi Amma, whatever you understand by it. I don't remember what her real name was.¹⁶⁶ She was widowed many years ago in her childhood. She used to live with us and travelled alone all over India. She was of sturdy build. Hers is a strange story. I have written about it somewhere in my book. Although she was much older than my mother, she was more robust. She had become strong with her constant travels. She used to take meal once a day. She looked after my mother during her last days. My mother suffered for one whole night, remained in coma, and died in the morning.¹⁶⁷ Exactly twenty-four hours later, just as her sister had become unconscious, Bibi Amma also remained laid up the whole night exactly in the same way, and passed away.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Really!

Jawaharlal Nehru: She did not live even for a day longer after my mother's death.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: It is indeed strange.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Though she was quite strong at that time, the shock of my mother's death was too much for her, or whatever you make of it. I had yet another aunt.

165. See fn 160 in this section.

166. See fn 161 in this section.

167. See fn 162 in this section.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I see.

Jawaharlal Nehru: She was my father's brother's widow.¹⁶⁸ I never saw my uncle, who was fifteen to twenty years older than my father.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: She also lived with us. We used to hear very old stories from her too. Pujas, etc., were performed, and there were things of this kind. Though it would not be right to say that these things had a religious influence on the mind, the religious background did have a considerable impact.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Don't you believe in religion and God in the ordinary sense?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Believing or not believing in religion and God—I do not understand the meaning of this question.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: How should I put it? It is a very superficial question. It is of no fundamental importance.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But you will see that what I am going to say next makes it, in my view, a question of fundamental importance.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have written something about this in my *Discovery of India*. You can take a look at it. These things are beyond the scope of the human mind. I very much like Gautama Buddha's approach in this matter. When he was asked this question, he replied that "I cannot give an answer. Neither can you understand it nor anyone else. When it is beyond one's comprehension, then what answer shall I give?" He said neither "yes" nor "no". I like that very much.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But Panditji, you may remember that once when I came to see you in the morning, you were feeding the cats. I said, "People say that you don't believe in religion; then what is this if not religion?" You

168. See fn 163 in this section.

replied, "If this is religion, then I believe in it." That is, the affection with which you were feeding the animals.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh, yes, yes. Well, I will tell you something about religion. When Dr Radhakrishnan was in Leningrad,¹⁶⁹ some discussion was going on in the University there, and professors and others were also present. He said, "You say that you do not believe in God." They said, "No, we don't." Then Dr Radhakrishnan told them—and I will tell you the English words that he used.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: "Do you believe in truth?" They said, "Yes." He asked, "Do you believe in goodness?" They said, "Yes." He asked, "Do you believe in beauty?" They said, "Yes." Dr Radhakrishnan said, "All this is God. This is the way to put it." The professors said, "If you call this God, then we believe in God." [Laughter]

So, you see, you cannot answer these questions by a clear "yes" or "no". Take our Vedanta, for instance. Generally there is no reference to God in Vedanta. But that does not mean that Vedanta is materialistic.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, yes, that is no doubt true.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Or that Buddhism is materialistic.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: No, no.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But God does not figure in it as such.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, that is quite true.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So this is the position. Today science is also exploring regions where matter and energy are identical. What is energy after all? It is obvious that the human mind is normally capable of three-dimensional understanding. We cannot comprehend the fourth and fifth dimensions.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

169. See fn 164 in this section.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We may say that we know but, in fact, it is beyond our understanding. The world is not just what we are able to observe. Obviously there is a lot more beyond that and we can understand it gradually or on attaining some special state. This understanding may come either through experience or scientific experiments or through intuition. Whatever it is, there exist more things than we can see. What are they? Those who know can tell. How can we say anything?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Gandhiji also used to say that we are still in the process of learning. But Panditji, could you tell me if you respect any particular religion more than the others?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what is meant by greater respect for any particular religion. I do not have much experience because I have not done a special study of all the religions.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What is it about Buddhism that attracts you most?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As I told you, a person in the Hindu society acquires a layer of attitudes right from childhood through conversation. It is not a matter of belief or unbelief. It is a conditioning as a result of hearing something constantly. As far as the Hindu religion is concerned, it is the Upanishads which influenced my mind. That influence became rather strong in the later years. I do not say that I understand the Gita and the Upanishads fully, but they have definitely influenced me. Reading them has an effect on me. I cannot say more than that. Secondly, the story of Gautama Buddha has made a profound impression on me since my childhood.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I see.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Two things, in particular: one, the story of his life; and second, his scientific attitude.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: Ethical and scientific attitude. This attracted me and influenced me. Of course, there are many great principles in other religions also and these appealed to me. There is no doubt about that.

[Translation ends]

II. POLITICS

(a) Indian National Congress

14. To H.C. Heda¹

3rd September, 1958

My dear Heda,²

Your letter of the 2nd September. I have already discussed this matter of the AICC session at Hyderabad. I agree with you that we should do it in as simple a fashion as possible. I particularly like the idea of a number of the AICC guests staying with friends.

You have given a quotation from A.D. Gorwala's³ note or report. Gorwala's dominant passion for many years has been to run down the Congress Government and more particularly individuals. He dislikes every policy that we have adopted. He is angry about our foreign policy. He does not believe in socialism of any kind. He is only against some industrialists. It is absurd for him to say that our food policy or housing policy or indeed any policy is governed by big business. It may be that in some States various influences function. All our taxation policy is dead against the rich. So also our import and other policies.

As for party chests, it is true that during the general election monies were collected from big business also. As a matter of fact I think that the Congress collected less money than some other parties. You may have seen the statement of the Communist Party in Kerala to the effect that they collected about forty lakhs since they came to power there. This is an amazing sum for a small State to collect. The Congress has never been able to collect so much, except during general elections and from all over India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Harish Chandra Heda (1912-2002); Congressman from Andhra Pradesh; treasurer and secretary, Hyderabad Harijan Sevak Sangh, 1930-38; founder member, Hyderabad State Congress, 1938; suffered imprisonment in 1942 and 1947; founder president, Hyderabad State INTUC, 1948-50; Member: Provisional Parliament, 1950-52, Lok Sabha, 1952-67, Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, 1960-61; protagonist of separate Telangana.
3. A former member of the Indian Civil Service; resigned in 1947.

15. To P.N. Rajabhoj⁴

September 7, 1958

Dear Shri Rajabhoj,⁵

You gave me this evening a letter and a memorandum. I want to tell you that I have read this memorandum with interest, and there are some points with which I agree, more especially that the Congress leadership does not keep in proper touch with village workers.

You say that Ministers do not take you in their confidence. I do not know if you have any particular matter in mind. It is difficult for me to enquire unless there is something specific to enquire about. There is no question of protocol, but sometimes it may be difficult to find time. As far as possible, Ministers should, of course, give time to MPs or others for frank discussions.

Thank you for your letter of the 7th September, with which you have given a note about your personal impressions of what had happened in Ahmedabad. I have read this with interest.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

16. Morarji Desai's Press Interview⁶

Question:⁷ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state: (a) whether his attention has been drawn to the write-up on an interview by the Minister of Finance about India and her people to the American news magazine *Time* published in its issue of the 1st September, 1958;⁸ (b) if so, whether it is the policy of the Government that such interviews must be given to the

4. JN Collection.

5. Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Bombay and President of Bharat Dalit Sewak Sangh.

6. Replies to questions in the Rajya Sabha, 8 September 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, 1958, Vol. XXII, Nos 12-31, cols 2301-2308.

7. By Bhupesh Gupta of the Communist Party of India and eight others.

8. Union Finance Minister Morarji Desai's interview to *Time* correspondent Donald Connery in New Delhi in late August 1958 before his tour to the UK, the USA and Canada. He spoke on many subjects including the drinking of liquor, Gandhian simplicity, Indians, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Communists, world leaders, birth control and fanaticism.

American journals before India's Finance Minister leaves for the United States of America for seeking economic assistance; and (c) whether the views expressed by the Minister of Finance in that interview and published in the above-mentioned journal represent the views of the Government?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) Yes. (b) There is no such policy. (c) The views which are reported in this article are, as stated by the Finance Minister himself, his own personal views.

Bhupesh Gupta: My first series of supplementaries will relate to what I consider to be the most offending portion. So I shall read it out:

"Our worst trait is that we talk against our colleagues."

I underline the word "is" and let us note that it is not "was".

"We are a weak people".

Again I underline the word "are" here.

"We are a weak people—cowardly, physically and mentally. Two thousand years of suppression have undermined the nation's courage until we became afraid of everything."

Chairman:⁹ That will do.

Bhupesh Gupta: "Under the British we learned to evade taxes. We broke the laws clandestinely. We found it useful to tell lies. But, people are now beginning to speak out courageously."

Then come the remarks about the Prime Minister.¹⁰ To that I shall come later.

Chairman: Don't bother.

Bhupesh Gupta: Is the Prime Minister aware that if Shri Morarji Desai had made such a statement about an ordinary individual and not about an entire nation, he would have most definitely made himself liable to both civil and

9. S. Radhakrishnan.

10. In his interview with the *Time* correspondent Morarji Desai, speaking about Nehru, said: "Human foibles are hard to remove. He had always ridden on the crest of the wave since childhood. He was lionised from the very beginning. He could run away with anything. A feeling of indispensability grew up in him. Intellectually he is humble, spiritually he is not. If he believed in God, he would be another Gandhi. As it is, he believes the scientific way is the only way."

criminal charges for defamation? So what is the remedy when a Cabinet Minister libels the whole nation? That is the question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir, I am not aware of this.

Bhupesh Gupta: If he is not aware of it, I hope he will consult the Law Minister.¹¹

Chairman: He is not here.

Bhupesh Gupta: He is not here but he will consult him in due course.

Can the Prime Minister name any self-respecting Indian, living or dead, who ever expressed such opinion about our great people?

Chairman: It is a question of the living or the dead. You have to make a comprehensive comparison.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Is this a historical examination that the honourable Member wishes to put me to, on past history, the present and also the future?

Bhupesh Gupta: The Prime Minister has written the *Glimpses of World History*¹² and so he will not mind if I put him to a test.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is the difficulty. I know more about history than the honourable Member opposite.

Bhupesh Gupta: Will the honourable Minister who has superior knowledge please give me a straight answer? Can he name anybody who had ever said such things about the nation, any self-respecting Indian?

Chairman: If he has said that.

Bhupesh Gupta: He has said that. Let him say either 'Yes' or 'No'.

Chairman: No, no.

Bhupesh Gupta: You do not allow this question, Sir?

11. Asoke K. Sen.

12. First published in two volumes (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1934 and 1935).

Jaswant Singh:¹³ I want to put one question. I want to ask the honourable Prime Minister as to whether any member of the Cabinet is within his right to express such views about the whole nation? Is he within his rights to ventilate his personal views in this manner?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand this question, Sir. I cannot say whether the report is precisely what the Finance Minister said.

Bhupesh Gupta: He has owned it; it has been owned by him.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not saying that the report is incorrect or not but, even a word changed here and there gives a different emphasis but what I say is, I cannot say anything. It is for him to answer as to whether he did say or did not say but one thing you must remember. Whenever a general talk is going on, one may say something in one context and another thing in another context. I cannot answer. If the Finance Minister were here, he would be able to tell us. How can I answer what he meant, in what context he said? If there is any historical statement made there, I can express my agreement or disagreement with it. That is all. In the list, there are a number of things. For instance, there is something about birth control, etc.,¹⁴ with which I completely disagree.

Chairman: They are neutral subjects for our friends, subjects like birth control.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I completely disagree with what the Finance Minister is reported to have said.

Jaswant Singh: My question has not been answered. I wanted to know whether any member of the Cabinet is within his right to express his personal views defaming the nation?

13. Independent Member from Rajasthan.

14. As regards birth control, Morarji Desai said: "I know I am called woolly headed about such things. I don't preach against it because I am a voice in the wilderness. I am not dogmatic, however. I consider it the right of anyone to practice birth control if he wants to. But once a man can have pleasure without the consequences, he will become weak and immoral. This isn't the right way to seek God, or truth. The carnal pleasures of life have never made minds great."

Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously he has every right in regard to the vast number of subjects which are not covered by normal governmental policies or governmental programmes. Government policies or programmes do not cover the whole of our life.

H.N. Kunzru:¹⁵ Are Cabinet Ministers or Ministers of the Government free to speak about the Prime Minister in the way that Shri Morarji Desai has done?

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as the Prime Minister is concerned, he has no objection to their speaking about him in any manner they like.

H.N. Kunzru: This is not a personal question.

Bhupesh Gupta: We are concerned with the constitutional propriety.

H.N. Kunzru: It is a question of public importance. Have Government given Ministers freedom to criticise the Prime Minister in the way that the Finance Minister has done? He may be 100 per cent right or 100 per cent wrong. The question is not about the correctness or the wrongness of what he has said but about the propriety of his making such a statement as a Member of the Government. The Prime Minister's own wishes do not count in this matter. It is the constitutional propriety of a Minister of the Government saying such things that is under discussion.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There may be two opinions as to whether what the Finance Minister has said about me is complimentary or otherwise. There are two ways of looking at it. It is not exactly what might be called a criticism in the normal sense of the word. He has discussed a subject which normally is not discussed in assemblies like this, for instance, whether the Prime Minister believes in God or not. Mr Bhupesh Gupta, for what I know, may not believe.

Bhupesh Gupta: You also do not believe, according to him, it seems.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That again depends on what our definition of God is.

H.N. Kunzru: The point is whether the other Ministers are also free to be as abnormal as the Finance Minister.

15. Independent Member from Uttar Pradesh.

Chairman: Order, order.

Bhupesh Gupta: These are points of constitutional propriety. Can he name any Member of the Government in any democratic set-up anywhere in the world who has spoken of his people in this manner and about the Prime Minister and yet remained in office? History...

Chairman: The Finance Minister is not here and the Prime Minister says that he is not satisfied as to whether it is an authentic or correct version or not. He talks about his belief in God. If God is a symbol of the mystery at the heart of the Universe, he believes.

Bhupesh Gupta: I would beg of you not to introduce philosophy into this. It is a constitutional and political matter and I would beg of you not to introduce philosophy into this. Now, the Finance Minister has owned up his remarks about India which have been published in *The Hindustan Times*. It is there and the Prime Minister knows it. I would like to ask him from what he has said, are we to understand that a Member of the Government can commit libel against any nation with impunity and, all that the Prime Minister of that Government has to do in the matter is to shield and explain away his colleague's conduct? Answer.

Chairman: No more.

Bhupesh Gupta: Why no more, Sir? I too had been a student of constitutional history—and he is a much more knowledgeable person than me—but for the life of me I cannot think of any such occasion where a Member of a Government has spoken against the people and against the Prime Minister. He is taking it as a compliment and is trying to explain it away. It is sought to be explained away in a light-hearted manner. I would like to ask the Prime Minister to face a discussion in this matter. In the [sic] May's Parliamentary Procedure,¹⁶ you find that the Prime Minister is answerable to the House of Commons for the conduct of a Cabinet Minister and these things are taken very seriously. We are concerned with the political and constitutional propriety. Will he kindly face a debate over this question?

16. Referring to Thomas Erskine May, *Treatise upon the Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament* (London: Charles Knight, 1844).

Chairman: These are not questions. You are entering into a discussion. You are not putting a question...

H.N. Kunzru: Are Ministers free to talk of one another in public as the Finance Minister has done about the Prime Minister?

Bhupesh Gupta: Answer this question for Heaven's sake.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is obvious, Sir, that not Ministers but others too have to observe certain restraints naturally and more especially Ministers of a Government. If a person crosses those restraints, well, it depends on how, where and to what extent that is done. It is very difficult to frame rules about such matters. I am trying to speak rather objectively though my name has been brought in. I do not really see in the comments that are reported to have been made about me, whether I believe in God or not, anything wrong, either as Prime Minister or as anybody else. He seems to be discussing it in some other plane. That is not quite clear to me, I admit. So, how can I answer the honourable Dr Kunzru's question because it is obvious that there are limitations even in human behaviour? Apart from the Ministers, two persons should behave with each other with certain restraints. When these limits are crossed, it is another matter. Sometimes they obviously so cross, sometimes doubtfully cross and sometimes are not crossed. So, I do not think anything very special has happened about the Finance Minister.¹⁷

17. Morarji Desai said in Washington D.C. on 8 September that he had been quoted out of context and wrongly. "Mr Nehru commands the complete loyalty of his colleagues and the people. What we admire most about him is his intellectual humility", Morarji Desai said and added that Nehru believed more in the "scientific age" and if he were to believe in God as Mahatma Gandhi had, "he would be another Gandhi." He denied he had said Indians lacked courage. But he added: "If we were not weak we would never have been ruled so long by a foreign power." See item 368 for some observations of Nehru's on this episode which he shared with Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in his letter of 8 September 1958 to her.

17. To P. Ranga Reddi¹⁸

October 8, 1958

My dear Ranga Reddi,¹⁹

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd October.

I am glad to learn that you are having some cultural programmes during the AICC sessions in Hyderabad.²⁰ I would certainly like to attend one of these, if possible, but I am afraid I cannot keep away for long at night as I do a great deal of work every night. Please do not ask me to inaugurate any such programme. I do not understand how and why a cultural programme should be inaugurated by a speech. We are too fond of speeches, and there will be many speeches in the AICC. Why, then, add to them?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

18. To N. Sanjiva Reddy²¹

14th October 1958

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,²²

Your letter of the 12th October. I have noted the engagements you have referred to. I hope you will not add to them.

I shall have to leave Hyderabad early in the morning of the 27th so as to reach Delhi by 10 o'clock on that day.

There is one matter to which I should like to draw your particular attention. I do not want any Government money to be spent on the AICC Session and

18. File No. F-8/68/58-PMS, Vol. I. Also available in JN Collection.

19. Pidathala Ranga Reddi (1917-1991); Congressman from Andhra Pradesh; participated in Individual Satyagraha, 1940, and the Quit India Movement, 1942; elected to Provisional Parliament, 1950; Chief Whip of the Congress Legislature Party in Madras Assembly and subsequently in Andhra Pradesh Assembly, 1952-58; President, Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee, 1958-59; Minister for Planning and Information in the Andhra Pradesh Government, 1960-62; Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council, 1966-68, and Chairman, 1968-72; Speaker of Andhra Pradesh Assembly, 1972-74.

20. The AICC session was held in Hyderabad from 24 to 26 October 1958.

21. File No. F-8/68/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

22. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

Ministers and others who may come there should not be treated as State guests. They can be private or personal guests.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

19. To N. Sanjiva Reddy²³

October 20, 1958

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

I understand that our Defence Ministry have agreed to a request made to them by the President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee,²⁴ supported by you, for the loan and hire of 400 beds during the AICC Meeting. The arrangement is that the normal hire charges should be paid and if any damage is done, this should be made good.

I see no harm in this arrangement, but I would have personally preferred that the Congress Committee did not deal with our Defence Ministry on this subject. All these matters are likely to be raised in Parliament and needlessly create a wrong impression. However, since the arrangement has been agreed upon, I do not wish to interfere. But if it is conveniently possible to do without them or to take as small a number as possible, it would be better.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to O. Pulla Reddi, the Defence Secretary.

24. P. Ranga Reddi.

20. Message to the Seva Dal²⁵

I send my good wishes to the volunteers of the Congress Seva Dal²⁶ on the occasion of their rally at Bhopal.²⁷ The Seva Dal is an organisation to carry out disciplined public work. Its whole approach in its work is peaceful. Shramdan or active association with manual and like work should be a prominent part of its activities.

I am glad to notice that the rally is being held in such a way as not to cast a burden on the place of meeting. This self-reliance is to be encouraged.

During the days ahead, we have difficult work in the country. Even as we advance forward, our difficulties increase. This should encourage us to put ever greater effort in this work.

21. The Situation in Kerala²⁸

The AICC approves of the resolution passed by the Working Committee at their meeting on September 14, 1958, in regard to the situation in Kerala.²⁹ The AICC is concerned at the continuance of a state of insecurity in the State, the prevalence of attacks and murderous assaults and the policy of the State Government which is often discriminatory and not in accordance with the rule of law.

25. 21 October 1958. Seva Dal Files, AICC Papers, NMML.

26. A branch of the Indian National Congress for service and mobilisation, stressing discipline and character.

27. Rally held 15 to 17 November 1958.

28. Draft resolution for the AICC meeting, Hyderabad, 24 October 1958. JN Collection. The resolution was adopted unanimously the same day.

29. The Congress Working Committee had passed the following resolution on 14 September 1958:

“The Congress President gave an account of his recent visit to Kerala. The Working Committee expressed their great concern at the continuance of a state of insecurity in the State and the frequent attacks and murderous assaults on Congressmen and non-Communists, as well as at the policy of the State Government, which is often discriminatory and not in accordance with the rule of law.

“The Committee requests the Pradesh Congress Committee to convey their sympathy to those who have been victims of violence.”

22. Nuclear Tests³⁰

The AICC notes with grave apprehension the lack of progress made in disarmament and the continuation of tests of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. Scientific opinion all over the world has pointed out the grave dangers of these tests not only in the present, but to the future of humanity. The continuation of these tests is thus a crime against the human race, and adds to the risks of the annihilation of civilisation. Scientific experts have stated that it is feasible and practicable to discover any violation of an agreement on the discontinuance of such tests.

2. The Congress had welcomed the suspension of these tests by the Soviet Union.³¹ It is a matter of deep regret that this suspension has been ended now.³² It is also a matter of great regret that the other nuclear Powers have not suspended these tests and, in fact, such tests are being made by all the nuclear Powers with increasing frequency, regardless of all human considerations.

3. The AICC is firmly of opinion that there can be no peace or avoidance of conflict in this world unless immediate steps are taken towards disarmament and, in particular, for discontinuance of all nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests, pending an agreement by the States concerned to put an end to them completely. This agreement is urgently necessary, and the AICC appeals to all the States concerned and to the United Nations to bring about such an agreement.

23. Agricultural Production³³

The AICC notes with satisfaction the establishment of many basic industries and the widespread growth of small industries in the country. Industrial advance based on modern scientific and technological methods is essential to raise the productive capacity of the country and the standards of the people. It is also necessary in order to provide more and more opportunities of employment and for the growth of agricultural production.

30. Draft resolution for the AICC meeting, Hyderabad, 24 October 1958. JN Collection. The resolution was adopted unanimously the same day.

31. On 3 April 1958, Congress President U.N. Dhebar welcomed the suspension of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union.

32. See item 11, fn 134.

33. Draft resolution for the AICC meeting, Hyderabad, 24 October 1958. JN Collection. The resolution was adopted unanimously on 25 October 1958.

2. It must be remembered, however, that the growth of industry, in an agricultural country like India, depends basically on the growth of agricultural production and, in particular, production of foodgrains. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to increase food production. The yield per acre in India is pitifully low and can undoubtedly be increased wherever a real effort is made, as has been demonstrated in various parts of the country. It is of the first importance now to concentrate on this higher yield per acre of foodgrains so that the target laid down in the Second Five Year Plan should not only be reached, but considerably increased. By the end of the Third Plan, there should be a hundred per cent increase in the present yield. The problem of food production is a national one and should not be dealt with on a party basis, but in cooperation with other parties and groups. The food problem should be considered from the point of view of India as a whole.³⁴

For this purpose it is necessary to appoint a Sub-Committee of the AICC to consider all aspects of agricultural production including aspects of land reforms bearing thereon³⁵ and to submit a paper to the AICC for its consideration at the next session, containing detailed proposals for an integrated programme of agricultural development. The President is authorised to nominate the Committee which shall consist of not more than fifteen members.

3. While higher production is the only basic remedy to attain self-sufficiency in food and, wherever possible, a surplus for export, necessary steps should be taken forthwith to ensure that anti-social activities do not come in the way of the best utilisation of available supplies. The recent rise in prices of foodgrains in some parts of India was not wholly justified by the factual position and was partly due to artificial and engineered causes. Such anti-social activities with a view to profiteering must be sternly checked by the Administration, and public opinion should be built up to prevent them.

34. The subsequent paragraph was not in the draft. It was introduced by C. Subramaniam from Madras.

35. On 26 October 1958, U.N. Dhebar announced the formation of a sub-committee under himself.

24. India's Progress³⁶

Present State of the Nation—Opposition Parties' Tendency to Paint Dark
Picture will Harm India—Nehru Decries Habit
(From Our Correspondent)

Hyderabad, Oct. 24. Prime Minister Nehru today deprecated the tendency of Opposition parties to decry the achievements of the country and create an atmosphere of diffidence by indulging in statements that they were on the brink of a precipice and on the way to ruin and emphatically declared that "it is factually wrong and I will not accept such a statement".

Mr Nehru who was addressing the All India Congress Committee on what he said "General problems" spoke for about forty minutes. In the course of his speech, Mr Nehru emphasised the importance of technical personnel and resources for the progress of the country. He expressed the country's gratitude to those who had helped India by giving financial assistance, but he added that no country could become prosperous on loans, but by producing real wealth in the country.

Mr Nehru said that nowadays he saw the strange spectacle (ajib tamasha) of opposition parties painting a dark picture of the situation in the country. Of course, it was their right to criticise and it was their profession too. "I have no objection, if they criticise the Congress. But, by criticising the Congress, which had a major share in the administration they criticise the Government. Ultimately, it is the country that they are criticising. To say always that the country is falling and being destroyed is an attack on Bharat. Such critics will simply disappear in a Communist country, if at all anybody has the courage to say so. There is no scope for such things there" (cheers).

Continuing, Mr Nehru said he did not mean to suggest that there were no faults in the Communist States. In those countries an atmosphere was created that the country was advancing on all fronts. Some of the statements might not reflect the situation fully. What he found in this country was that the opposition created a peculiar climate by their repeated statements that the country was not progressing.

36. Report of speech at the AICC meeting, Hyderabad, 24 October 1958. *The Hindu*, 25 October 1958. Neither a draft nor a final version of this speech has been found in the AICC Papers.

Mr Nehru said some Congressmen also joined in this, possibly with a feeling, "Why should we be left behind? Let us also cry with others".

Foundations Laid for New India

India was a democratic country and there were the Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies, where expression was given to various viewpoints. It was necessary that their efforts should be directed towards removing the defects, which could be done by frank discussion. It was a correct and democratic way. It was wrong to generate a feeling that everything was wrong and they were heading towards a crisis. "If we look at the history of India during the last ten years, we find we have made progress in basic matters and laid the foundations, which is important for building a new India", he said.

Mr Nehru said that people would be amazed to see the progress that India had made, which was depicted in the "India 1958" Exhibition, though it might not have been able to give a full picture. It was not possible to encompass in any exhibition all that was happening in the country. The dignitaries who came to attend the World Bank meetings were impressed by the Exhibition, as it gave them a picture of a new, rising India, more than the discussions could show. "A new age of scientists, oil-drillers and mechanics was springing up. Bharat is changing."

Mr Nehru said, at the outset, that the Committee had passed resolutions on two kinds of subjects, international and domestic. There was no doubt that there was hardly any person in India who would oppose the resolution on disarmament. Yet, it was necessary, because, it would not only refresh their own minds but show the world the attention they were paying to an important question as the stopping of nuclear tests.

Industrial Era

The main question today on the domestic front was an economic one, said Mr Nehru. Agricultural production and industries were only components of the economic problem. An extraordinary thing that was happening in India today was that the country was passing from one era to another, from the pre-industrial to an industrial era.

Countries in the West as well as Japan and Russia and China had also passed through that revolution but their path was different. But the basic factor

was the same. There was no other way to develop the wealth of the country adequately and increase its prosperity except by the new way of science and technology, which were needed for industrial progress. India was a poor country and it could achieve material progress by industrialisation. He was sure there was no conflict or contradiction, if they gave an important place to small-scale and village industries. He did not know, what might be the position, say after 50 years, in the atomic age. He did not think that industries might employ more than two crores of people. It was their duty to give an opportunity to the large mass of people in the village to produce wealth. Their manpower had to be utilised. Therefore, they were laying stress on Gramodyog. India had to develop in different ways, he added.

Dwelling on the concept of the Socialist pattern of society, Mr Nehru said that it did not consist in merely removing economic and social inequalities, but in approaching these problems in a scientific way. The objective of both capitalist and Socialist States generally was to have a welfare State. There might be disparities in the USA but their "low" was "very high". In many other countries like Scandinavia, man was looked after "from birth to death". Mr Nehru touched on the process of evolution to industrialisation and said a feudal system obstructed the growth of society. They had to make a scientific approach to their problems. "Socialism means to solve social problems scientifically".

They were just entering on an industrial era in India and said: "We are in the middle, between two valleys. On the one side, the old structure was stumbling and on the other, it had not settled down". Such changes required enormous resources for the construction of projects and the establishment of industries. Money and manpower were big problems, "We have to tighten our belts, save money and build up resources. We want trained technicians and not unskilled men, who might be a burden at one stage". He mentioned that India had recently got some loans from the United States, Japan and England.

Foreign Exchange— Absurd to Talk of "Bankruptcy"

Mr Nehru said: "We were in some difficulty regarding foreign exchange. Because, when a country embarks on industrialisation it requires foreign exchange to get machines and even steel". They had erected four steel plants³⁷ by spending Rs 500 crores. They had not sufficient foreign exchange to pay, as only by

37. At Bhilai in Madhya Pradesh, Rourkela in Orissa, and Durgapur in West Bengal, and the expansion of the steel plant at Jamshedpur in Bihar.

stepping up exports, could they get it. It was absurd to say that they were "bankrupt". "We obtained loans from some countries. We are thankful to those countries because they helped us at a crucial time. But, no country can continue on foreign loans. We must produce our own wealth by agriculture and industry". Whether they were a capitalist or a Socialist country, they grew only by hard toil and industrial and technological development.

Giving the example of the recovery of Germany and Japan after the war and also a part of Russia, which was destroyed by Germany, Mr Nehru said: "In 10 years Germany and Japan have again risen with glory and strength". The one common factor (among these countries) was that both were hardworking people and had adequate technical personnel. "In fact, they have become stronger than what they were ten years ago. Unless we are strong and hardworking, we may not achieve our goal, no matter what 'ism' we may follow", Mr Nehru said.

There was need for "sacrifices" in order that the country might be developed, said Mr Nehru. They were living in the atomic age and it was necessary that they should go forward, for which they had to shed their comforts, so that they might live comfortably tomorrow. You can rest today. But, then you will not see tomorrow". Mr Nehru explained that the means of production moulded the society in a country. In that way, they had an industrial society, an agricultural society. The shackles that bound the society and impeded progress ought to be broken, apart from other considerations. Untouchability had to be removed from a practical standpoint. Similarly, a country could not progress, if their women remained in "purdah" and continued to be backward.

Mr Nehru said that the Congress was moulded by nationalism, which gave them power and strength, as also inspiration to work. Side by side, it were the rural people and their issues of agriculture, land reform and other economic problems that shaped the Congress. A national organisation had a national complexion. They had to retain that national character. At the same time, they had to grow and have their hand on the pulse of the people and meet new requirements. Their contact with the people in the freedom struggle gave them training to tackle the people's problems.

New Life in Villages

Referring to the agricultural production in the country, Mr Nehru said that due to their ill-luck the production was affected in the last three years due to floods or scarcity of rain. Their real objective was to raise the mass of people. The

Community Development work was being done in three lakhs of villages. There might be some shortcomings in the work, but a new spirit had spread in every village. Unless they gave up outmoded ideas and infused a new life in the rural areas, they could not progress. "I have faith in the people of India. We are facing difficulties in passing on from an agricultural age to an industrial one, but we will overcome them".

Mr Nehru said he was born in the nineteenth century and had spent 58 years in the twentieth century. He found that the mind of the children of today was new. "I see my grandsons. Their minds go to technical and mechanical realms". These boys were being shaped in a new age. He wanted that more new blood should come into the Congress.

25. Congress Objectives³⁸

Mr President³⁹ and comrades,

I have listened to a number of speeches delivered on this resolution⁴⁰ and have read the amendments moved. I do not know myself which amendments have been held to be in order, but I gather that only a few are in order. Perhaps, one⁴¹ which says to drop the words "with satisfaction" in the first paragraph and the one which Shri Algurai Shastri recently moved.⁴² Now, this resolution, as you will no doubt notice, is rather a medley. It is a mixture—not a mixture of contrary things, but nevertheless a mixture—and one thing that interested me in this discussion was as to which part of this mixed-mixture people spoke

38. Speech at the AICC meeting, Hyderabad, 25 October 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

39. U.N. Dhebar.

40. Govind Ballabh Pant moved the resolution on "Congress Organisation" on 25 October 1958.

41. Amendment by A.R. Antulay from Maharashtra. The original draft on Congress Organisation read:

"The AICC notes with satisfaction the progress made in the organisation of Mandal committees throughout the country....."

42. Algurai Shastri from Uttar Pradesh, who was also Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament, wanted to add at the end of the sixth paragraph: "To meet this end in view the Working Committee should take suitable action in time." The sixth paragraph read as follows: "The AICC views with concern the continuation of groups and internal conflicts within the Congress. The Congress cannot serve the people or take them towards the objective in view unless these group rivalries are given up and discipline is maintained and every Congressman subordinates his own interests to the larger good."

about. Here was Mr Algurai Shastri warming up in regard to the last part, or more or less the last part, and going into some personal histories about that matter.⁴³ And yet, important as the last part and every part of this resolution is, surely the purpose and basis and outlook of this resolution is something bigger and wider and much more important than what Mr Algurai Shastri seemed to imagine.

It is a vital matter how you and I and this great House looks at these things. Do you know, what is the best test of an organisation or of a country or of an individual? The test is what questions that organisation puts? What questions are in the mind of that country, or of that individual? If they are petty questions then that organisation and that individual is petty. If they are big questions then that individual at least is trying to be big if he is not big, and the organisation. Therefore, it is interesting to find and it might serve some useful purpose to make a note of what our various Congress committees from top to bottom think about, and discuss, from time to time. Are they engrossed in what might be called relatively petty questions, important as they may be, in the context of events or are they thinking of the great things that this country and the Congress has to face today? That brings out the reality of that organisation: how far it is in touch with the moving current of history, and how far it has been diverted from that moving river, and has become a puddle by the side of it, going round and round maybe. That is a vital point to understand and to see.

Yesterday, in another connection I ventured to submit to this House that we are changing over from one age to another. We are in one of the great stages of transition in India, and in another sense in the world, and we in India, therefore, have to face a double transition, one peculiar to India and one in which we take part in the great world revolution that is going on—a revolution in the real sense of the word, that is, the whole structure of the world is changing, its life, the forces at work in the world, atomic energy, what not, are changing it. So, we have to face a double revolution. And it is a challenge of enormous significance to us, to this country and to the world too, what we do. And here is this organisation which has faced great challenges in its past, and still has the daring to face the challenge of today. What does it think? What does it argue? What kind of subjects bring some excitement in its debates? And what are taken for granted? We may discuss, as we did yesterday, briefly the

43. Algurai Shastri claimed that internal party rivalries were ideological before Independence and power struggles thereafter, which were debilitating, so he demanded penalties, not mere resolutions.

question of atomic tests and it was rightly pointed out by a member why discuss this, it is something we all agree. Of course, we agree, we agree about many things and we agree for two reasons, one, because, well, we consider them important and we agree, and the other is, we consider them unimportant and we agree. Why should we bother about things we do not worry about? If in a vital matter you agree because you consider it unimportant, then you lose grip, then you lose, you shift away from that great current of history that is sweeping along at such a fast pace. It is a small matter about these atomic tests. It is a far more important matter whether life exists in this globe a few years later or does not, whether civilisation perishes, whether all that we have done or we hope to do is brought to naught and ruin and frustration because of the quarrels and the atom bombs of others. It is no small matter, it is a vital matter. It is a happy coincidence that hardly any of us in this country disagree on that subject. But, the question does arise: is your agreement from, let us say, not attaching importance to it, either from knowledge or from ignorance, or just not caring about it or taking it for granted? If you do not care about the vital things that affect the world today, well, the vital things will not care about you and us. Remember that there is a two-way traffic and then the world will go along ignoring you. I am merely pointing out this as an example.

Now, I think that the resolution we passed yesterday about the atomic tests⁴⁴ is of vital importance. It may be that the voice of India—though it is not backed up by armed might or by financial power, yet it has some influence on the nations of the world. It may be that the appeal that we made,⁴⁵ not casually but after thought, after full consideration and after conviction, will have some influence on the great powers and the United Nations, and the Geneva Conference, and all those who may be thinking about these matters. If so, we have done a great thing not only for ourselves but for the world. Therefore, it was an important resolution which should not have been put, let us say, from the chair. As if it is a formal thing, we do something; discharge our duty formally, as we have to do many other formal things without attaching importance to them.

I am sorry for drifting away from this resolution, but I wanted to put before you an example as to how we have to view things. What is in your mind today? What is in the mind of this organisation? Is this great transition from one age to another troubling your mind? And are you seeking some way to

44. AICC resolution on nuclear test ban, 24 October 1958. See item 22.

45. Nehru's appeal to the USA and the USSR, 27 November 1957. See SWJN/SS/40/pp. 593-594.

grasp this change, all that is happening, some way to control it, some way to direct it, so that we may remould it nearer to our heart's desire? We cannot fashion the world, but we have dared, this organisation has dared, to fashion India. Although it is a difficult enough task to fashion, to direct 370 million people, we have dared to do that in the past, and with a large measure of success. Have we that daring now or are we going to be swept away by the current?

People sometimes talk of odd things, fear. Somebody said yesterday about that Kerala resolution⁴⁶—he finished up by saying, warning you that trouble may come in and spread all over India, this will happen, that will happen⁴⁷. I do not particularly fancy such language or such thinking. Somebody else said: "Oh! Look at Pakistan. martial law and all that, and the newspapers are full of long articles how it concerns India, and other people and other countries also talk about it." Well, obviously it is a matter of concern to us anyhow what happens in a neighbour country, more especially Pakistan. Obviously it is a matter of concern to us if martial law is declared and if all the roots of democracy and everything that goes with democracy are pulled out and uprooted.⁴⁸ It is no small matter, if for nothing else, we have—I believe, and I am glad we have and I certainly have—a sense of fellow-feeling with the people of Pakistan who were with us, who were one of us till only a few years ago; and if they prosper we are happy, I am happy; if they come to trouble I am unhappy, quite apart from the reactions in India. But then, of course, I have to consider the reactions in India. Still I am convinced that their well-being is good for India. And so, therefore, we are obviously concerned about what happens there but that concern is not of that type that many of our wise newspaper writers write about. Their concern is apparently one of fear: Oh! Will this thing happen? Will some military leader or somebody else rise up and some dictator assume military power in India, and so on and so forth. I honour and respect newspaper writers and editors, but I am sometimes astonished at their frivolity in thinking, at their superficiality in considering things.

However, I am not talking about Pakistan, I am content with the problems of India; they are enough for me. They are enough for me, partly because it is your concern and mine, partly because they are difficult problems, and even though I may talk about the atomic tests, I talk about them because indirectly or directly they may concern India. My groove is India. It is a big enough groove to work in, and if I have to influence the world, it is through our work

46. AICC resolution on Kerala, 24 October 1958. See item 21.

47. Referring to S. Nijalingappa from Mysore.

48. Martial law was imposed in Pakistan on 7 October 1958.

in India that we can influence it, not by our resolutions or our tall talk. It is only in the measure that we achieve success in our undertakings in India, and our work and our progress, that we impress the world. If we impress the world by way of our past achievements or by independence, well, it was by that achievement by a singular, unique and peaceful way. Little credit went to us individuals, but a great deal of credit went to our great leader Mahatmajji and to this great organisation. Now, we function, then, on a high plane of endeavour. It is perfectly correct, what Alguraiji said. Did we not have groups and conflicts then? Of course, they have always been in the Congress and I have been in the Congress for roughly about fifty years now, and there have always been those groups even before Gandhiji came, of course, the different types of groups. After he came also there were groups and bitter controversies and personal rivalries. That is a part of human nature, which is translated into politics. But there was this difference that although we had groups we have something bigger to deal with, and we were absorbed in the bigger things of life, whether the groups flourished or did not flourish, or disappeared. Now, the real thing is not what you talk about groups and all that, and the real thing is not just going the way as Alguraiji said: take action or take actions immediately and have a big stick. A big stick may be necessary, is sometimes necessary. But, again I repeat to you, the question is: What do those groups talk about, think about? Why are those groups there? That is the question. Is it about any matter of principle, any matter of high thinking or is it personal? I say, if they are personal groups, to hell with them; I am not interested in personal groups. And I say that is the difficulty. I see hardly any talk of high principles there.

Talking about the United Provinces Congress Committee, of which I have been a member for a very, very long time, we always had groups, good groups, bad groups, good people, bad people, offensive people, disreputable people, every kind of people. Even I may tell you, to my knowledge secret service men came to disclose our secrets; they were our members too. We put up with them knowing who were there, that is, we could not prove it, we suspected them. All great organisations have all these various types of individuals. But as I have said we were at grips with a major problem, big problems, big struggles and all that. If you are not at grips with that problem in your Committee then my advice to you is to retire; let others come. I have not talked too much about that person being good and that person being not good, and getting a group's support to you whatever you may be, good or bad, or just that type of man. That group is no good at all. When an organisation descends to that level, then it has lost grip and naturally the result of it will be that other people, who are not interested in your petty rivalries, think something else. It is natural. So it is in that sense that we have to think of this matter. Action should be taken,

certainly, and discipline maintained; but it is not by discipline alone that a great organisation exists. It is by the life force of that organisation that it exists, and that life force may go wrong and I do not mind if the life force goes wrong; I put up with it because it is the life force. But what is one to do with a dead thing, when it argues about dead questions and dead matters? That is the difficulty today.

Now, take this resolution. We talk in it about Mandals and one friend speaking here said, "Why do you talk about the note of satisfaction?"⁴⁹ Well, for the simple reason that I am satisfied. What more? We are satisfied. If you are not satisfied, then scrap the words out by all means; do not say an untruth. But what are we satisfied about? We do not say that we are satisfied with everything. Well, it says we are satisfied with the progress made. This is the language. We are satisfied; the resolution notes with satisfaction the progress made in the organisation of Mandal Committees. I say definitely and without a shadow of doubt that the progress made is something to give us satisfaction. Here is a new change, a new move in our Congress organisation, and it is not an easy move by any means. First of all, every great organisation, like the Congress, inevitably falls into ruts. And its individuals fall into ruts, the committees fall into ruts, the whole organisation falls into ruts. And if you want to pull it out of that rut it is not an easy matter, as we all know. So to introduce this Mandal system at this stage⁵⁰ is not an easy matter and many, many people doubted it; many of you know about it; in your arguments many doubted. I say that, considering everything, this Mandal organisation has been a greater success than I expected. What more can I say? It is not a complete success; it is a beginning we shall make, and it is, at any rate, the right direction for us to move.

I know very well that some Mandals are bogus Mandals, that the people have not properly elected somebody, those gentlemen who consider it their birth right to occupy seats of authority in Congress committees and dictate who should be elected, who should not be elected, and who in fact manage the committees. We have such gentlemen, as we all know, unfortunately. Well, they formed Mandals without regard to any normal electoral process. That has

49. See fn 41 in this item.

50. The Mandal Congress Committee (MCC) replaced the thana or taluka Congress committees as the lowest level of the organisation. Above it were District, Pradesh, and All India Congress Committees. The thana or taluka Congress committees were discontinued as they did not correspond to either the legislative assembly constituencies or the community development blocks. The MCC was composed of primary members of the Congress and covered a population of about 20,000. It was introduced at the Gauhati session of the Congress in January 1958.

happened; I know that. But what I mean to say is that, in spite of all that business, the progress made has been—can be considered—satisfactory. We have to proceed with it. What was the whole purpose of this Mandal business? It was again to get out of that rut and, having got out of it, make other people, large numbers, more especially in our rural areas, come into a circle of work and responsibility and interest. It is doing that; it has not done 100 per cent, but it is doing it. We are moving in the right direction and the Mandals have many people, many new elements have come into the Mandals, old elements have come back, and so on and so forth. And if we can build up those Mandals, we get strong roots to this organisation afresh which are rather drying up. Therefore, I think we are perfectly justified in saying that this Congress notes with satisfaction the progress made in this. But the progress has to be maintained.

Again, in that very first paragraph the other side of the picture is stated, that is, about the Congress or its Committees drawing sustenance and strength from the Mandal Committees, from the workers in the Mandal. It is important because we have become, many of us, self-centred, revolving round ourselves, as the representatives of the Congress in a particular area. And if we become self-centred we close up our minds, etc., and windows and doors, and the result is we do not draw sustenance, nor indeed can we give sustenance to others. Now, the Mandal organisation is meant to open those doors and windows of our minds for a two-way traffic. One is, of course, for us to draw sustenance from the grass roots, if I may say so; the other is for us—by us I mean all our numerous Congress workers and others who work there including the Mandal workers—to discuss with the people, to tell them what is happening in the country, what the Congress is doing, what the Government is doing, what our difficulties are, what our problems are, frankly and fully—not a paean of praise and all that—so that, they may realise. Because my own experience, and it is a fairly wide experience, of the people of India is that, and perhaps that may apply to any people anywhere, if you deal with them fairly and frankly they deal with you fairly and frankly. If you deal with them as intelligent human beings, they respond to that, they understand. Everybody may not agree with you, but they respond to that kind of careful intellectual and emotional approach of friendship and equality, telling them our problems, our difficulties, our successes, asking for their help, asking for their advice, whatever it is. Therefore, this is a two-way traffic. And further, it is highly important that you should always place these things before the Mandal, the peasant, the worker and everybody. Do not imagine that because he lives in his village, he is incapable of understanding the larger problems of the nation. I do not accept that proposition. Naturally he may not understand some complicated question about foreign exchange, although I think he will understand it if you explain it to him.

But the point is that you must put before him the larger perspectives of the nation. He has to deal with his own environment, of course; naturally, all of us have to deal with it. But, at the same time, let him understand these larger perspectives.

Where are we going? What are our five-year plans? After we attained independence, where do we look to? What does our socialistic structure of society mean? And how socialism is not a thing of a slogan, it is not a thing of a resolution; it is not a thing of nationalising this and that. It is not a thing of just repeating something about equality. It is something much more intricate and difficult than that. Socialism is not just parcelling out poverty and building up—even if you can build up, which is difficult—a social structure of a country which, well, is a social structure of the poverty-stricken, for the poverty-stricken. This is not my idea of socialism. But people do not realise that in order to build socialism you have to have the wherewithal to build socialism; you have to have the means, goods, wealth, etc., to distribute. Therefore, I say, explain these things to them: the larger perspectives of planning, the difficulties of it, the mistakes we have made, everything. Thereby you will find two things happen. One of course is that you yourself in trying to do so will be forced to think more deeply about those problems, inevitably. Secondly, in trying to do so, in doing so, you will be paying a tribute to the understanding of those you are addressing. Maybe they do not understand everything but they will appreciate the tribute you pay to their understanding, that you are talking to them about these matters, and not treating them as ignorant people who do not understand. That is a wrong attitude. It is a wrong attitude to the peasant as it is a wrong attitude to a child, to treat him as an ignorant child, not capable of understanding. That is not the modern way to treat a child or anybody. Treat him as intelligent, able to understand.

And then you find in paragraph two of this resolution, a reference to the Community Development movement.⁵¹ Now, frequently and rightly a great deal of criticism is directed to the community movement in India. I said rightly and yet I say there is nothing more important, more revolutionary, more vital, in India, taking everything into consideration, than the community development movement. And there is nothing more wonderful, I say, than the success it has

51. Paragraph 2 of the resolution on Congress Organisation reads as follows: "The special programme laid down for Mandal Committees was to increase agricultural production, mobilise small savings, develop small-scale industries and the cooperative movement and promote community development. All these activities come within the scope of the great movement for community development and Congressmen should associate themselves and help in this movement which has already spread to over 300,000 villages in India."

achieved in spite of hundreds or thousands of failures. I am saying contradictory things, you will say, success and failure, of course. Life is contradictory, life is not logical. We are contradictory, the Congress is contradictory, it has to be self-contradictory, that is life and if you want to keep in touch with the moving curves of life, you have to stick to it and understand these various phrases. I say the community development movement is the biggest and the most vital thing we have undertaken in that line, because that is the line which the Congress has always thought of, that is, the line of the masses—raising the masses, making them dynamic and all that. We did it in the political field long years ago, moving in the masses. It is a little more difficult to do it in the economic and social field. But to some extent, we did it of course. We talk about untouchability and all that; that is the social field. We did it. But now, to pull the masses out of their own ruts of living and thinking and make them dynamic is a tremendous task. I do not say, I cannot say, in what measure and in what time we shall do it. We shall do it of course, because the whole of life's currents now move them in that direction. Whether we do it rapidly or it takes time, whether we do it smoothly or with trouble, I cannot say. History will write later. But I do say that the biggest attempt that has been made in recent years by us in India, by the country, has been in the community development movement. It is a matter of faith, if you like, but I feel that in spite of its hundred falls, it is making good and will make good. It will make good, of course, in the measure that we help it to make good. If we isolate ourselves, if we condemn it and all that, then it will not make good or it will take longer to make good. But it is a right thing because, if for nothing else, it has built up a mighty organisation for 300,000 villages, from top to bottom—these links we never had except sometimes in the political field. Now, through these links you can today, let us say, send a directive, send a message, send a thought, to some 300 thousand villages in an organised way. To build up even that organisation is a tremendous thing. How this big organisation functions is not a matter for an individual or an officer. Thousands, tens of thousands, and more, lakhs of people are concerned in that. That will mean how the country will function in future.

Then in paragraph three,⁵² you will see there is a talk of the new order and in every village, the panchayat, the cooperative and the school should be there.

52. The paragraph reads as follows: "The base for the new order in every village in India should be the panchayat, the cooperative and the school. Cooperatives should not merely be for purposes of giving credit, but to develop patterns of cooperative working and living. They should endeavour to be self-reliant. They should be small so that their members may have a sense of common working and partnership and should be so constituted as to rely upon themselves and not on official agencies."

Now, again, may I repeat what I said earlier elsewhere today, about the cooperative. We talk about cooperatives; it is something much deeper than credit cooperatives; it is something, again, assisting powerfully in that process of uprooting us from the ruts. It is of vital consequence how and what shape your cooperative takes. It will help you, of course, if it has money and it is a big cooperative and there is red-turbaned chaprasi sitting in front and all that, and the big officer. It will help you, perhaps, but that is no cooperative so far as I am concerned. It does not bring the essence of cooperation. The essence of cooperation is cooperation, working together, not a big boss sitting there and initiating orders—that is not cooperation. Therefore, I don't like the idea of the cooperative being officialised and I am sorry to say that some of our States think too much of officialising them, hoping no doubt for quick results. They may perhaps get quick results here and there, but they are not building anything deep; it is all superficial. And I am absolutely convinced, first of all, that cooperation is the way out for India, almost, if not in every field, in most fields, certainly in the village field, and secondly, that cooperation will be in intimate touch with official machinery but should not be official. It should develop the spirit of partnership among the people, the spirit of cooperation, the spirit of responsibility, the possibility of their making mistakes—let them make mistakes, they will learn from them. And if you want to create this intimacy among them, then, again, you can only create intimacy by the numbers being limited. A poor villager, if he is put in a large crowd, he is lost; he has no sense of intimacy left. Therefore, I believe in the small cooperative, in the village cooperative of two villages, or three villages nearby, if you like four villages but they must be nearby, and people should know each other; that perhaps produces a sense of intimacy, a sense of partnership, a sense of cooperation, a sense of knowing each other's faults and virtues.

Naturally you may say, and you will say rightly again, that oh, whenever we have these panchayats, or cooperatives, these people fight each other, form groups and misbehave. Of course they do; they have never known how to do better—not in recent centuries anyway. They are bound to make mistakes. How do you expect suddenly drawing room manners from a person whom you have kept out of the drawing room for a few hundred years? We cannot do it; we have to learn from experience, by failure, by all that and therefore don't be afraid. You can only make them trustworthy by trusting them, giving them authority and power, within limits of course. If the wrong they do goes far, you can check it. You can have authority to check it or change it at the top. But let them feel they can function; give them authority and responsibility within that limited sphere. And if you want a larger grouping, group these small cooperatives together, as a kind of federation, in a larger federation, for an

area—it may be a district, whatever it may be, I do not know—so you get the advantages of both big and small.

One thing else in this connection of cooperatives, and that is the laws which govern the cooperative movement in India today. Well, these laws appear to have been devised by some genius to prevent the cooperative movement from establishing itself in India. There they are and we merrily go on with them, eleven years after Independence; why and how I cannot explain, it is beyond me. But I think one of the first things which every State should have done was to change these laws completely. I myself have been a sufferer; therefore I speak with some feeling. I tried hard, the Prime Minister of India tried hard to help some people to start a cooperative round about Delhi—for eight months. I didn't succeed; I gave it up. What is one to do about it? That was because, if I may mention, well, I had to deal with a gentleman who functions as, I suppose, registrar of cooperatives⁵³ in the Punjab State. Evidently, he is not anxious that the cooperatives should grow and all kinds of rules and regulations he produced, week after week, month after month, till all one's energies were drained out. Well, that may be an extreme example, I do not know. But the point is if you want cooperatives, you should have laws which encourage them and not discourage them. And if you want cooperatives, who do you want cooperatives for, the well-to-do? For those who can produce security? Well, you leave out the vast section of the Indian people who have not got that security or anything. That is the present-day cooperative. They have to produce securities and all kinds of assurances. What is the present-day average man to do? He just cannot function in that situation. You have to do something; you have to have some different laws.

Well, now, coming to paragraph five⁵⁴ of this resolution, you will see the basic objectives of the Congress should always be kept in view. There is some importance about it. Perhaps, as I said, this resolution is a mixture and medley and still it does bring out certain different aspects of the problem, which is one and a single one. People forget the most important thing, we often forget, and that is again a test not only of our memory but of our working. Do we hold

53. The person could not be identified.

54. The paragraph reads as follows: "The basic objective of the Congress should always be kept in view. This was defined in the Avadi Resolution [of 9 January 1955] of the Congress and subsequently incorporated in its constitution as the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a socialist cooperative commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship. Thus in our planning for the future and in every step we take, this objective of building up a socialist pattern of society must be kept in view."

tight, hold fast to our basic principles or basic objectives or do we allow them to slip away? And, therefore, in this resolution in paragraph five, you have been reminded not only of our Avadi resolution, but of our subsequent change in our Congress constitution about the socialist cooperative commonwealth and all that. Everything that we do, however we plan, whatever small or big activity we undertake, we have to measure it by this yardstick. Does it fit in with that? Does it go in that direction or does it take us away from that? Obviously, the ideal we have placed before ourselves, a brave ideal of a brave new India, is not easy of achievement, because it means really bringing up, not by laws, not by something like that, not even by producing more money as we have to, but really by training up a multitude, running into hundreds of millions, into certain cooperative habits—that is a long story. But we shall go towards it. But the point is that we should not go away from it in our thinking or action. Therefore, this picture, this ideal, this objective should always be there, for us to keep us on the right track. This is the main part of the resolution. And may I say, here is our planning coming—the Third Five Year Plan. It is of the highest importance that in thinking of this Plan we should keep these objectives in view.

Someone at that informal meeting today talked about a feeling that when the Third Plan comes, after our great efforts to the Second Plan, we should relax. Now, I have not heard of that feeling and I was rather alarmed that some people feel that way. If people feel that way I would submit with all respect that they should not remain in the Congress because I hope the Congress will not relax and will not allow anybody to relax. And indeed if you relax, well, you relax away from the centre of things; other forces take charge. There is no escape from it. You have entered into a struggle or into major activities which do not permit of relaxation. You cannot say after the Second Five Year Plan, we have done this, well, let us go in a smaller way. In fact, the inevitable result of planning is ever-increasing speed, ever-increasing activity, in the country. Naturally that is limited by the resources of this country. You cannot outstrip your resources too much; a little you might occasionally. But resources too are not so rigid as all that and resources, maybe also resources other than financial resources—human resources, manpower resources—which are a variable quantity, which may make a tremendous difference if they come into play. You dare not, therefore, in the process of planning or going ahead, tone down your effort. Toning down your efforts for the future really means giving up planning. Plan does not function that way.

Planning is not, may I with all respect say, planning is not a collection of projects and plans. Some people say, let people plan from the village up. That is not planning. Let us not talk about something which has no meaning. If you want the village to plan, that is not planning in that sense. We want to know the

villagers' needs, and we want roads, schools, hospitals, whatever it may be; small industries too; and we may consult the village. But planning is something, an integrated way for this whole country, not even for a State. We are not planning for a State as if the State was an independent entity; perhaps it might try to plan, within its limitations. We cannot even think of the State for planning, although of course States have their plans but the real planning is an integrated effort for the whole of India, meant to produce accumulative effort, one thing leading to another, the other thing leading to a third thing, wealth producing effort with certain social consequences, economic consequences and all that.

Now, if I think of education, it is of the most vital importance, not merely because it is good, but because you cannot even industrialise the country without widespread education. You don't industrialise a country by producing some engineers or many engineers. Every country that has industrialised itself has had compulsory and free education. Japan, sixty, seventy, I do not know how many years ago, when it started industrialising itself, started this free elementary education. It is a basic thing—and I am not quite sure if everybody realises—and not only the basic education, but other stages of education too, up to the university and more especially technical education. How many engineers do we want, because all our projects will simply stop if we have not got the people to run them? We can build, as we are building, four mighty steel plants and we build them in five years' time, let us say. But how long does it take to build or train the man who will run those plants? It takes much more than five years, it may take fifteen years, it may take twenty years; so also with all our big concerns. Therefore, we have to look ahead. Today in the Second Plan we should have a glimmering in our minds, not only of the Third Plan but of the Fourth Plan, because for that we have to train people, our education has to be fitted in, our engineers have to be fitted in, our school teachers, our doctors, whatever that may be; they take time to train; we have to train them from today on.

So, you see, this is an all-embracing view, one foundation leading to another, another station in the journey. The moment you slip out of the stage by what is called the relaxation, well, your foundation goes wrong, everything goes wrong. You dare not do it. Take Bhakra-Nangal. You know a big dam is being built there and—I forget two years ago or two and a half years ago—I went there to pour the first bucket, as it is called, of cement. And when I say bucket, well, of course the bucket is very big, the Bhakra-Nangal buckets carry a few tons of cement in them, huge, as high as the ceiling here. Having started that first bucket, for two and a half years, night and day, buckets have followed each other; they dare not stop, they cannot stop. Because the moment they stop, that cement may dry up there, it may not mix properly with the next bucket.

therefore they dare not stop. It does not matter if the heavens may fall, bucket after bucket, not one bucket but dozens of buckets, coming one after the other, night and day, without a minute's interval, for two and a half years. This has gone for over two and a half years, or two years. In the same way in planning we cannot stop, unless you want to crack up. There is no stopping; you have to go on and on. You may, of course, vary the intensity in this direction. That is the essence of planning. You do not go blindfold forward therefore you dare not relax and you dare not stop and you dare not go slow in the process of this kind.

Therefore, this resolution lays stress on these objectives, and finally has said something which is obvious, reminding us of the essential message of Gandhiji. Whether we live up to it completely or not, and we do not of course, it is well to remember that message about ends, means not being subordinated to ends, about high standards of integrity. It is not pious nonsense that we say. If you think it is pious nonsense then delete it, strike it out, but if you think there is some virtue in it, as indeed there is, then we must repeat it. A good thing should be repeated often, even as you say your prayers often, those of you who say them. Therefore, a good thing has to be repeated for your sake, for my sake, for the sake of the people generally so that it may become a part of their thinking.

Thank you.

26. The Tenure of Congress Office Bearers⁵⁵

Congress Office-Bearers: Move to Restrict Term
Nehru Commends Resolution: Approval by AICC
(From Our Correspondent)

Hyderabad, Oct. 26. The All India Congress Committee which met here this morning adopted a resolution to the effect that Presidents and Secretaries of Congress Committees including those of the AICC should not hold office consecutively for more than one term.

The Prime Minister, Mr Nehru, speaking on the resolution made it clear that the resolution also applied logically to the Congress President though "I do distinguish between the case of the Congress President and others". However,

55. Report of speech at the AICC meeting, Hyderabad, 26 October 1958. *The Hindu*, 27 October 1958. Neither a draft nor a final version of this speech has been found in the AICC Papers.

some members had requested Mr Dhebar not to make the resolution applicable to him till the Nagpur session⁵⁶ and Mr Nehru hoped that he would accept it, though Mr Dhebar himself wanted its application “here and now”.

Mr Nehru said that they in the Congress did not want the establishment of “dynasties” and *maths*, to take possession of the organisational offices and it was to prevent this growing tendency that a resolution prohibiting the Presidents and Secretaries of Congress Committees from holding office consecutively for more than one term was put forward by the Working Committee.

Mr Nehru said that the persons holding the offices in the organisation for a number of years might be “good”, but they should not continue for ever, as others also had to gain experience. The best form of Government might be that of an “able benevolent despot”, which might get things done quickly. But, “We prefer democracy”. In the same way “we do not want this type of *maths* and dynasties in the Congress organisation to grow”, Mr Nehru declared.

Mr Nehru said that the resolution also applied to the President of the All India Congress Committee but some of them had requested the Congress President not to apply it immediately as the Nagpur session of the Congress would be held in two months’ time. The Congress President wanted it to be applied to him forthwith. But, “I hope that the President will agree to continue till that time”.

Mr Nehru first spoke in Hindi and later switched on to English. He said he wanted to congratulate the House on this resolution, as he had been a supporter of such a convention since a long time. A lady member⁵⁷ had stated the resolution went against the spirit of democracy. He did not think the question had any bearing on democracy. There were “dangers” in democracy, which had to be met by certain conventions in order to preserve democracy.

Not a Change in Constitution

Mr Nehru said there were such conventions in the Western countries also, even in respect of the office of the President of the United States. Forty years ago, they had adopted this convention of not holding office for two consecutive terms in Uttar Pradesh Congress and he would say it was the Committee’s “best” period. The elders could be in the Executive and need not always occupy the post of the President. But, in other States, there was no such convention. Whether in Bihar or Gujerat and some other places certain elders did not move

56. The 64th Session of the Indian National Congress in January 1959.

57. Yashoda Reddy from Andhra.

out of offices and were not moved [sic], Mr Nehru said amidst laughter. By trying to benefit by the wisdom and experience of elders by keeping them as Presidents or Secretaries, they were shutting out new people to gain experience. The bigger the person, the more difficult it was to remove him. The resolution had only sought to set up a convention. It was not a change in the constitution.

The Prime Minister said he did not like the idea of some people in the organisation becoming “big bosses” and continuing for ever. It was desired that the resolution should be given effect to as soon as possible. “I do distinguish between the case of the President of the AICC and others. There is a difference. Because, I cannot logically apply any different rule in regard to the Congress President. I have accepted the rule for the Congress President also, by logic, and not because that I want to do it”. While it applied to the Congress President necessarily, before his term ended, some of them had requested him not to make it applicable to him before the Nagpur session because it would create difficulties. It was only a question of fixing a convenient date. The Congress President wanted it to be applied to him here and now. But, he hoped that the President would agree to their request.

Mr Nehru said he did not like it being said that a person had been “pushed” out of office. The idea was that nobody should continue in the offices “semi-permanently”. There could be a new President and Secretary for every term. “May be after two or three years, you can choose the same person again”.

The resolution, as it was framed, said Mr Nehru, required some explanation. A man who was a Secretary could not be a Secretary for another term but “he can occupy any other office. He can become Vice-President or President”. The purport of the resolution was that one could not occupy the same office for two consecutive terms. It was asked what would happen if suppose a President and Secretary came to a private arrangement to exchange offices alternatively [sic], Mr Nehru said amidst laughter. “This may be according to the rule, but it will be highly improper”, he added.

Mr Nehru said: it was against this tendency of “dynasties” being established, of “*maths* and mahants” taking the place of Congress offices, that the resolution was aimed at.

27. Bombay State⁵⁸

I was asked to speak on this proposal⁵⁹ not so much because of the proposal itself, but rather because of the long shadow that lies round about it. Also, I was induced to do so because Shri Hanumanthaiya⁶⁰ had made some reference to me and I should like to clarify my own thinking on this subject. Now, I do think that the problem on which there are differences of opinion in the country or in the Congress should be discussed fully and should never be suppressed. Let us come to firm decisions. But let us not bypass comment or discussion. That is not the way a great organisation deals with a problem. Therefore, I am glad that certain aspects of this problem had come up, although they may not be strictly relevant to this resolution. I know that we are not discussing that problem now. Of course, not. But since certain aspects had come up, we should not mind that. In fact, it is a good thing, I think, for us and for the country that our minds apply themselves to these various aspects and come to decisions—firm decisions—about it.

Shri Deshpande⁶¹ said that the resolution sought to continue the former Pradesh Congress Committees in Bombay State in a different form. I do not see much validity in this criticism. If I may confess, I have been pressing for that for entirely different reasons throughout. I have been pressing this not only in regard to Pradesh Committees in Bombay State but also in regard to other Pradesh Congress Committees. I do not quite know, myself, whether in other States something has been done about it or not. I had pressed for some kind of regional committees functioning, as in a big State they have great advantages. It is not from the point of view of a unilingual or bilingual State that I had pressed for it. I have been of the opinion, whether it is Bombay State, whether it is Madhya Pradesh or UP or any other State, that while the Pradesh Congress Committee should deal with all matters of policy, etc., some kind of regional committees might well function to carry on day-to-day work that does not involve policy. I have long been of this opinion even in regard to UP.

The functioning of one Pradesh Congress Committee in a big State has the disadvantage of everything being centralised in one place. It could not meet

58. Speech at the AICC meeting, Hyderabad, 26 October 1958. *Congress Bulletin*, October-November 1958, pp. 541-547.

59. S.K. Patil from Bombay had proposed an amendment to the Congress constitution which sought to abolish the five Pradesh Congress Committees in Bombay and create one Pradesh Congress Committee for the whole State of Bombay to promote emotional integration.

60. K. Hanumanthaiya was the Chief Minister of Mysore, 1952-56.

61. G.H. Deshpande from Nasik, Bombay State.

frequently and the tendency of office became a powerful one. I do not personally like it as work would suffer. The point, therefore, Shri Deshpande made does not have much validity. I, however, repeat that the question of one Pradesh Congress Committee in Bombay State is hardly a matter of argument.

Shri Hanumanthaiya had said something about my speeches which had led to some members of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti saying that I would reopen this question of Bombay State. Perhaps Shri Hanumanthaiya might have thought so. What I said I am going to repeat here and now because I think that that is the only correct approach to it. I want to repeat it a little more fully because I do not want to give up my democratic approach to questions whatever be the consequences, this way or that way. Let that be quite clear.

The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad are miles away from any democratic approach to the issue of the Bombay State. I cannot conceive of any organisation calling itself democratic trying to bully, to terrorise by threats. That is not democracy. In my opinion Bombay, as at present constituted, is the right decision. This involves some larger issues and the decision is good for the Bombay State as also for India. If I may say so, apart from this agitation and violence that has happened, Bombay State, as it has functioned in the last two years or so, has justified my opinion that it is a correct decision. There can be no doubt about it that at the present moment the Bombay State, under the able leadership of our comrade, Shri Chavan, is doing better.

The decision about the Bombay State is a long argument. The Congress had tried to find some solution which would be acceptable to as large a number of persons as possible, if not more. This matter came up in Parliament almost at the last stage. It was not at our initiative, not at Government's initiative, not even at the Congress initiative. The initiative was taken by some leading members of the Praja Socialist Party. I was in some difficulty because it was the last stage and I had got a document signed by many powerful Members of the Lok Sabha putting forward the proposal, a proposal which was subsequently given effect to. It was approved by a large number of Members belonging to all parties except the Communist Party. The Government accepted the proposal as it had brought various groups and parties so near each other. So, naturally, after some further reference and consultation, we accepted it.⁶² Having accepted

62. On 2 August 1956, Asoka Mehta of the Praja Socialist Party (PSP) had proposed a bilingual Bombay State. He claimed support from J.B. Kripalani of the PSP, S.K. Patil of the Congress, and Tulsidas Kilachand, Independent. The bill was passed on 10 August 1956 in the Lok Sabha.

it in the Lok Sabha we issued no whip to Members. There was no compulsion or coercion or anything.

It can be argued that Parliament in this matter had gone astray or did not represent a large body of opinion. But what was done was done in complete good faith and the belief that it did represent the coming together of different sections of opinion.

This decision did fulfil the basic demand of Samyukta Maharashtra. Maharashtra came together and other parts also came to it. It also became a big element, a dominant one, in the Bombay State. In my opinion the Maharashtrians had not only got what they wanted but much more. This is so in effect unless one looked at it from the point of view of dislike of each other: Maharashtrians disliking Gujaratis and Gujaratis disliking Maharashtrians. If that is so or was so, it is not a good thing to be encouraged.

This attitude has nothing to do with the language issue. The Marathi language is dominant in Maharashtra and elsewhere. It is a great language and nothing had come in the way of its growth. The Maharashtrians are the dominant partners in this association. The only objection to this decision seems to be dislike of each other which is a bad way of looking at the question.

After Parliament had taken the decision, trouble came chiefly from Gujarat—some cities in Gujarat. This is a kind of trouble which had previously come from Bombay and elsewhere. But there is this difference—the trouble started in Gujarat after the decision had been taken. I am surprised at this and also distressed exceedingly as at the previous trouble. What surprised and distressed me was this new technique of agitation, pressure tactics, of bullying, of terrorising. Now, normally, one reacts against such tactics. One does not like to give in to bullying tactics based on violence because that is a very bad example to set up. If this kind of agitation is not stopped then people might try to decide every dispute in that way. In a democracy the majority have no need to decide that question that way because it could take its decisions peacefully. It is only the minority being afraid of the majority coming in its way that is more likely to take to these bullying and violent methods. Nothing has distressed me more in India in the last two years or so than the adoption of these methods and I say so quite apart from the merits of this question.

The new or old parties concerned with these agitations might advance sentimental reasons for these actions. But these are methods which in the past were called Fascist methods and Nazi methods and the like. The Communists might indulge in these methods without remembering that in the past they, as Communists, had called such methods Fascist and Nazi methods. This adoption of such methods is dangerous even if one were to accept that a decision of Parliament is wrong. The method is dangerous for India and a bad thing. I am

surprised that any responsible organisation or party in India should adopt such methods because, thereby, it injures the whole fabric of democracy, India's unity and freedom. It is a descent to a crude, vulgar, animal level of humanity.

I for one, if India's fate is to be decided by these methods, certainly would like to resist it with the utmost of my strength.

It is dangerous to use good words for wrong ends. The almost sacred word 'satyagraha' is being used for all kinds of evil things. By employing words associated with noble actions or noble processes we prevent straight thinking and thereby delude the public still more.

Being a democrat it is my business to convince others about a point or get convinced by them. This is the democratic process in which bonds of fellow-feeling and confidence are established. People might differ in their views but these bonds—silken bonds—must never be broken. These bonds cannot be kept by threats or the strength that a Government might possess.

The primary consideration in India today is emotional integration. This is more important even than the Five Year Plan. Therefore, it is my effort, always, to build these silken bonds. It has been my good fortune to have the affection of vast numbers of people—the people of India. I can do nothing to repay that tremendous thing.

You may remember what I said two years ago, or maybe more, about Maharashtra. I did go there later. I said that I think I am unhappy because I feel that the bond that united me with Maharashtra is not as strong as before. It is cracking. It pained me. I do not want to rely on threats or force. I will rather give up my job than rely on threats and force on large numbers of people. We have to carry people with us. We have to build up the unity of India.

I understand this problem, whether of Maharashtra or Gujarat. But in the ultimate analysis it is a question of winning over people. But if fascist methods are employed the problem acquires a different colour. We cannot allow this thing to spread in India.

The approach of abiding by the decisions of Parliament must be fostered among people. This does not mean that what Parliament has done would go on for hundreds or thousands of years. The people have a right to express their views and wishes on even decisions of Parliament. But this must be done through democratic processes. I myself would not try to hold on to a decision if it is against the wishes of the people of India. If I were foolish enough to do so democratic processes would kick my Government out and kick me out.

I warned the people about the new technique which seeks to provoke people under the cover of their love for their language. Many people who exploited this issue did not care anything about the language. I am keen that young men in India should not fall a prey to such people. The burning down of

khadi bhandars and Government and Municipal buildings and stations is not civilised behaviour. If that is going to be the method then I will have no truck with it.

I shall always try to be friendly to those people, win them over, because it is never any good if, just in anger, I turn my face away from them. My face will always be turned towards them even if they make mistakes. I want them to pursue the right methods. Once we give up the right methods, then, I believe, we are lost.

28. Planning in Indian Conditions⁶³

President, comrades and friends,

I feel a little embarrassed in coming here to speak because I have already taken up quite a good deal of time of this House, even though the resolution which you have just passed about a committee to be appointed to consider the Third Five Year Plan, is a subject which interests me greatly and indeed is of high importance. I have in the course of other speeches, speaking on other subjects, referred to this matter also. However, since the President has directed me to say a few words on this closing day of our session I gladly avail myself of this opportunity.

Obviously, excepting some basic things like unity, etc., nothing can be more important than planning, and I want again to repeat what I have said before, that we should understand the full implications of planning. Planning is not a collection of projects, a collection of schemes, rivalry between States and others for various schemes and projects. That is not planning. Planning is an organised, scientific approach so as to utilise your total resources in the country in the best possible manner, so that in utilising them, you create greater wealth and greater power to utilise greater resources. And so, it goes on. It ought to go in an accelerating process if it is properly done.

There are many differences between a developed, industrially developed country and an underdeveloped country. One of the differences is that the industrially developed country has a fairly large surplus left over for investment. That is, it produces so much that in spite of even wasteful consumption, it has a surplus left over. With that surplus, of course, it advances more by investing it; and the underdeveloped country has no such surplus, and it can only create a surplus by hardships, by hardwork and all that.

63. Speech at the AICC meeting, Hyderabad, 26 October 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

Therefore, the odd thing is that in this business, you see the full justification of the Biblical saying, "Unto those that have, more shall be given."⁶⁴ And that is so when you take an individual or a group or a country. The rich man becomes richer and richer without too much effort, because if money is invested, it brings him more money in return. The rich country gets richer and richer because money brings greater returns. And the poor man or the poor country can just remain at the survival level and has little left to invest. Therefore, the problem becomes one of capital formation, of investment for future growth.

Of course, among the things that you invest, apart from money, the most important thing is human labour, manpower and the rest and it is the important factor. As, I think, it has been pointed out, one of the tests of our success is how far we can utilise the idle manpower in this country for some kind of capital formation. The idle manpower means the unemployed; of course, there is another idle unemployed. The unemployed are of two kinds. A small number are the rich unemployed, who are a burden to the community. Because they are rich, they pass it off, but they are a burden all the same, because they do not produce. But most of them are the poor unemployed, who are also a burden on the community but not for any real fault of theirs, but because they don't fit into the economic system.

So we have to decide on major lines of action. I repeat again, it is not a question of putting up a factory here and there; that is incidental to the affair. And even if we put up a factory, on the one hand we have to think in terms of certain necessities—consumer goods—to be supplied. Obviously, people want consumer goods, the first one being food, next one being cloth and so on. That is essential. But after that one has to think in terms of starting something which will breed other things, which will lead to other things. We start a machine-making factory, which will breed machines, which will be used for industrialisation. We start an iron and steel factory which will produce iron and steel which are the basic foundations of all industrial progress, and so on and so forth. So, all these avenues have to be kept in view. I am only throwing out some of the ideas for you to consider.

Planning can be divided into various compartments: planning for five years—five-year plan—more detailed planning for one year, because even a five-year plan has to be a little vague and general. One-year plan should be absolutely precise; but beyond the five years we have to think of 10-15, even 20 years, not for detailed planning but for, what is called, perspective planning. Because unless you look ahead and prepare for that, you may suddenly have to face all

64. "... and from those that have not, even what they have might be taken away."
Matthew: 25:29.

kinds of bottlenecks and just stop, for you make something and don't have the men to work them, or something else. Because what takes most time is to train people, trained personnel. Take even education by any calculation. Any full-scale education programme in India covering the whole country with compulsory primary education and all that, involves a very large figure. Our Constitution states that education should be compulsory from the age of six or seven up to 14 by the end of ten years after the Constitution.⁶⁵ Unhappily we cannot do it, just physically it is not within our power, and it is not merely the question of money—money of course is important—but what I was telling you, if we have that, and if we include in that other higher education, technical, universities, etc, nearly one hundred million people in India will be receiving education or will be teaching. It is a large figure, one hundred million teachers and pupils, that is, if you go up in that way. It means fully 25 per cent of the population is being taught—that will have to be done when you can afford it. And now, if 25 per cent of the population is being taught, how many teachers will you require? Millions! Not a small number, millions, actually. That again affects your unemployment problem. If 25 per cent are being taught, we require for them millions to teach them well; millions of teachers come from universities, naturally, the teachers come from universities, and so on; but then you have to produce those hundreds of thousands of, millions of, teachers; you cannot produce them quickly. We may build up the schools; you cannot produce the teachers. So, you will see that we have to look at every aspect of this problem just as if you are thinking in terms of an iron and steel factory, you must also think in terms of the experts and specialists, and the technicians who have to be trained to run that factory, and that will take time but we have immediately to do that. So, everything that we do we have to have the trained manpower for it. And we have not got enough manpower for that. We have plenty of unemployed in this country, so-called educated unemployed, but even they, unfortunately, at present don't easily fit in with the demands of the present-day situation which are rather technical. They can fit in, of course, if we increased our educational apparatus quickly, very fast. Many of them are fitted in; they are being fitted in to some extent.

The point I wish to submit before you is that you will never be able to understand planning if you look at one thing that interests you, and aspects of it, without thinking of its implications and what it leads to, etc., etc. Planning can only be integrated planning. There can be no planning if it is not integrated

65. Article 45 of the Constitution of India says, "The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years."

and if you don't look upon it from all aspects of a nation's activities. Now, that is a very difficult matter, of course, and nobody can plan perfectly, because an essential feature is the human factor—and you cannot definitely, precisely, say what a human being will do, much less than, say, what 360 million human beings will do. How far will they work? How much enthusiasm will they show? What competence will they show? Whether there will be unity in them or disunity? All these are factors which may knock the bottom out of your planning if they go wrong, and yet the essential factor is the human factor. All the money you may require in foreign exchange, you may calculate that and all the schemes you require, but you come up, as soon as you think of the human factor, you come up against something which is almost incalculable. But oddly enough, although as an individual he is incalculable, in the group you can calculate, to some extent.

So, that is why I am glad that you have accepted this resolution just recently to appoint a committee, because your committee then will have the chance not only of putting forward some, what I will call, idealistic views—we all have idealistic views, and it is a good thing that we have them—but then looking at them in this integrated way, we shall have a more real understanding of the problem than merely passing resolutions about all the things we will like to have. And it is very important that those who have to consider these subjects with a measure of responsibility, as the AICC does or ought to do, should look at it in this realistic way. When I say realistic, I don't mean that there cannot be differences in approach. Of course, there are vital differences, but whatever your different approach may be, you have to be realistic, first of all about the picture you aim at, where you are going to, the picture of the future society—it need not be a very vivid picture, but broadly speaking—and the steps you intend taking to it and the resources you have and all that and then looking at all these questions together. Then, step by step you arrive at conclusions which may have to be varied, of course, but they are realistic conclusions. Otherwise, we are apt to be just rather fanciful, saying the things we want. We want many things; if we could get them easily enough we would have got them by this time but we can't. And whether you are capitalists or whether you are socialists or whether you are communists or whether you are Gandhites, whatever you may be, one thing is dead certain that you have to work very, very hard. That is the common factor in everything. Without work and hard work, you cannot succeed.

It is an interesting thing, as I have sometimes said, regardless of policy—policies are important of course—but it is interesting to see, after the war, how some countries have made good the tremendous losses of war, those countries being both capitalistic and communist. Russia's tremendous losses, it has made

good and gone ahead. Germany, a capitalist country, also suffered tremendous losses, and it has also made good. But in both places you find two common factors. One is the trained man, a well trained person, and hard work. Those are common factors. It doesn't matter what you are, you require those two factors.

So, then, again, there is another thing about policies. We use words meaning something thereby, socialism, capitalism, etc. We say, "socialist structure of society", and no doubt we mean something. But I rather doubt, if all of us wrote separate essays, whether we mean the same thing, on the same subject, defining it, probably we will differ.

Now, the point I wish to submit to you is this: that our political thinking has been a great deal due to and has been impressed by Western political thinking. I am not complaining of that; I am stating a fact—whether the Western is capitalist Western or whether the Western is socialist Western. And most of those books that are written there, good books have been written keeping Europe in view, the conditions in Europe—whether Europe of the 19th Century or 20th Century. The problems of Europe are dealt with in the books that come out of Europe and America naturally. We read them as we should. We learn something from them. But the basic fact we should remember is that the problems of other countries may not be the same as of Europe. The problems of underdeveloped countries may not be the same as of developed countries. That is the basic fact. It is only in the last few years that European economists are beginning to think of the problems of underdeveloped countries as such; otherwise they added them to their books on problems of Europe or America. On the other hand, there are problems of the communist world. It stands on a somewhat different footing, partly also looking back at what Marx wrote a hundred years ago about different conditions, partly trying to fit that in with modern conditions.

Now, obviously we can learn, and we should learn from all that has been written, whether by a capitalist or a communist or anybody. We should learn, as we can learn today a great deal from what is happening in China. Why? Not because China is communist, but because China is facing much the same problems—huge country, great population, agricultural country up till now, floods and this and that. I don't know what they are doing. They are raising agriculture; well, naturally, we are interested. Raising the yield per acre is basically a technical problem, not a communist or a capitalist problem. You may bring more people by military pressure or other pressure, but the problem is a technical one, and so we can learn from them. That is true, but ultimately we have to evolve and develop our own economics which fit in with the conditions in India. Having learnt from others, we have to base ourselves in our own thinking

and not merely repeat the slogans or phrases used by other countries.

In other words, as we say that in foreign affairs we are an unaligned country, in other matters too, we should not allow our minds to be swept away by some slogan or other coming from another country which prevents us from looking at facts as they are in our country. That is constantly happening. To give you an example, maybe it is a silly example, but it seems to be very odd indeed that people in India go to Western countries or Eastern countries to learn about social work. Very odd! Not that you cannot learn, but conditions are so different, let us say, in England or America, as here. I said, if a person wants to learn about social work, let him go to Sevagram or Gandhigram or from somebody who has learnt the conditions in India, instead of going to America, England, Germany or Russia, or wherever it is. We can learn from America; we can learn from Russia. I don't say we cannot; of course we should. But basically we must know the conditions in which we work in India, and evolve our theories and philosophies from those conditions.

All that is true, that is, we have to proceed on both lines. One line is learning from the West or rather learning from the developed countries, for they are developed and we are underdeveloped. We have to learn how they developed. We have to learn from them whether it is science or technology or whatever it is. But the applications of that learning will have to depend on the circumstances in our own country, and if we ignore that, then the thing doesn't fit in, and we get into difficulties and bottlenecks. Therefore, in drawing up our five-year plan or any theory about it, we must do hard thinking. If we try to copy a parallel from Western Europe or the communist world, it may help us here and there, but then we go off our own rails; we go on somebody else's rails. We don't know whether it will fit in or not. Of course it is not everybody's job to become an economist and think of this. It is not my job, I am an amateur. But what has distressed me is that our economists have not helped us to the extent they ought to have done. They are helping now, I believe; they are thinking on those terms, but still they themselves, having been trained on the old textbooks, are apt to be hide-bound by them. But now the facts are forcing their attention, Indian facts, and Indian conditions. We should realise that, and that, if I may say so with all respect, applies to the textbooks that may come to you from England or America, as well as the textbooks that may come to you from Russia or China. And we have ultimately to learn what we can from other books and produce our own thinking and our own textbooks, and our own experience.

Suppose an engineer goes to America for training, he comes back as a first-class engineer. Now, his first reaction in India is, he demands big machines. He says, "Oh! I am used to the machines in America. I find no machine here,

that type of machine." He gets frustrated, he gets annoyed. "How can I work in this backward country?" Well, we have to work in this backward country; we cannot transport our 300 millions to some forward country. It is an absurd argument. Therefore, it is no good getting frustrated. In fact, it is probably better for that man not to go to America at all but to learn in some school or college here, and find out his conditions here and fit them here. Because we have to work with the material we have. We have to work on the conditions we live in, with the human beings that we have. That is the material, and build them up, and, basically, it is a very fine material, but naturally it has not got the machines and the apparatus, etc., which other people have who are more developed. We have to do without them. Today, for instance, many things that are done by machine power in America have to be done and should be done by manpower in India, because we have got the men not doing anything, and we have not got the machines. Why should we send for a very expensive earth-moving machinery from a foreign country when there are plenty of men here, men and women unemployed, who are doing nothing? It is true that the earth-moving machinery does it more efficiently and quickly, but in the conditions of India, it is more economically profitable and helpful to use human labour than the earth-moving machinery, though sometimes it is necessary. All these factors have to be considered and, thus, we should evolve our own ways of thinking and working, and in the same way we have to evolve our own ways of considering the five-year plan, the next five-year plan or the present plan. Always learning from others, and yet adapting it to conditions here, and, further, always keeping the perspective in view.

Planning is no good at all unless you do perspective planning. Perspective planning, meaning what is the picture you have in mind 20 years later or 15 years later. That helps, because if you only have a year in view or even five years, you really cannot prepare for the Third Plan. Today you ought to be preparing not for the Third Plan but for the Fourth Plan in some way, educationally, I mean. Because the Fourth Plan will after all come when, in about, let us say, eight or nine years from now, that is, our Fourth Plan.... No, in seven or eight years from now, the Fourth Plan will begin. But if you want engineers for the Fourth Plan, you have to start training them from today, not wait for the end of the Third Plan. So, you have to make careful appraisal of how, which way your economy is going to develop, and what it will require, and provide for that requirement. What type of machines it will require. Get your machine-making industry to build those machines or be ready for that. What kind of technical, trained personnel it will require, and try to start training them today or tomorrow. You see, it becomes a long-distance view and a huge amount of statistics and all that about this. That does not mean that you can be

precise about these things. Nobody can be precise, because the human factor is uncertain. But gradually, with the experience, you get more and more precise, at least nearer to actuality. And I may tell you that one of the most fascinating things that our Planning Commission is doing at present is this attempt at perspective planning. They are fascinating, their charts and other things. We have laid down how many engineers we require, how many teachers we require, how many chemists we require, how many this and how many that; it is all calculated. If you see a paper about cement factories, you will know immediately how much cement factory labour it requires, including how many sweepers, how many dustbins and how many what not. Precisely you will know. So that we can train those engineers and those sweepers or whatever it may be, for that, and we know exactly what the cement factory would mean, or an iron or steel factory. So, what I am venturing to say is, you will see how the matter becomes not a question of our human urges. We want betterment, we want the good things of life; of course, all of us do. We all want education; we want industry, plants, factories. But how to coordinate this, integrate that idea, see step by step what one step leads to another? And how to, by statistical methods, know exactly what we are going to get and what we require, and what we should prepare for? All that is very complicated. It is not necessarily for you to go into all that, but you should realise the background of planning.

Somebody said in Parliament a little while ago, I was not there, I was in Bhutan. Planning was being discussed: "Scrap the Plan! Or scrap the Planning Commission!" I forget for what. Well, that may be just an exhibition of impatience maybe, but it shows, or it seemed to me, that the MP who said that was for the moment also scrapping his intelligence. Whether the Plan was going to be scrapped or not, his intelligence was being scrapped, when you make such remarks. You may say, the Planning Commission has gone wrong here and there, of course, it should do this or that, and follow that policy, it has laid stress on this; that is a different matter. But the moment you say scrap planning or scrap the Planning Commission, you scrap your intelligence. Do what you like.

Therefore, I should like you, and I should like the committee that you are likely to form or have formed, to consider these matters from these broad and integrated points of view, and thus get the broad skeleton framework, and then comes the time, when you fill in that framework, that the question of projects arises. We don't start with projects and then have rivalries where the plant should go. So I hope, that this committee that you have decided upon today will do good work because it is of vital importance that the All India Congress Committee should be not only interested in planning but, if I may say so with respect, intelligently interested in it knowing the difficulties and aspects of it.

Only then can you influence it, otherwise it is difficult to influence a thing which you have not grasped fully in all its various aspects. I think that is a very good move, this committee.

Well, presently this Committee will be finishing its session in Hyderabad and may I say a few words about that because, on the one hand it becomes a habit of some people to say that every session of the Congress or the AICC is a momentous session. Everything becomes momentous. On the other hand it is a habit of our critics, not only in other parties but in the newspaper world and others, to say that every resolution that we pass and everything that is said is flat and stale, and does not interest anybody and we go through routine procedures. Now, of course, both these approaches are not right, are not correct. In a sense, of course, you may say that because we live in strange and adventurous and rather revolutionary times, we cannot escape the momentous reflection of those times. We may be petty folks, but if we deal with big things, we become big, just as when we dealt with the independence of India in this Congress struggle for independence of India, which was a great task and magnificent objective, requiring all our endeavour and sacrifice, all of us, small petty folk as we were, grew in stature, became bigger, undoubtedly. The Congress became bigger. So if you deal today with these great tasks, you will become bigger as individuals, as groups, as an organisation. That is why I said—was it today, or yesterday—that much depends on what are the questions you put.⁶⁶ Are your questions related to the great adventure of building India, or are they related to some petty things? Well, if they are related to the big things, we may make mistakes, we may err, but we will grow big with it, and we will forget the small ailments and troubles that afflict us; at least, they will be minimised.

So, for people to say that every session is momentous is only correct in a sense that life is momentous today and whenever we consider any important subject, any decision, it has far-reaching consequences. For the other people to say that we go through routines is to indicate a complete absence of understanding of what is happening in India and what is troubling the mind of the Congress. Of course, there are failings in the Congress and troubles, and we refer to them here and there, because it is our old habit and a right habit to acknowledge our own failings, not to cover them up. We do that. But the fact still remains that we pass resolutions which are sometimes more or less alike, because the subject is alike, and because we cannot jump about in the same

66. See item 25.

subject from one position to another. We may lay stress upon this or something else. Therefore, it is a grievous misunderstanding of the work of this Committee, or of the Congress, to judge of it by the few resolutions that we pass which are not exciting resolutions.

Few of you will have any past recollections of what used to happen forty years ago in the Congress, when gradually the big changes began to come over it. One of the big changes was in the character of our resolutions. Previously, they used to be fine-sounding, defiant resolutions—but indicating no action. When Gandhiji came, he would strike off whole paragraphs of drafts of fine-sounding resolutions. He said, it is very beautiful and it is an essay but what are you going to do? That was always his question: what are you going to do? Say what you are going to do, not your brave words, proclamations. His mind worked like that. Some of us who used to do drafting were rather unhappy about our beautiful phrases being struck out. Gradually, we began to get used to this, and found that there was power in those words, few words—what we were going to do, not proclamations to the rest of the world.

No, I do not pretend to say that we have adhered to that practice now, but still we are influenced by it. We passed, whatever resolutions we passed, three resolutions or four, something like that, not many. We could have passed a dozen or fifteen resolutions; there are important enough questions. We did not do that. I am glad even in regard to foreign affairs there are so many vital things that are happening, in the Far East; in the Middle East, in the Middle West, whatever it is, and in various parts of the world. We used to have comprehensive resolutions. We did not do that today, deliberately. Not that we minimised the importance of what is happening in the Far East; it is highly important and we have our views and we have expressed them here or in the United Nations. But we thought that our views are known; let us lay stress on one important factor, that is, nuclear tests. If that had been a paragraph in a long resolution of twenty paragraphs, well, naturally attention would have been spread out over the twenty paragraphs. So we said one thing, nuclear tests—because we do not attach, in the immediate present, great importance to it, and we thought that way we will attach attention more.

Apart from that resolution on nuclear tests, we have two or three resolutions, all dealing with the problems we are facing, not grave declarations to the outside world. You will find that most of the other organisations, including the Communist Party, are full of brave declarations to the world at large. Sometimes even our students debating societies want to refashion the world and issue a declaration as to how the world should run. Now, I have no objection to that if it amuses the people, but it is not and should not be the way which practical people facing problems should adopt.

So, I am glad that we passed resolutions which are not eloquent and some kind of proclamations to the rest of the world, but they have a look, a working look, a business look. If they have that look, we have to give them, by our actions, a business content.

Thank you.

(b) Social Groups

29. Refugees from East Pakistan⁶⁷

In the attached letter from Shri Brij Krishan,⁶⁸ a reference is made in the last paragraph to some townships being built for East Pakistan refugees. Apparently, Shri Brij Krishan thinks that these townships are going to be built round about Delhi. That appears to me absurd. Indeed, I do not know whether any such townships are going to be built. I have heard of the Dandakaranya Scheme⁶⁹ and there may be minor schemes in West Bengal or elsewhere for their resettlement. All this has nothing to do with Delhi, so far as I know. You can please verify and inform Shri Brij Krishan.⁷⁰

2. For the rest in this letter, he complains of the vast number of illegally occupied houses, apart from those occupied by refugees from Pakistan. Very probably, he is right. How can we get some kind of a census made of this? Can you put this to the authorities concerned?

You might acknowledge Shri Brij Krishan's letter.

67. Note to Kesho Ram, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 8 September 1958. JN Collection.

68. Brij Krishan Chandiwalla; convener of the Delhi Branch of the Bharat Sewak Samaj.

69. The Dandakaranya Scheme was spread over an area of about 30,000 square miles carved out of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.

70. Kesho Ram informed B.K. Chandiwalla on 24 September that there was no such proposal, but that he would inquire from the Ministry of Rehabilitation.

30. Christian Marriage Act⁷¹

Cardinal Gracias, the Archbishop of Bombay, came to see me today and spoke to me, among other subjects, on the proposed Christian Marriage Act. He gave me a note which apparently has been forwarded to the Law Commission. I do not quite know who is considering this question of Christian Marriage Act. Anyhow, I enclose the note which the Cardinal gave me. Perhaps you will be good enough to forward it to the appropriate authority.

31. To B.C. Kamble⁷²

October 8, 1958

Dear Shri Kamble,⁷³

I have your letter of the 3rd October. In this letter, you ask me for all kinds of information which I do not possess and which it is hardly possible for me to collect even if I tried hard. So far as I know, we have no list of minorities of any kind. Broadly it is known what the religious minorities are and what the linguistic minorities may be in any particular area.

I have no idea of Government resolutions and orders on these subjects and so far as I know, no particular loans, etc., are given to minorities as such.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

71. Note to Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Home Minister, 4 October 1958. JN Collection.

72. JN Collection.

73. Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from Kopergaon Reserved Constituency, Bombay.

32. Equal Opportunity for All⁷⁴

वहनों और भाइयों,

मैं सोचता था कि पिछली बार यहाँ आबू या आबू रोड मैं कब आया? ठीक-ठीक याद नहीं है, लेकिन बीस-पच्चीस बरस हुए। तुम्हें मालूम है? यहाँ किसी को याद नहीं, मैं कब आया था। लेकिन मैं आया था आबू रोड, आबू गया था इधर से होता हुआ। तो आप सोचें, इसको एक बड़ा जमाना हो गया, बीस-पच्चीस बरस हुए। राजस्थान के तो अक्सर हिस्सों में, भाग में, आना हुआ, बहुत दफे, लेकिन इस तरफ नहीं आया। अबकी बार मुझे बुलाया। आबू में एक हमारे पुलिस के अफसरों को सिखाने का विद्यालय है तो उन लोगों ने मुझे बुलाया कि मैं देखूँ उनके यहाँ कैसे काम होता है, पढ़ाई होती है और कुछ उनसे थोड़ा बहुत कहूँ।⁷⁵ तो इसलिए मेरा एक माने में आना हुआ। लेकिन जब उन्होंने मुझे बुलाया था तो मेरे मन में यह बात आई, खाली वो पुलिस के विद्यालय की नहीं, बल्कि यह कि मैं इस तरफ तो बहुत बरसों से आया नहीं, और अगर इधर आऊँ तो मुझे मौका मिले हमारे बहुत सारे आदिवासी भाई हैं उनसे भी मिलने का। तो वो जो हमारे पुलिस के भाइयों ने मुझे निमंत्रण दिया था उसको एक बहाना बनाकर मैं यहाँ आ गया, और मेरे दिल में तो उससे भी अधिक आप लोगों से मिलने की थी।

और मुझे खुशी है कि इस मौके पर आप लोग दूर-दूर से आये यहाँ। मानिकलालजी⁷⁶ ने मुझसे कहा कि सारे राजस्थान से आदिवासी भाई कुछ न कुछ आये हैं। मैं तो पसन्द करता कि यहाँ कुछ समय मिलता ठहरने का और आपसे बातचीत करने का। खाली यह नहीं कि एक सभा में मैं बोल दूँ और आप सुनें। इससे मुझे कुछ ठीक नहीं मालूम होता है। लेकिन बड़ी कठिनाई है समय ढूँढने की और अलग-अलग आपसे बात करने की। फिर भी, जो कुछ आपके मन में हो, जो कुछ आप सोचते हों, उसकी खबर मुझे पहुँच सकती है, आपके सम्मेलन के द्वारा, जो कहेंगे यहाँ इस सम्मेलन में, या और जो आपकी शाखाएँ हों इसकी, या जो हमारी संस्थाएँ हैं, कार्यकर्ता हैं, उनसे मालूम होता रहता है।

अभी मानिकलालजी ने कुछ आदिवासियों के बारे में विशेष कहा, और मैंने उसको सुना। मैं आपको बताऊँ कि मेरे मन में यह बात कुछ भाती नहीं है कि भारत के लोगों को हम अलग-अलग खानों में रखें, अलग-अलग जाति में रखें। और अलग-अलग खाने जो कानून ने भी बनाये हैं उसमें रखें। क्योंकि हम क्या करना चाहते हैं, किधर देखते हैं? कैसे भारत की तस्वीर हमने बनायी? इसको हमें सोचना है। अब भारत तो बहुत पुराना देश है। हमारा देश हिन्दुस्तान हजारों बरस पुराना है। इसकी पुरानी-पुरानी प्राचीन कहानियाँ आप सुनते हैं। आजकल रामलीला का समय है और रामलीला

74. Speech at Abu Road, Rajasthan, 17 October 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

Nehru was addressing a gathering of over a lakh of people, mostly tribals who had come from different parts of Rajasthan.

75. For Nehru's address to the police officers, see item 146.

76. Manikya Lal Varma; Member of the Lok Sabha from Chittorgarh, Rajasthan; President, Gadiya Lohar Sewak Sangh, 1956-62, and Rajasthan Adim Jati Sewak Sangh, 1957-62.

में आप रामचन्द्रजी की कहानी सुनते हैं सारे देश भर में, हज़ारों बरस हुए, दो हज़ार, तीन हज़ार बरस हुए, पुराने और भी पुराने। और महाभारत है और कितने हमारे पुराने किस्से, कहानी, बातें जो हुई हैं हमारे देश के इतिहास में वो हमारे कानों में गूँजती हैं। तो वह तो हमें सब याद रखना है, क्योंकि जो हमारा इतिहास है, आपका, हमारा, हम सभी का, उससे लाभ उठाना है, उससे सबक सीखने हैं। और जो महापुरुष आते हैं उनसे कुछ न कुछ हम हमेशा सीख सकते हैं। और हमारे और आपके ज़माने में, समय में, एक बड़े महापुरुष इस देश में फिर आये, महात्मा गाँधी, और हममें से बहुत लोगों ने उनको देखा, उनसे सीखा, उनके साथ कुछ काम किया। आपमें भी कुछ लोग हैं जिन्होंने उनको देखा हो, बहुत ऐसे होंगे कि नहीं देखा। बहुत हमारे नवयुवक हैं उन्होंने उनको नहीं देखा। वो भी एक उनके लिए एक भारत की प्राचीन कहानी के महापुरुष हो गए।

तो हम और आप, हम सब आते हैं और जाते हैं, लेकिन हमारा देश तो चलता जाता है हज़ारों बरस से, और चलेगा। हमारी संतान चलेगी, हम न चलें। तो हमारे सामने यह प्रश्न है कि आजकल के युग में हम क्या करें जिससे भारत फिर से मज़बूत हो। भारत की जनता फिर से तगड़ी हो और उसकी ग़रीबी दूर हो जाये, और सब खुशी से रह सकें। एक-एक बच्चा जो है, आपके सुन्दर लड़के-लड़कियाँ, बच्चे हैं, उनको पूरा मौका मिले बढ़ने का। आजकल नहीं मिलता, बात ठीक है। तो हमें यह करना है।

पहली बात जो हमें करने की थी वो तो यह कि जो हमारा देश भारत, हिन्दुस्तान, दूसरे लोग इसपर राज्य करते थे, अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य था, उसको हटाना था। क्योंकि कोई देश जिसपर पराया राज्य हो, वो बढ़ता नहीं है। डेढ़ सौ बरस से अंग्रेज़ी राज्य यहाँ रहा। अंग्रेज़ों का देश तो बहुत बढ़ता गया, तरक्की की, हमारा देश ग़रीब रहा। तो पहला काम तो स्वराज लेना था और इसी काम में महात्मा गाँधी ने हमें डाला और उनके रास्ते पर चलकर हमें सफलता मिली। तो एक बड़ी यात्रा पूरी हुई स्वराज की। लेकिन स्वराज की यात्रा पूरी होने से काम हमारा पूरा नहीं हुआ। एक बड़ी दूसरी यात्रा करनी थी और वह स्वराज की यात्रा से भी बड़ी यात्रा थी। वो थी कि सारे हमारे देशभर की जनता, पुरुष, स्त्री, बच्चे, सभी को करनी थी कि इस दरिद्रता से, ग़रीबी से निकलना। आगे बढ़ें, खुशहाल हों, और सभी कुछ न कुछ काम करें, कुछ पैदा करें और देश का भी भला हो, उनका भी हो। तब यह तो आप सोचो बड़ी भारी बात हुई जिसमें, जितने हमारे देश में, चालीस करोड़ लोग रहते हैं सब लोगों को करना है। यह तो बात नहीं है कि दो-चार, दस-बीस, पचास-सौ आदमी जाकर कोई सरकारी नौकरी कर लें। कौन नौकरी, चालीस करोड़ किसकी नौकरी करें? यह तो नहीं हो सकता, थोड़े कर सकते हैं। उनको तो खुद अपने परिश्रम से बढ़ना है। चाहे वो खेतों में, ज़मीन पर, परिश्रम करें, चाहे ग्रामोद्योग हों, चाहे बड़े कारख़ाने हों, चाहे छोटे कारख़ाने हों, कितने काम देश के होते हैं, कुछ न कुछ हरेक करे। यह बड़ा प्रश्न हमारे सामने आया। क्योंकि हमें, जो एक सौ, दो सौ, तीन सौ बरस से भारत गिर गया था, ग़रीब हो गया, दब गया, उसको हमें उठाना था। दो सौ बरस की बीमारी हटानी थी। बड़ी कठिन बात है, तब उस पर बड़ा विचार किया गया, कैसे हो यह? क्योंकि अपने आप तो हो नहीं जाता। विचार किया गया और विचार करके तरह-तरह के उपाय निकले और आपने सुना होगा वो पंचवर्षीय योजना बनी पहले, पहले वाली पाँच बरस की। फिर वो पूरी हुई,

तो दूसरी बनी और दूसरी आजकल चल रही है। उसके दो-तीन बरस हुए हैं।

तो ये जो योजनाएँ बनी हैं, किसलिए बनी? इसलिए कि पहली बात तो यह है कि हम, हमारे सामने कैसा चित्र है, कैसी तस्वीर है भारत की कि भारत में ऊँच-नीच बहुत नहीं हो। भारत में सब लोग आगे बढ़ें। भारत का, समाज का जो संगठन है उसको भी हम कुछ बदलें कि सब लोगों को लाभ हो उससे, सब लोग आगे बढ़ सकें। कैसे बढ़ें? कोई आपको सरकारी अफसर आकर ढकेल-ढकेल के नहीं बढ़ा सकते, हाँ सहायता दे सकते हैं। कोई जनता, कोई देश बढ़ता है तो अपनी शक्ति से बढ़ता है, अपने परिश्रम से, अपनी ताकत से बढ़ता है। तो फिर प्रश्न यह हुआ कि हमारे देश की सारी जनता को मौका मिले बढ़ने का, चाहे वो खेती करती है, चाहे ग्रामोद्योग, चाहे बड़ा कारखाना, जो कुछ है, मौका मिले, सारी जनता को कुछ पढ़ने लिखने का मौका मिले, कुछ सीखें अपना काम करना अच्छा। और इस तरह से, जो दुनिया में नयी-नयी बातें आई हैं जिनमे हम लाभ उठा सकते हैं, उनको हम सीखें, सब लोग सीखें। आजकल आप जानते हैं सब जगह से माँगें आती हैं, सब गाँवों से, देहात से, कि हमें स्कूल दो, बड़ी अच्छी बात है। क्योंकि विद्या से, स्कूल से सीखकर अपने लड़के और लड़कियाँ बहुत कुछ काम कर सकेंगे, चतुर हो जायेंगे, चाहे खेती का काम करें, खेती अच्छी तरह करेंगे, उद्योग करेंगे। इसी तरह से देश बढ़े हैं। तो अब मैं आपको यह सब पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरा तो नहीं बता सकता, वह तो लम्बी कहानी है, लेकिन आपको उसे समझना है, पुरुष-स्त्री सबको, क्योंकि यह तो सम्बन्ध रखती है आपसे, खाली अफसरों से तो नहीं रखती। यह तो आपके जीवन से सम्बन्ध रखती है, सारे भारत के सब लोगों से।

अब उसमें दो-चार बुनियादी बातें आपको याद रखनी हैं। पहली बात तो यह है कि जो यह हमारा देश हिन्दुस्तान, भारत, इंडिया, यह क्या चीज़ है? आप रहते हैं यहाँ राजस्थान में, और राजस्थान के कुछ कोनों में इधर-उधर। राजस्थान तो एक हमारे बड़े देश का प्रान्त है। जैसे राजस्थान, ऐसे कितने प्रान्त हमारे देश में हैं। ऊपर से तो हिमालय से लेकर कश्मीर और हिमाचल प्रदेश और पंजाब और उत्तर प्रदेश, राजस्थान और बम्बई और मद्रास, बंगाल और मध्य प्रदेश और आसाम और कितने और हैं। तो ये सब प्रान्त मिलकर भारत होता है। अब, जब हमें स्वराज मिला, किसकी स्वराज मिला, खाली राजस्थान को तो नहीं मिला, या बंगाल को, या बम्बई को। स्वराज मिला सारे भारत को, सारे हिन्दुस्तान को, कैसे मिला? ऐसे, कि जब गाँधीजी ने सारे भारत के रहने वालों को एकता का सबक दिया, वे सब एक होने लगे, मिलकर काम करने लगे। एक बड़ी महासभा हमारी रही कांग्रेस की, उसकी शाखाएँ सारे देश में फैलीं, और एक बड़ी शक्ति हो गयी। क्योंकि ताकत होती है मिलकर काम करने से, एकता से। आपके राजस्थान में इसकी कहानी पढ़ो। आप लोग तो जानते हैं कितने वीर पुरुष रहे हैं यहाँ, बड़े बहादुर आदमी रहे। बहादुर तो रहे, बड़े वीर पुरुष रहे, लेकिन आपस में हमेशा फूट रही उनमें, और आपस में लड़ते रहे, तो सारी उनकी वीरता नष्ट हो गयी और परदेसी लोगों ने आकर हमारे ऊपर राज्य कर लिया। क्योंकि हमारे बड़े शूरवीर लोग आपस में लड़ा करते रहे, और बड़े मूर्ख रहे। तो अंग्रेज़ आये, उन्होंने राज्य बनाया। अब उस राज्य को कैसे हम हटा सकते थे, अपनी एकता से। तो पहला सबक हमारा एकता का था कि सारे भारत की एकता, खाली एक कोने की नहीं।

अब, भारत में, मैंने आपसे कहा, बहुत बड़े-बड़े प्रान्त, प्रदेश हैं। सभी को मिलकर रहना है। भारत में अलग-अलग धर्म हैं, बहुत लोग हिन्दू हैं अधिकतर, मुसलमान हैं, पारसी हैं, ईसाई हैं, बौद्ध हैं, जैन हैं, सिख हैं, ये सब लोग हैं। सब भारत के हैं। सब भारत के रहने वाले हैं, चाहे कोई भी उनका धर्म हो। जो भारत में रहता है, उसको पूरा अधिकार है बराबर का, सबके साथ और सबको प्रेम के साथ एक दूसरे से रहना है, चाहे कोई भी उनका धर्म हो। जातियाँ हैं, बहुत उन्होंने हमें दुर्बल कर दिया, जातियों ने अलग-अलग, और कोई अपने को ऊँच जाति समझता है कोई नीच कहलाते हैं, यह बात हमें अच्छी नहीं लगती। यह ऊँच जाति और नीच जाति का समय भी अब निकल गया। अब जो हम जनता का राज यहाँ करते हैं, पंचायती राज रखते हैं तो उसके माने यह है कि सभी को बराबर का मौका मिले और आगे बढ़ने का। जाति से कोई नहीं बढ़ेगा, अपने गुण से बढ़ेगा। इस ढंग से हम देश को बनाना चाहते हैं, और, और भी एकता सबमें हो।

तो भाषायें हैं, बोली हैं अलग-अलग, देश में हैं, ठीक है, अच्छा है अलग-अलग बोली हों, सुंदर बोलियाँ हैं। आपकी राजस्थानी भाषा बड़ी सुन्दर है, हो, लेकिन भाषा होने से हमें एक दूसरे से लड़ई तो नहीं लड़नी चाहिए? कोई कहे कि हमारी गुजराती है, राजस्थानी है, मराठी है, हिन्दी, बंगला, तो यह बात ठीक नहीं है। तो यह सबक एकता का हमें याद रखना है। क्योंकि जहाँ हम इसको भूल गये, हम दुर्बल हो जाएंगे, हम गिर जायेंगे, हमारा देश गिर जाएगा। मैं इसलिए आपसे यह कहता हूँ कि हम एकता-एकता तो बहुत कहते हैं लेकिन अभी तक हम इसको समझे नहीं और बड़ी जल्दी हम आपस में लड़ने लगते हैं। हमारे यहाँ सब जगह आप देखें बड़ी बहस होती है। यहाँ तक कि हमारी कांग्रेस, देश की जो महासभा है, उसका संगठन है, उसके अंदर भी लड़ई-झगड़े हुआ करते हैं, यह बात ठीक नहीं है। इस तरह से कोई जनता का राज नहीं चल सकता है। क्योंकि उसमें अगर हर एक आदमी अपनी ही बात कहे, दूसरे की नहीं माने, तो मिलकर चलना कैसे हो? पंचायत का काम कैसे होता है? पंचायत का काम होता है कि गाँव के पंच मिलें, बातचीत करें, सलाह करें, फिर एक बात का फैसला करें। उसको सब लोग मानें। अगर अलग-अलग कोई नहीं माने तो कोई फैसला ही नहीं हो। और कभी कोई एक तरफ चल ही नहीं सके। तो जैसे गाँव की एक पंचायत होती है वैसे आप समझो राजस्थान भर की पंचायत, ज़िले की पंचायत, सारे प्रान्त की, और सारे देश की पंचायत वहाँ बैठती है दिल्ली में, वे सब लोग चुने हुए पंच होते हैं। यह बात आपको समझना है। हमारे यहाँ अब पंचायती राज है, जनता का राज है, और इसमें अच्छे भी आदमी हैं, बुरे भी हैं, सब तरह के हैं। लेकिन अगर सब लोगों को अधिकार मिलता है तो उलट-पलट के तो चलते ही जाते हैं सब लोग मिलकर।

तो ये दो बातें आपको याद रखनी हैं। एक तो देश की एकता और मिलकर रहना जो भिन्न-भिन्न धर्म, जाति, भाषा के लोग हैं। तीसरी बात यह है कि हमारा देश पिछड़ा गया है, और देश आगे निकल गये। तो हमें तो पीछे नहीं रहना है, हमें आगे चलना है। हमें अपने देश को फिरसे एक खुशहाल देश, धनी देश बनाना है। कैसे हो सकता है? दो बातों की आवश्यकता है उसमें। एक तो हम समझें, और देश आगे बढ़ गये, उस बात को हम भी कुछ सीख लें, विद्या को, विज्ञान को, उसको सीखें। कैसे वो अच्छी खेती करते हैं, तो उससे हम सीख लें। कैसे कारखाने चलाते हैं उससे हम सीख लें।

हमारे यहाँ भी सब अच्छे लोग हो गये हैं, बहुत कुछ। और दूसरी बात कि हम लोग परिश्रम करें, मेहनत करें। मैं आपसे कहूँ कि हमारे यहाँ चर्चा तो बहुत होती है काम करने की और बहुत कुछ लोग काम, किसान वगैरह, काम करते भी हैं, लेकिन हमारे आलसी लोग बहुत हैं। और देशों को मैं देखता हूँ जाकर, तो वहाँ कहीं ज्यादा परिश्रमी लोग होते हैं, कमाते भी अधिक हैं और काम भी अधिक करते हैं। तो हमें परिश्रम करना है, सीखना है, आराम के समय आराम करें हम, लेकिन परिश्रम के समय जोर से परिश्रम करें, क्योंकि दुनिया चलती है जनता के परिश्रम से। अगर आपलोग जो खेती करते हैं, खेती करना छोड़ दें कोई और न करें तो हमारा देश ठण्डा हो जाए। किसान के काम से पैदा होता है गल्ला, और लोगों के काम से कारखानों में, उद्योग में और काम होता है। काम से दुनिया चलती है, खाली व्याख्याना से दुनिया नहीं चलती है, जैसे मैं दे रहा हूँ। तो हमें परिश्रम करना है, समझना है, और हमें अपने सामने इस बात को रखना, एक बड़ी बात को, जो महात्माजी ने और भी हमें सिखाई, कि जो काम हम करें उसको शान्ति से करना, मिलकर, प्रेम से करना, क्योंकि अगर हम शान्ति से नहीं करें तो आपस में फूट हो। तो फिर एकता हमारी नहीं रहे और हम दुर्बल हो जाएँ। हमने अंग्रेजी राज्य को यहाँ से हटाया, शान्ति से काम करके, लड़ाई-झगड़ा करके नहीं, और इसी तरह से हम और आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। तो यह बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हैं, बड़ी बुनियाद की बातें हैं जो हमें समझनी हैं।

मानिकलालजी ने बताया, क्या-क्या करना चाहिए आदिवासियों के लिए? अब जो बहुत सारी बातें उन्होंने बतायीं, वो ठीक होंगी, हो सके तो अच्छा है। लेकिन मैं तो यह कहता हूँ यह ऊँच-नीच इस देश से निकले और हमारे आदिवासी भाई हैं उनके सामने सारे रास्ते आगे बढ़ने के खुले, पढ़ें-लिखें, उद्योग करें, खेती करें, सब कुछ काम करें, सरकारी अफसर हों, जो कुछ हों। आप लोगों के और देश के प्रेम ने और भरोसे ने मुझको इस देश का प्रधानमंत्री बनाया। कोई इसलिए तो प्रधानमंत्री मैं बना नहीं कि कोई जैसे राजाओं के बेटे राजा हो जाते हैं, उस तरह से तो हम चलते नहीं हैं। इसलिए कि जनता को कुछ भरोसा था, कुछ प्रेम था, मुझे बनाया, चुनकर बनाया। हमारे देश के बड़े राष्ट्रपति हैं, राजेन्द्र बाबू,⁷⁷ हमारे देश के सब में प्रथम पुरुष हैं। वो कहाँ से आये? वो भी कोई राजा-महाराजा तो नहीं हैं, वो तो एक छोटे ज़मींदार रहे। लेकिन बड़ी देश की सेवा उन्होंने की, बड़े विद्वान हैं, बड़ा परिश्रम उन्होंने किया, बड़ा त्याग किया। इसलिए जनता ने उनसे प्रेम किया, उन पर भरोसा किया, और उनको राष्ट्रपति इस देश का बनाया। पाँच बरस के लिए चुने जाते हैं। तो हमारे देश में उसको, उस पुरुष और इसी की तरक्की हो, जिससे जनता प्रेम करे, जो त्याग करे, जिसमें समझ हो।

आपके छोटे बच्चे होंगे। हरेक, आपके छोटे बच्चे के लिए, दरवाज़ा खुला है, आप चाहे आदिवासी हों, दरवाज़ा खुला है कि अगर उसमें शक्ति हो, उसमें पढ़ लिखकर, क़ाबिलियत हो, तो वो देश का राष्ट्रपति हो सकता है, वो देश का प्रधानमंत्री हो सकता है। और यह भी मैं आपसे बताऊँ, हमारे यहाँ, हमारे विधान में यह भी कोई रुकावट नहीं है कि पुरुष राष्ट्रपति हो, या कोई खाली पुरुष ही प्रधानमंत्री हो। चाहे लड़का हो, चाहे लड़की हो, अगर उसमें क़ाबिलियत हो और जनता उसको

77. Rajendra Babu is Rajendra Prasad.

पसन्द करे तो इस महान देश का राष्ट्रपति उसको बना सकते हैं, चाहे वो आदिवासी बच्चा हो चाहे कोई और जाति का हो। ऊँच-नीच, जाति की बात नहीं है। तो इस तरह से आप देखें कि हमारे देश में सारे बड़े-बड़े दरवाजे खुल गये उन्नति के, तरक्की के, सब जातियों के लिए। यह बात तो ठीक है, ठीक भी है और नहीं भी ठीक। ठीक इसलिए है कि हाँ, कानून से और विधान से तो खुल गये, नहीं ठीक इसलिए है कि खाली कानून से खुल जाने से तो असल में कोई नहीं कुछ कर सकता। कानून खोल दे दरवाजे आगे बढ़ने के और एक आदमी भूखा हो तो बेचारा चले क्या, वो करे क्या? तो इसलिए कानून के अलावा और प्रबंध हमें करने होते हैं कि हरेक को मौका मिले। हमारे देश में हर बच्चे को अधिकार है, उसकी देखभाल ठीक हो, उसको खाना मिले अच्छा, उसको वस्त्र मिलें, उसको घर रहने को मिले, उसकी पढ़ाई ठीक हो, खेलना ठीक हो, उसके स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध ठीक हो और जब सीख-साख के बड़ा हो तो उसको काम मिले।

अब यह हरेक का, और मैं तो कहता हूँ हर सरकार का यह पहला फर्ज है कि बच्चों की देखभाल करे। और अगर बच्चों की देखभाल ठीक न हो तो बढ़कर वो कैसे होंगे? तो यह हमारा कर्तव्य है। लेकिन आप जानते हैं इस कर्तव्य को हम पूरा नहीं कर रहे हैं और नहीं कर सकते एकदम से, मेरा मतलब हम चाहते हैं करना, लेकिन नहीं कर सकते। शक्ति नहीं है देश में। हम चाहते हैं सारे देश में स्कूल हो जायें, अस्पताल हो जायें, हम हिसाब लगाते हैं, तो उसका इतना खर्च होता है कि एकदम से नहीं कर सकते। हाँ, स्कूल बढ़ते जायें, स्कूल बढ़ते जो हैं, तेजी से बढ़ रहे हैं। और अस्पताल भी बढ़ते जाते हैं। और भी चीज़ें बढ़ती हैं। तो समय लगता है, एकदम से हम नहीं कर सकते जो बात हम चाहते हैं, क्योंकि इतनी शक्ति नहीं है। हमने हिसाब लगाया कि अगर जितने लोग हमारे यहाँ, जितने हम चाहते हैं बच्चे, लड़के-लड़कियाँ, स्कूल में जाएँ सब, एक चौदह-पन्द्रह बरस तक सब जायें और उसके बाद जो उसमें अच्छे हों, तेज हों, वो पढ़ें कॉलेज में आके या और संस्थाओं में पढ़ें जाकर, जिससे काम सीखें। तो इन लोगों को पढ़ाने के लिए भी हमें बीस लाख तो पढ़ाने वाले चाहिये। पन्द्रह-बीस लाख पढ़ने वाले तो छोड़ें आप, पढ़ाने वाले बीस लाख चाहिए। अब पढ़ाने वालों को तैयार करना। यानी कुल मिलाकर अगर जैसा हम चाहते हैं देशभर का सारा प्रबंध हो पढ़ाई के बारे में और पढ़ाई में सब नीचे से लेकर, छोटे बच्चे से ऊँचे तक, university तक, और उसमें बड़े-बड़े जो हमारे engineering वगैरा सिखाने के, डाक्टरी अब शामिल करके, तो उसमें दस करोड़ आदमी हमारे लग जायें, अगर हम पूरी तौर से करें। चालीस करोड़ आबादी में दस करोड़ उसी में लग जायें, पढ़ने वाले और पढ़ाने वाले। आप सोचें। और आज नहीं होगा यह सब, पाँच-सात-दस बरस बाद तक हल्के-हल्के हम आ रहे हैं उस तरफ। इस समय जो हमारा कार्यक्रम है, programme है, उसमें आज से सात बरस में, सन् '65 में, सात बरस में करीब-करीब सात करोड़ हमारे, हाँ, करीब सात करोड़ हमारे बच्चे पढ़ रहे होंगे, आज से सात बरस में। सोचें आप।

तो आप देखें यह सवाल इतने बड़े हो जाते हैं। बड़े सवाल होने से उन्हें हमें छोड़ तो नहीं देना है। लेकिन कुछ समय लगता है और उसमें बड़े परिश्रम की ज़रूरत होती है। हम इसको तभी कर सकते हैं, जब देश में काफी धन पैदा हो, क्योंकि इसमें धन लगता है। धन कैसे पैदा हो, कैसे

पैदा होता है? ज़मीन से पैदा होता है धन, किसान करता है, कारख़ाने में होता है, ग्रामोद्योग से होता है, कारीगरी से होता है। जो आदमी कोई नयी चीज़ बनाये वो धन पैदा करता है। कोई-कोई साहूकार धनी हो जाये लेकिन साहूकार नया धन नहीं पैदा करता, वो दूसरे का धन उसके पास आता है, वो नहीं पैदा करता। लेकिन जो नया धन पैदा करता है वो किसान है, मजदूर है, कारीगर है, उद्योग करने वाला है, कारख़ाने में काम करने वाला है, वो नयी चीज़ पैदा करता है। एक बड़ई है, बड़ई लकड़ी से मेज, कुर्सी बनाये तो उसने नया धन पैदा किया। लुहार है। जो कोई नयी चीज़ें बनती हैं वह धन होता है। जितना अधिक देश में ऐसा सामान बने, वो नया धन है। वो देश धनी होता है। जो देश दुनिया के बड़े धनी देश हैं, अमेरिका इत्यादि, कैसे हैं? सोने-चांदी से नहीं कि उनके जमीन से, कारख़ाने से बड़ा सामान पैदा होता है। तो हमें यह सामान पैदा करना है। अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में हमारे कारख़ाने नहीं चलते थे, जमीन से आप लोग जो पैदा करते हैं, वो बहुत कम है, बहुत कम है, और देशों में उसका दुगना-तिगुना पैदा होता है। हम भी कर सकते हैं खाद डालकर, बीज नये चुनकर, ये सब बातें हमें करनी हैं, और कारख़ाने खोलकर। और इन कारख़ानों में काम कैसे करें? उसके लिए स्कूल विद्यालय खोलकर। जिसमें आप लोग, आप लोगों के बच्चे सीखें। आप देखें कितना बड़ा काम यह हो जाता है और सब के लिए। कोई आदिवासी इससे अलग थोड़े ही हैं, आदिवासियों को भी उसमें पूरा भाग लेना है, पुरुष को, स्त्री को, लड़के को और लड़की को, क्योंकि सारे देश को आगे बढ़ना है। इस तरह से आप इस बात को देखें। आपकी जो अलग कठिनाइयाँ हैं, आदिवासियों की, अवश्य उस पर विचार होना चाहिए, करना चाहिए, लेकिन यह आप याद रखिए कि आपका काम यह है कि आप किसी और से पीछे नहीं रहें। आप सबके साथ आगे बढ़ें या किसी औरों के आगे भी हो जायें, तो अच्छा है। अपने ऊपर भरोसा करना है।

अब यह जो पंचवर्षीय योजना है, उसमें आपने सुना होगा यह विकास योजना, community block इत्यादि बने हैं। आज मैं यहाँ आ रहा था तो रास्ते में कई जगह मैं रुका, कई गाँवों में रुका देखने के लिए कैसे काम होता है? अब मैंने आपके सारे राजस्थान के गाँव तो देखे नहीं, कुछ का हाल पढ़ा है, लेकिन आज जो दो-चार गाँव में रुका और वहाँ जो काम देखा मैंने, उसको देखकर मुझे खुशी हुई, अच्छे ढंग से काम हो रहा है। और क्यों खुशी हुई? इसलिए नहीं कि दिखाने के लिए एक विद्यालय बना दिया, एक मकान इधर खड़ा कर दिया, यह बात नहीं। जो बात मैं देखता हूँ वो ये कि यहाँ की जनता क्या कर रही है, अफसर लोग नहीं। अफसरी काम मैं चाहता हूँ, अफसरों के ऊपर बहुत बोझा काम का न हो, जनता अपने ऊपर उठाये। क्योंकि अफसर लोग पर आप भरोसा करोगे, तो हो सकता है कहीं अच्छा अफसर हुआ तो काम अच्छा हो गया, लेकिन काम इस तरह से मजबूत नहीं होगा। हमारे देश का काम जनता को उठाना है, अपने-अपने गाँव का काम, अपने पंचायत द्वारा, अपने सहकारी संघ द्वारा। मैंने सुना आपके यहाँ पंचायतें तो काफी बन गयी हैं, बनती हैं, ठीक बात है, और पंचायत, पंचायत सब में मजबूत चीज़ है हमारे स्वराज की, होनी चाहिए। नीचे और सब चीज़ें उसकी शक्ति पर हैं। अगर हमारे देशभर में पंचायतें मजबूत हों तो मुझे फिकर नहीं, फिर जयपुर और देहली की बड़ी सभाएँ कैसी हैं? देश की मजबूती उसी से कायम हो जाएगी। तो एक तो पंचायतें बहुत आवश्यक हैं। आपके पंच, सरपंच, उनके ऊपर बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी है और

तगड़े लोग हैं वो, ठीक काम करें, औरों से करायें, तो देश बड़ी तेजी से बढ़ेगा।

दूसरी बात यह अभी आपके यहाँ नहीं मालूम होता है कि बहुत आई है। वो यह है कि जो मैंने कहा कि सहकारी संघ, cooperative, यानी आर्थिक काम के लिए जो आपकी संस्था बने सहकारी, यानी जो लोग मिलकर आर्थिक काम कर सकें गाँव की तरफ से, एक-एक गाँव में सहकारी संघ हो। कहीं-कहीं मैंने सुना सहकारी संघ है, लेकिन उसका काम है अधिकतर रुपया कर्ज देना, कर्ज देना रुपया। खैर, वो ठीक काम है, होना चाहिए। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ सहकारी संघ काफी नहीं है। यह तो एक छोटा-सा बैंक हो गया, वो काफी नहीं है। सहकारी संघ को गाँव के करीब-करीब जितने आर्थिक प्रश्न हैं सब उठाने चाहिए, और अपने हाथ में लेने चाहिए। आप अलग-अलग किसान हैं, अलग-अलग थोड़ी आपकी जमीन है, आपकी शक्ति नहीं है बहुत, आप न खरीद सकते हैं जो चाहें, न आप बेच सकते हैं। आपको कभी ज़रूरत हो किसी चीज़ की, किसी नये हल की कुछ, आपको कठिनाई से मिलेगा। लेकिन अगर आपके गाँव भर की एक सहकारी संघ है, तो उसकी शक्ति होगी। वो आपकी तरफ से खरीद भी सकती है और बेच भी सकती है, और सामान भी ला सकती है, नये-नये औज़ार वगैरा। इसलिए सरकारी संघ करना हर गाँव में आवश्यक है।

मैंने कहा हर गाँव में तीन चीज़ें आवश्यक हैं, पंचायत, सहकारी संघ और स्कूल। और अगर ये तीन चीज़ें मजबूती से चलें तब उसके ऊपर के दर्जे सब निकलते जाएंगे, कठिनाई नहीं होगी। और इन सब बातों में अधिक से अधिक भरोसा जनता के ऊपर करना चाहिए। यह नहीं कि सरकारी अफसर अपना वहाँ हुक्म चलाएँ और जनता को मौका नहीं मिले अपने ऊपर उस जिम्मेदारी को लेने का। तो ये बातें हमें करनी हैं। और फिर जो हमें योजनाएँ बनानी हैं, उसको सब पंचायतों के पंचों की सलाह से, मश्वरे से, हम योजनायें बनायें, आपकी सलाह से। यह पुराना तरीका ठीक नहीं है कि पुराने बड़े अफसर आयें और आपने उनको एक प्रार्थनापत्र दिया, हमें यह चाहिए, वो चाहिए। वो ढंग तो बदलना है। अब आपकी पंचायत को सोचना चाहिए-क्या चाहिए, क्या नहीं। सोचकर बड़ी पंचायतों में पेश हो, उस पर विचार हो। यानी जो हम काम करें देश में, वो सभी के सलाह-मश्वरे से करें, अधिक से अधिक जहाँ तक हो सकता है। इस ढंग से हमें बढ़ना है। लेकिन याद रहे कि इसके पहले कि बुनियादी बातें मैंने आपसे क्या कहीं? वो यही कि हममें एकता हो, हम शान्ति से रहें, काम करें, और परिश्रम हम करें, और आपस में झगड़े-फसाद न करें और यह याद रखें कि अब सारे भारत के लोग आगे बढ़ेंगे यह ऊँच जाति, नीच जाति का सिलसिला नहीं हमें स्वीकार है। सभी को बढ़ना और विशेषकर जो हमारे आदिवासी भाई हैं जिनको बढ़ने का मौका पहले नहीं मिला रहा, वो उनको बढ़ना है और उनको यह सहायता देना चाहते हैं। लेकिन सहायता उसी को ठीक दी जा सकती है जो खुद तगड़ा हो और परिश्रम करने को तैयार हो। बहुत कुछ आजकल काम श्रमदान से होता है, अच्छा है। इस ढंग से अगर सब थोड़ा-थोड़ा मिलकर करें तो सारे हमारे गाँव बदल जायें।

राजस्थान हमारे देश का एक सुन्दर हिस्सा है, और ऐतिहासिक हिस्सा है, और यहाँ आकर हमेशा मुझे खुशी होती है कि यहाँ आदमी, पुरुष-स्त्री, तगड़े रहते हैं। तो तगड़े तो रहते थे, बहुत वीरता

दिखाई। अब यह तगड़ापन दूसरी तरह दिखाना है, काम करके, मिलकर, अपने गाँव में, पंचायत में, प्रान्त में, इसको बढ़ाना है, और झगड़े-फसाद में नहीं पड़ना है।

शायद आप लोग भी सुनते हों कि और दुनिया में बड़े लड़ाई-झगड़े की बातें होती रहती हैं। अभी लड़कियों ने एक सुन्दर गान गाया, उसमें पंचशील का चर्चा किया। तो यह बात ठीक है और दुनिया में तो लड़ाई-झगड़े हैं, और आपने सुना हो atom bomb। Atom bomb बड़ा भारी हथियार है, जिससे शहर के शहर तबाह हों, ऐसी तो दुनियाँ है। तो ऐसी दुनिया में कोई दुर्बल लोग नहीं रह सकते हैं, न कमजोर देश, न ऐसा देश जो आपस में फूट पैदा हो, लड़े। इसमें तो तगड़े देश रह सकते हैं। हमारे नवयुवक हैं, नौजवान हैं, खूब अच्छे काम करते हैं, बहुत सारे, लेकिन कुछ उनमें समझते हैं कि खाली नारे उठा उठा के काम हो जाता है। यह तो बात गलत है, यह बड़ी कड़ी दुनिया है, आजकल की सख्त दुनिया है और जिन नौजवानों को, औरों को आगे बढ़ना है उनको अपने को तैयार करना है। मजबूत करना है, मन में, शरीर में, चरित्र में, कि इस सख्त दुनिया का मुकाबला कर सकें। इस ढंग से हमें चलना है।

तो फिर से हमारे देश में, देश के इतिहास ने एक करवट ली है बड़ी भारी हमारे देश ने, और फिर से हमें मौका मिला है कि हम आगे बढ़ें। तो उस मौके को हमें पकड़ना है, और कौन उसमें जोरों से उसको पकड़े, अगर राजस्थान के वीर पुरुष न पकड़ें।

आपने, प्रेम से स्वागत आपने किया, उसके लिए धन्यवाद और जो यहाँ नगरपालिका के सदस्यगण ने मुझे मानपत्र दिया उसके लिए भी धन्यवाद। जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins]

Sisters and brothers,

I have been wondering when I came to Abu or Abu Road last? I do not remember exactly, but I think it was more than 20-25 years ago. Does anybody here know? Nobody here remembers when I had come. But I had passed through Abu Road on my way to Abu. As you can imagine, 20-25 years is a very long time. I have often visited other areas of Rajasthan but not this area. On this occasion I was invited by the Police Training College in Abu to address the officers⁷⁸ and inspect the working of the college. So this is the reason for my visit. But when I was coming here, I wished to meet my Adivasi brethren whom I had not seen for a very long time. So I made the invitation from the Police Training College an excuse to come here. My main desire was to meet all of you.

I am happy to see that you are assembled here from far and wide. Manikya Lalji⁷⁹ tells me that Adivasis have come here from all over Rajasthan. I would

78. See fn 75.

79. See fn 76.

have liked to stay here a little longer and talk to all of you and not merely at a public meeting like this. This does not seem quite proper. But it is difficult to find time to speak to all of you individually. However, you can make your views known to me through what is said here at this conference or through its other branches. We also come to know about your problems through our own organisations and their officials.

Just now Manikya Lalji said something especially about tribals. Let me tell you that I do not like the idea of the people of India living in separate compartments of castes and other divisions. We must understand the kind of India that we are trying to build. Now, India is a very ancient country, thousands of years old. You hear tales of ancient times. This is the time of Ramlila and you hear the story of Ramchandrajai all over the country. This is a story which has come down through thousands of years. Then there are the Puranas and the Mahabharata and so many stories connected with our history which ring in our ears to this day. These are all part of our history and we must remember them. We should also try to benefit from them and learn from them. We can always learn something from our great men. In our own times a very great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, lived and many of us have worked with him and learnt something from him. Many of you may have seen him and others may not have. Many of our youth have not seen him and for them he has already become a legend.

So you and I may come and go but India goes on and will continue to do so for thousands of years and our children will carry on. The question before us is what we should do to make India strong and remove her poverty so that the people become well-off and strong, and every one of our beautiful girls and boys may get an opportunity to grow and develop. It is true that nowadays they do not get the opportunity.

The first great problem before us was to remove British rule from India because no country can progress under foreign domination. British rule had existed in India for over 150 years, and in that period, England became prosperous and rich while India remained poor. So our first task was to get freedom and by following the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi we succeeded in this. That was the end of one long struggle. But we had to embark immediately upon yet another journey which is more arduous than the struggle for freedom as it involves making the people of India better off and prosperous and providing opportunities for them to grow and progress. So you can imagine what a great task it is to achieve these things in a country with a population of forty crores. It is not a question of giving employment to a few hundreds. How can 40 crores of people be given jobs? They will have to work hard and progress by their own effort whether they work on land or in cottage industries, heavy or

small industries. Everyone must do something for the country. The great task before us is the uplift of India which had gone down for two-three centuries. It was a difficult task to be freed of the disease of poverty which is 200 years old. So a great deal of thought was given to it because poverty does not disappear on its own. Various remedies were thought of. You must have heard of the five-year plan. Initially the First Five Year Plan was implemented. Now the Second Plan has been going on for the last two-three years.

The five-year plans have been drawn up in order to plan for the future of India in which there will be no disparity between the rich and the poor and the people will be better off and make progress. We also want to change the social organisation in such a way that everyone may benefit and have equal opportunities to progress. Government officials cannot push you forward. They can certainly help. But the people of a country can advance only by their own strength and effort and hard work. So the question is of providing opportunities to the people of India to develop and progress, whether it is in agriculture or village industries or heavy industries. The people must have the opportunity to get education and to learn new skills and the new things which have made their appearance in the world. Nowadays, as you know, there is a great demand for schools in the rural areas, which is a good thing because education will make the girls and boys more skilled and qualified in their chosen professions. I cannot go into the details of the five-year plans, etc., because it is a long story. But every one of you must understand it because it concerns all of you closely. It is not concerned just with government officials. It concerns the lives of people all over the country.

Now, you must remember a few basic facts. First of all, what is this country of ours, India? You live here in a corner of Rajasthan and Rajasthan is a great State of India. There are many States like Rajasthan in India, from the Himalayas at the top, Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, and then you come to Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Assam and many others. All these States together form India. When we got freedom, it was not only Rajasthan, or Bengal or Bombay which got freedom, but the whole of India became free. Mahatma Gandhi had taught the people of India the lesson of unity and everyone began to work unitedly. The great organisation of ours, the Congress, grew in strength and its branches spread all over the country because unity brings strength. If you read the story of Rajasthan, you will find that there have been brave and courageous men here. But there was also disunity which made their bravery useless and foreigners came and conquered us. They found our brave heroes fighting among themselves foolishly. So the British came and established their rule here. We could remove their rule only by bringing about unity among ourselves. So the first lesson that

we learnt was the unity of India as a whole.

As I said, there are many States in India. All of them must be united. There are different religions in India. The majority of the people are Hindus. Then there are Muslims, Christians, Parsis, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, etc., and all of them are the citizens of India. Everyone who lives in India has equal rights irrespective of their religion and the people must live together in mutual cooperation. The caste system had weakened us a great deal in the past because the people had got into the habit of living in separate compartments with the result that some still consider themselves high born and look down upon the others. We do not approve of this. The days of high and low castes are gone. The people's rule and the panchayati raj mean equal opportunities for everyone to progress. Nobody can progress on the basis of one's caste. We should discourage this practice. One progresses by one's merit alone. This is how we want to build a new India and there must be unity among the people.

Then there are different languages and dialects spoken in the country. All of them are beautiful and your Rajasthani language is also very beautiful. But there should be no quarrel between any two languages. It is not proper that either Gujarati, Rajasthani, Marathi, Hindi or Bengali should be considered superior to the others. It is very essential to remember the lesson of unity because the moment we forget it, we become weak and fall. I am telling you this because though we talk a great deal about unity, we have not yet grasped its meaning fully and are very quick to start fighting among ourselves. You will find that there are acrimonious debates everywhere, in fact, even within the Congress Party which is a national organisation. How can democracy function when things are like this? If each individual pulls in a different direction, how can there be cooperation among the people? How can panchayats function if the people of the village refuse to abide by the decision of the panch? If everybody pulls in different directions, nothing can get done. The Parliament in Delhi is a big panchayat where people are elected from all the States like Rajasthan. You must understand this. Now there is panchayati raj in India, people's rule, in which there are good as well as bad people. But when all of us get the rights we somehow pull along in cooperation with each other.

So you must remember these two things. One is the unity of the country and, two, the need for the people of various religions, castes and languages to live together. The third thing is that our country has become very backward while the others have gone ahead. We must not remain backward but march forward, and make India once again a prosperous and rich country. How is that to be done? Two things are essential for that. One is to understand how the other countries have advanced so much and to learn those skills and science and the new techniques of agriculture, industrialisation, etc. In fact, our people

have now become skilled in various fields to a considerable extent. The second thing is that we must work hard. I would like to tell you that though there is a great deal of talk about working, and many of our farmers do work very hard, by and large we are very lazy. When I go to other countries, I find that people are far more hard-working. So they work more and earn more. We must also learn to work hard. We can relax when the work is done. The world moves only by the hard work of the people. If the farmers stop farming and people of other professions stop working, the country will come to a standstill. It is by the work of the people that goods are produced in the country. The world does not move by lectures like what I am doing now. So we must work hard and always keep in mind the lesson that Mahatma Gandhi taught us, the lesson of unity and cooperation and peace. If there is disunity among us, we will become weak. We removed British rule from here by working peacefully and that is the only way we can progress. These are the various things, fundamental things, which we must understand.

Manikya Lalji has told us what needs to be done for the tribal people. The many things he has mentioned must be useful and they should be implemented if possible. But I want that the disparity that exists in the country, the feeling of high and low among people, should go. All doors of opportunity must be open to our Adivasi brethren. They must be educated and should set up industries, or do agriculture, or do any kind of work, or become government officers or whatever they want to. All of you have made me the Prime Minister of the country with great love and confidence. I am not here because I am the son of a king. We do not work that way. The people had confidence in me and had affection towards me and they made me Prime Minister through the process of elections. Rajendra Babu⁸⁰ is the first citizen in the land as the President of India. He is not a king or an emperor but comes from a small zamindar family. But he has served the country very well and worked hard and made tremendous sacrifices. So the people have affection for him and made him the President. The President is elected for five years. So in India only such individuals come up who win the love and confidence of the people and have made sacrifices and are wise.

You must be having young children. The doors of opportunity are open to every single child and if he has the ability, he can aspire to be the President or the Prime Minister. Let me also tell you that there is nothing in our Constitution to prevent any man or woman from becoming the President of this great country. If the people like someone, it does not matter whether that person belongs to

80. See fn 77.

the tribal community or to any of the castes. So, as you see, the doors of opportunity are open to everyone in the country. But, in fact, this is not wholly correct. It is correct to the extent that legally and constitutionally the doors of opportunity are open to everyone. But that is not enough. We have to ensure that every child must have good food, clothes, house to live in, good schooling, facilities to play, health care facilities, etc., so that everyone can grow up to be well-educated and takes up some profession.

It is the first and foremost duty of every government to look after every child in the country because they are the future of India. But, as you know, we are not fulfilling this duty of ours; neither we are in a position to do so. It cannot be done immediately, though we want to, because the country lacks the resources. We want that there should be schools and hospitals all over the country, but the cost is so enormous that it cannot be done immediately. The number of schools and colleges is slowly increasing. But it takes time for we do not have the necessary resources. We have calculated that if we want to provide education to all the boys and girls in the country up to the age of fourteen to fifteen, and the more able ones with education in colleges and other institutions, we will need twenty lakh teachers. Can you imagine what a tremendous task it is to train fifteen to twenty lakh teachers? If we want to make arrangements for school education for all as well as for specialised teaching in engineering, medicine, etc., it will work out to ten crores of teachers and the taught, out of a population of forty crores. All this cannot be done immediately. It will take seven to ten years. We are gradually moving in that direction. According to our present programme, after seven years from now, by 1965, about seven crore children will be studying in schools.

So you can imagine the magnitude of the task. However, we cannot run away from it. It will take time and a great deal of hard work. We can do this task successfully only when there is enough wealth in the country. A country's wealth consists of the goods produced from land, industries, cottage industries, etc. Anything new that is produced in the country is national wealth. Money-lenders may be wealthy. But they do not produce anything new. It is the farmers, factory workers, carpenters and other skilled and semi-skilled workers who produce wealth in the country. A carpenter who makes a table or a chair, or a blacksmith who makes something new, creates wealth. The more goods a country produces, the wealthier it becomes. How have the United States and other countries become so wealthy? It is not because of their gold and silver but by producing an enormous amount of goods from their land and industries and by other ways. We must also produce more goods in the country. We had few industries during the days of British rule. The production from land even now is very little. It is twice or thrice as much in other countries. We can easily

increase production by using fertilisers and good seeds, etc. We also need to industrialise the country and to train people by opening special schools, etc., to work in our factories. So you can see what a big task it is. We have to do it for everyone, including the tribals. And the tribals also have to participate fully in the national tasks. The special problems of the tribals must no doubt be addressed. But you must realise that it is your job too to see that you do not lag behind others. You must march in step with the others and better still if you lead the others. And you have to be self-reliant also.

You must have heard of the Community Blocks and the National Extension Service, etc., which have been established under the Five Year Plan. As I was coming here today, I stopped at various places to see how the work was going on. I have not seen all the villages of Rajasthan but have been getting reports and have also seen some of the villages. I am happy at the work that is going on there. I am happy not because a school or a house has been put up here and there but because the work is being done by the people themselves. I do not want that it should all be done by the officials alone though they can certainly help. The people must take on the responsibilities themselves in the villages through the panchayats and cooperative societies, etc. I have heard that many panchayats have been established in your villages which is a good thing. The Panchayats are the pillars of our democracy and everything depends on how strong they are. If the panchayats are strong all over the country, the country will become strong. Then I shall not be bothered about the Assemblies in Jaipur or in Delhi. So the panchayats are very essential and there is a great responsibility on the panchs and the sarpanchs of the villages. They should be strong and capable of doing hard work and of making others work. That is how the country will progress fast.

Secondly, it seems that the cooperatives have not spread to your villages. I want that there should be a cooperative society in every village. I have heard that there are some cooperative societies here, but their main job seems to be to give loans. That is also necessary. But it is not enough for a cooperative society to function like a small bank. The cooperative society should take up almost all the economic problems in the village. If small farmers try to farm on their own, they will not be able to do much. If they need something, they will have difficulty in getting it. But if there is a cooperative society, it adds to the strength of the village in many ways. It can help the farmers in buying and selling and getting new implements and goods, etc. Therefore cooperative societies are essential in every village.

I told you that three things are essential in every village—a panchayat, a cooperative society and a school—and if they are strong institutions, all the rest will follow automatically, without any difficulty. In all these things, the

people must become self-reliant. The work should not be left to government officials who will just give orders without letting the people get an opportunity to take on responsibilities. So we have to do all these things and draw up plans in consultation with the panchayats and the people. The old custom of giving applications to government officials is not right. We must change that. The panchayats must think of things that need to be done and then make suggestions to the bigger panchayats. Whatever happens in the country must be done in consultation with everyone, as far as possible. But before that, you must remember the fundamental principles that I have told you about. There must be unity among us, peace, the will to work hard and there should be no petty squabbles among ourselves. We must also remember that India cannot progress unless all the people progress and disparities on grounds of caste and whatnot must not be allowed to exist. Our tribal brethren who have not had the opportunity to progress must be helped. But the right kind of help can be given only when the people themselves are strong and ready to work hard. Voluntary labour is a good thing. If everyone cooperates together and works, our villages will be transformed.

Rajasthan is a very beautiful part of India. It is also a historic place and I am always happy to come here because the men and women here have always been sturdy. They have shown great bravery in the past. Now you must show strength and daring in the tasks at hand and not get involved in mutual quarrels and feuds.

You may have heard about the constant talk of war which goes on in the world. Just now the girls sang a beautiful song in which there was a reference to Panchsheel. You may have heard of the atom bomb which can destroy an entire city. In a terrible world like this, weak countries cannot exist. We cannot exist if disunity weakens us. Only the strong can flourish in the world of today. Our young men are capable of hard work but they often think that merely by shouting slogans they can achieve things. That is wrong for this is a ruthless, merciless world and those who want to progress must prepare themselves mentally, physically and morally in order to face this hard world.

India has once again taken a new turn and history has provided yet another opportunity to us to progress. We must take full advantage of this opportunity and who can do this better than the brave warriors of Rajasthan?

You have given me a warm welcome for which I thank you. I also thank the members of the Municipality for the welcome address they have given me.

Jai Hind.

[Translation ends]

33. Harijans in Delhi⁸¹

I am sending you a paper which was given to me from a large number of Harijans who came to see me this morning together with Shri Krishnan Nair.⁸² These Harijans were obviously in a miserable condition and had nowhere to go to. What the legal rights are I do not know and in fact the law apparently has decided against them.

2. From this application it appears that the Delhi authorities started some acquisition proceedings to get the land back for these Harijans. If that is so, something should be done to expedite them. Anyhow, these people should not be left in the miserable condition they are in.

3. There is some reference in this application to excesses committed by Mr Ramdhar and party.

4. This matter was already referred to the Chief Commissioner.⁸³ You might tell him that these people came to see me and I was rather moved by their miserable condition. I think they do deserve help. Enquire from him what is happening to the acquisition proceedings.

34. Harijan Welfare⁸⁴

बच्चों,

कई बरस हुए मैं यहाँ आया था और मेरे भाई और साथी कृष्णा⁸⁵ मुझे लाये थे। उस समय यहाँ कोई मकान नहीं था। ख़ाली ज़मीन थी। आज फिर मैं आया हूँ और इस colony में मकान देख कर मुझे खुशी हुई कि एक काम उठाय़ा था वह हल्के-हल्के पूरा होता है और विशेषकर मुझे यह बात खुशी हुई सुनकर कि यहाँ आज पानी आता है और बिजली की रोशनी भी। बिजली की रोशनी तो मैंने अभी बटन दबाकर उसको शुरू किया। जैसे आपके इस colony में रोशनी आई, वैसे ही जैसे कृष्णाजी ने कहा, वैसे ही आपके दिल में और आपके मन में भी रोशनी रहे। और ख़ाली आपके ही नहीं बल्कि भारत के सब लोगों के दिल में दिमाग़ में और मन में रोशनी आये। बड़ा भारी काम

81. Note to Kesho Ram, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 21 October 1958. JN Collection.

82. C. Krishnan Nair, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Outer Delhi; was President, Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, 1952-54.

83. A.D. Pandit.

84. Speech at Jai Jawahar Nagar, a Harijan colony, New Delhi, 23 October 1958. AIR tapes. NMML. Original in Hindi.

85. C. Krishnan Nair.

है यह हमारे लिए कि सारे भारत निवासी जो हैं उनको उठाना और उनके जीवन को कुछ अच्छा करना हर तरह से। वह काम खाली ऊपर सरकार से तो नहीं होता, सब लोगों के सहयोग से मिलकर होता है। तो यहाँ जो यह colony बनी आप लोगों की मेहनत से, उत्साह से, यह एक अच्छी बात है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि और इसकी उन्नति होगी, तरक्की होगी और उसके साथ-साथ आप सभी की।

और जो बच्चे नाचे थे अभी-अभी, उनको देखकर भी मैं बहुत खुश हुआ। क्योंकि आप जानते हैं कि बच्चों से मेरा बड़ा प्रेम है क्योंकि हमारे जो आजकल के बच्चे जो हैं वे कल बड़े होकर कल का भारत होंगे, जिस भारत को हम बना रहे हैं।

जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins]

Many years ago, I had come here. My brother and comrade Krishnaji⁸⁶ brought me here. At that time, this place was not inhabited; there was only vacant land here. Today again I have come here and it gives me pleasure to see a colony coming up; a task that began in earnest is being gradually completed. It makes me feel happy to know that this colony has the facilities of electricity and water supply. As you have just seen, the electricity supply to this colony started as I pressed a button. The way electricity has illuminated your colony, may your heart and mind remain enlightened, as Krishnanji has aptly said just now; not only your heart and mind but may the whole of India remain enlightened. It is a very difficult task to ameliorate the condition of vast numbers of Indians so that there is some change for them for the better. This task cannot be done from above, but can only be done with the help and cooperation of all of you. So this colony that has come up with your labour and zeal is a good sign. I hope that in this you will achieve further prosperity and progress.

It made me very happy to see the dance performance by children just now. As you know I have great affection for children for today's children would be tomorrow's India, the India which we want to build.

Jai Hind.

[Translation ends]

86. See fn 85.

35. To B.C. Kamble⁸⁷

October 29, 1958

Dear Shri Kamble,

I have your letter of October 25. I am sorry I cannot supply you with information which I do not possess and which I cannot easily collect. Nor do I think it is necessary to collect such information. As I have already informed you,⁸⁸ there are certain rules governing religious minorities and certain rules governing linguistic minorities, wherever they may occur. Apart from this, broadly speaking, we do not see any reason for laying stress on majorities or minorities. In regard to assistance being given, educational or economic, we feel that some economic test is better.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

36. Squatters⁸⁹

This is certainly a matter for the Delhi Administration. But, when they ask our advice, we have to give it. Our general rule is that squatters can be removed if suitable alternative accommodation is given to them. That rule should be followed.

In this connection I might mention another case. This is in the Delhi University area. It is obvious that squatters there have to be removed some time or other. There is an urgency about this because of the Science Congress taking place in January in that very area⁹⁰ and all the land is required. We drew the attention to this matter some time ago of the Corporation and of the other Delhi authorities.⁹¹ I think they wrote to me that they were offering alternative accommodation but the people were reluctant to go there. I have no doubt that these people have to be removed. It is impossible to hold up every improvement because people refuse to budge. But alternative accommodation should be

87. JN Collection.

88. See item 31.

89. Note to Kesho Ram, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 29 October 1958. JN Collection.

90. The Indian Science Congress, 46th Session, from 21 January 1959.

91. Nehru's note, 17 August 1958, SWJN/SS/43/ pp. 322-323.

provided and this should be suitable and not so far off as to make living impossible from there. I gather that this accommodation is being offered.

Another important factor to remember is that normally when the authorities or police function, they do so in rather a crude way and trouble occurs. The same thing can be done firmly but gently and with due notice.

Today the Vice Chancellor⁹² of Delhi University spoke to me about this and I told him that these people have to be removed and quickly because other arrangements have to be made for the Science Congress. The Delhi authorities or the Corporation should be informed of this. I am prepared even to see some representatives of these squatters to tell them what they should do. This will perhaps save me from some demonstration later on. You can inform the Delhi authorities about this.

(c) Representative Institutions

37. To Asoka Mehta⁹³

10th September, 1958

Dear Asoka,⁹⁴

I have just this morning received your letter of September 9 about the happenings in the Legislative Assembly of UP.⁹⁵ These happenings have naturally distressed me greatly, but I must confess to a feeling of sadness and surprise that in your letter to the Speaker⁹⁶ you have not made any reference to the behaviour of some members of the Opposition. You have referred only to the use of "armed police to eject members and the attacks made on the members as well as visitors".

I cannot speak with any certainty about the course of events in the UP Assembly on that day and I am relying largely on press reports, for the time being at least. I should like, however, to tell you what my own reaction is to these distressing scenes.

92. V.K.R.V. Rao.

93. JN Collection.

94. A leader of the Praja Socialist Party and Member of the Lok Sabha from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

95. On 8 September.

96. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

The Leader of a group in the Assembly, Shri Raj Narain,⁹⁷ refuses to submit to the UP Speaker's⁹⁸ ruling; he goes on disobeying Speaker's directions in spite of the Speaker asking him repeatedly. A general hubbub is created in the Assembly. It is impossible to carry on any work. Raj Narain refuses to sit down and continues to shout. Some other members join him in this business of shouting and violent gesticulation.

What exactly is the Speaker to do in the circumstances? Is he to abdicate his office and leave Raj Narain and Company to continue in their misbehaviour which not only prevents all business being transacted but creates a scene of extreme indecency from the Parliamentary point of view? The Speaker asks Raj Narain to withdraw. He refuses to do so. The Speaker thereupon asks the Sergeant to remove the recalcitrant member. Raj Narain refuses to go out. It might be remembered that Raj Narain is a person whose weight, I believe, is about 200 lbs. The confusion and uproar continue.

At some stage, I am not quite sure of the succession of events, the Speaker adjourns the House for ten minutes and calls upon the Sergeant with the help of the police to remove Raj Narain. The Speaker withdraws. Thereupon Raj Narain mounts the Speaker's rostrum and begins addressing the House from there. He is surrounded by his group there.

The police come in and try to remove him. He refuses to go and lies down surrounded by others. These others and subsequently Raj Narain are moved bodily. Apparently he and they return. Ultimately the police remove them bodily outside the Chamber and the House.

I am wholly unable to understand what you or anyone else would advise the Speaker to do in the circumstances except what he did.

You refer to armed police. So far as I know, the UP Assembly has no Watch and Ward Group as we have in Parliament here. The Watch and Ward duty is carried out by the police which is stationed in various parts of the Assembly building. The Speaker in fact asked this Watch and Ward Group of the police to remove the members who were recalcitrant. It is not a question of some armed police being sent for from outside. Those policemen are stationed there for watch and ward purposes.

If the Speaker had not taken this step, this would have meant his submitting to tactics which were not only disorderly but can only be described as some form of goondaism. A great deal is said about the intrusion of the police there at the instance of the Speaker. Not a word has been said by you about these acts of goondaism inside the Assembly. If people behave as Raj Narain and some of

97. Leader of the Socialist group in the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly.

98. Atmaram Govind Kher.

his colleagues did in the Assembly, there can be no other way but to have them removed bodily. No one can say that Raj Narain is an embodiment of peace or order. If he has to be removed bodily by a number of persons, struggling in the process, it is inevitable that some of his clothes might be torn. To consider Raj Narain as a martyr to police misbehaviour seems to me most extraordinary and amazing.

Parliamentary institutions and Parliamentary decorum require members to behave with common decency anywhere but, more especially, inside the Assembly. If that decency and decorum are cast to the winds and goonda tactics are adopted inside the Assembly, this is a basic challenge to Parliamentary procedures. If there is one thing more than any other that has to be remembered, it is that the Speaker's directions and rulings have to be obeyed inside the House.

While, therefore, I entirely agree with you in feeling great distress at what happened in the UP Legislative Assembly on September 8, I disagree with you when you cast the blame on the poor police or the Speaker and ignore completely what some opposition members of the UP Assembly did. I have yet to know that the rights and liberties of the people consist in misbehaving in the Assembly, challenging and insulting the Speaker and generally indulging in what I consider goonda tactics.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

38. To T.N. Ananthanayagi⁹⁹

September 13, 1958

Dear Mrs Ananthanayagi,¹⁰⁰

I have received your letter of the 11th September about the election of the Chairman to the Madras Legislative Council.

It is true that when my advice was sought, I said that we should observe a convention to continue a Speaker or Chairman, unless there was some very obvious reason not to do so. This convention has been gradually growing up in

99. File No. 32(16)/57-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Nehru sent a similar letter to C.R. Ramaswamy, Congress Member of the Madras Legislative Assembly, in reply to Ramaswamy's letter of 10 September to Nehru.

100. Mrs T.N. Ananthanayagi (b. 1931); advocate from Madras; Congress Member of the Madras Legislative Assembly, 1957-62.

India on the basis of like conventions in many other countries with similar parliamentary Constitutions. The Speakers' Conference in India, which is held annually, has repeatedly passed resolutions on this subject.¹⁰¹ Shri Mavalankar, the then Speaker, felt strongly about it and wrote to me on the subject. I replied to him that we would endeavour to observe the convention.¹⁰²

Because of these various assurances, I felt and still feel that we should observe this convention. I was not so much concerned about the personal aspect of the question. So far as I knew, Dr P.V. Cherian¹⁰³ had functioned with satisfaction and dignity previously. He had been abroad to the Inter-Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences and his bearing and work there had been much appreciated by the other delegates. I saw no reason therefore why he should not continue, more especially as we have gradually built up a convention to this effect.

You refer to Dr Cherian not being a Congressman.¹⁰⁴ If that was the point to be considered, this should have been done when he was first elected as Chairman in 1952. A Chairman may or may not be a Party man. He has to function impartially and in fact a Party man should cease to function as a Party man when elected Chairman.

We have to build up standards and values in parliamentary work. One of these standards appeared to me the convention I have referred to.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

101. For instance, the Conference of Presiding Officers of Legislative Bodies in India, in its annual session held at Trivandrum in 1951, unanimously adopted the following resolution: "This conference is of opinion that it is desirable in the interests of the development of free democratic institutions in this country that following the practice in the British House of Commons a convention should be established to the effect that the seat from which the Speaker or the Chairman stands for re-election should not be contested in the elections that are held from time to time. The necessary corollary of the full establishment of this convention would be that the Speaker or Chairman would not take part in party politics. The Conference feels that such a convention is a healthy one and its growth should be encouraged".

102. See SWJN/SS/25/ p. 235.

103. Chairman, Madras Legislative Council, 1952-64.

104. He was at Madras Medical College since 1927, and its Principal, 1945-1948.

39. To Om Prakash Goel¹⁰⁵

October 4, 1958

Dear Shri Goel,¹⁰⁶

Your letter of October 3rd.

I do not personally know much about the by-election in Najibabad and have no idea as to who is going there in this connection. But I do not agree with the principle you ask me to lay down. That is to say, I do not agree that Ministers, either State or Union, should not participate in by-election campaigns. That is a principle which, I think, is opposed to the normal practice in all democratic countries. Your reference to what the Kerala Ministers did in Devicolam is only partly correct.¹⁰⁷

Whether any Minister thinks it necessary or desirable to go or not to go is a matter which should be looked at separately in each case. But I am quite clear in my mind that the convention you suggest would be a wrong convention.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

105. JN Collection.

106. An advocate from Najibabad in the Bijnor district of Uttar Pradesh.

107. 16 May 1958, Devikulam Legislative Assembly seat by-election. On 9 May 1958, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, wrote to Nehru that, in order to contain political tension, Ministers of the State Government would not campaign. Nehru replied on 13 May 1958: "You say that you have decided that the Ministers of Kerala would not participate in the electioneering campaign. I am told, however, that before this decision was announced, quite a number of your Ministers did go there for electioneering work. I am not objecting to that but merely stating what I had heard." See SWJN/SS/42 pp. 390-391.

40. Portraits of Leaders in Parliament House¹⁰⁸

Please reply to the Lok Sabha Secretariat pointing out that the four remaining panels have been reserved as follows:

- 1) Maulana Azad
- 2) Shri C. Rajagopalachari
- 3) Dr Rajendra Prasad
- 4) Shrimati Sarojini Naidu

This has been agreed to and in fact steps are going to be taken in the near future to get portraits of Maulana Azad and Shrimati Sarojini Naidu.

There is no question of any other picture being put up in the Central Hall and indeed there is no room for it. Therefore, this should be pointed out to the persons concerned who are making an offer of such portraits in so far as the Central Hall is concerned. Small-sized portraits, if they are considered good enough, may be accepted for the Committee Rooms.

108. Note to Kesho Ram, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 7 October 1958. JN Collection.

On 12 September 1958, Nehru had written to M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: "I think that it is important from every point of view that a portrait of a woman should find a place in the Central Hall. No better choice could be made than Sarojini Naidu."

41. To Swaran Singh¹⁰⁹

October 18, 1958

My dear Swaran Singh,¹¹⁰

Thank you for your letter of the 18th October in which you have dealt with various points raised by Morarka¹¹¹ about the steel plants.

I agree with you that it will not be desirable to send copies of notes which you are supplying to the Estimates Committee to Morarka.¹¹² I suggest that you write to Morarka and tell him briefly what you have said in your letter to me adding that all these points were fully discussed by the Estimates Committee and full notes are being sent to them. On each subject it would not be appropriate for notes sent to the Estimates Committee to be sent to others also. But you would be glad to see him and give him such clarification as he desires.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

42. The Corporation of Madras¹¹³

I send my good wishes to the Corporation of Madras on the occasion of its celebrating its inauguration nearly three hundred years ago.¹¹⁴ This corporation is not only the oldest civic body in India, and possibly in the East, but has a very notable record of civic administration and introduction of numerous municipal reforms.

109. File No. 17(317)/58-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

110. Union Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel.

111. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan.

112. Nehru was referring to Swaran Singh's letter of 17 October 1958. In August 1958, R.R. Morarka had asked Nehru for clarifications on estimates for the steel plants [see SWJN/SS/43/p. 175]. Detailed information on this matter had been submitted to the Estimates Committee of Parliament; Morarka had been a member of the Estimates Committee when it had examined these estimates, but he had ceased to be one when the Committee was re-formed at the end of the previous budget session; he now wanted more information. Swaran Singh felt it would be awkward to give an individual MP what had been submitted to the Estimates Committee.

113. Message to the Mayor of Madras Corporation, 20 October 1958. JN Collection. The Corporation celebrated its anniversary on 29 October 1958.

114. Founded in 1688.

I am happy that during the present year it chose a woman as its Mayor.¹¹⁵

I am happy also that the Corporation has introduced a system of mid-day meals for children in its schools.

43. Absence of Panchayats and Cooperatives in Delhi¹¹⁶

The other day I went to see some of the flood-affected rural areas of Delhi.¹¹⁷ I met many villagers and I told them what their Panchayat should do and what their Cooperatives should do. Their answer was that they had no Panchayat or Cooperative. I was much surprised, as this has been our policy all over India for a long time and nearly all States have established Panchayats. We are urging them to establish Cooperatives in every village. To find that right here round about the Capital city, Panchayats have not been established and Cooperatives also do not seem to be there, came to me as a shock.

Will you please ask the Chief Commissioner¹¹⁸ as to how this state of affairs has arisen and what steps are proposed to be taken to establish Panchayats and Cooperatives?

115. Tara Chorian.

116. Note to Kesho Ram, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 21 October 1958. JN Collection.

117. Nehru visited some villages in the Najafgarh area of Delhi on 15 October 1958.

118. A.D. Pandit.

44. Panchayats¹¹⁹

I came here under a misconception. When Shri S.K. Dey¹²⁰ told me about this conference, I thought that panchs from the villages would be here. Instead I find Government officials and Ministers, etc.

As you are well aware, local self-government or the panchayat is the foundation of governmental structure and unless this foundation is sound the upper structure would be weak. Admittedly, the people who run the panchayats have their good and bad points. We all know this and we are told that we should not rely on them. This is an argument which will lead to drastic consequences if once accepted. We know that they will make mistakes, but even then we have to give them the chance and the training. Unless, we believe in an institution we would obviously not try to advance it much.

Sometime ago the Government of India had appointed a Rural Credit Survey Committee¹²¹ which told us of the shortcomings that villagers were suffering from and suggested the formation of cooperatives in particular. I do accept that there are short-comings in our people and they do not have the experience and are bound to make mistakes, but even then there is no other way but to have faith in them, depend on them and give them responsibilities. Those responsibilities might be misused at times, but when we consider that we do not aim at imposing any structure from the above, we have no other alternative.

119. Inaugural address at the fourth meeting of the Central Council of Local Self-Government, New Delhi, 27 October 1958. Nehru spoke in Hindi. Brief English rendering of the speech released by the Press Information Bureau.

The three-day meeting of the Central Council of Local Self-Government was attended by Local Self-Government Ministers from the States and presided over by D.P. Karmarkar, Union Minister of State for Health.

Nehru, who had been invited to attend the meeting of the Central Council by C.D. Barfivala, Director-General, All India Institute of Local Self-Government, Bombay, had initially declined the invitation owing to other engagements. In his reply of 15 October to Barfivala, Nehru had also stated: "I do not know about the subjects to be considered there, nor can I express any opinion about any pending legislation in any of the States, but, broadly speaking, I am strongly of opinion that panchayats should have as little official interference as possible. I think also that Cooperative Societies should also depend on themselves and should not be officialised."

120. Union Minister of State for Community Development.

121. The All India Rural Credit Survey Committee under A.D. Gorwala to recommend an agricultural credit policy; it reported in December 1954.

Shri S.K. Dey has just now referred to a number of things, particularly panchayats, about their sizes and their accounts, and the resources. You cannot lay down any hard and fast rules. In my opinion we should give them more and more responsibility and believe in them and keep perhaps some powers in our hands to correct them when they do make mistakes. If they have to consult you about everything, their responsibility loses its meaning.

There is a deplorable tendency in our governmental structure to do any and everything after consulting everyone else and there are lots of references and notings. This delays the work and no one is responsible because he can pass the blame on somebody else. This can never bring about efficiency. At a time when we have to do great things, whether it is the five-year plan or something else, if nobody takes the responsibility or only a little responsibility, the work is bound to be delayed or may not be done at all.

A lot of Government money is of course spent on various projects like the Sindri Fertilisers,¹²² iron and steel plants or the major river valley projects and we have to be careful about the expenses. But this carefulness must not go too far. Mr Appleby,¹²³ the American expert who came to India some time back, in his report had appreciated our work, but complained that the system we had was suitable only during the British period when there was not much work to be done. But today when we want to progress in every field, social, industrial or agricultural, the old system does not prove useful.

The report had some effect but not much. Official files containing noting and references continue to circulate endlessly in various secretariats or departments. Nothing is as harmful as administrative delays. Apart from resulting in a waste of national income and paper, it encourages corruption. We have to put a stop to this delay and there is only one way to do it. You should have a procedure where someone should be made responsible for what he has to do. At the most he will make mistakes for which you can take him to task, but he should know that it is his responsibility and no one else's. There should be decentralisation in administration.

The world is inclined towards centralisation. Even in industries the smaller shopkeepers are crushed and the bigger industry eats up the smaller ones. Centralisation is a product of the machine age. It is impossible to stop it. But unless we check it, it will be harmful instead of being useful.

122. At Sindri, near Dhanbad, India's first fertiliser plant under the public sector and inaugurated in March 1952 by Nehru.

123. Paul H. Appleby, an American expert on administration, visited India three times between 1953 and 1956.

There are, of course, things that cannot be decentralised, for example, our Integral Coach Factory¹²⁴ at Madras. But I am now talking of administration.

Some people think that planning only means increasing the number of factories, projects and other units which it is not. Planning involves the preparation of a programme that can give us a sound foundation to produce more and increase our capital formation. If we have to progress at the rate at which we want we will have to train thousands of men. Two years ago we held a census which showed that we had 72,000 engineers, to my surprise. I did not know the number was so big. But when we calculate in terms of the future, we will need engineers in lakhs after five or ten years otherwise there will be no one to run the projects we are establishing.

Take the example of education. We have been obliged to accept that we cannot accomplish what was laid down in the Constitution, that is, compulsory education for every child up to the age of fourteen within seven years. It would be perhaps impossible to do it in such a short span of time but this is what we have to do. But when you do that and all children up to the age of fourteen go to school, you will have to think in terms of secondary education for everyone and technical schools and universities for a majority of them. We would need a very large number of teachers also. About ten crores of people, which is about one fourth of our population, will be absorbed in activities related to learning and teaching. If our education can expand to this extent, just imagine the number of people who will be employed.

The difficulty today is that students do wrong things at times but the fact remains that students will be just like what the teachers are. Unless the teachers are good the students would not be. All these things are there and we cannot take them piecemeal.

Centralisation, as I said, is necessary to some extent but decentralisation is very essential. When we start decentralising administration, we come to the panchayat which is the smallest unit. The panchayats like the cooperatives should not be too big. It is essential that the people of a panchayat should know one another and work like a family. If a village is too small then two or three such villages could be combined. I don't think that the size of the panchayat should be according to resources only. It should be according to the number of people who could work on a cooperative basis.

You are all aware of what is taking place in China. There is a strong Central Government, whose principles are different from ours and who are Communists

124. Factory established in 1955 in Madras with Swiss collaboration for the manufacture of lightweight steel railway passenger coaches.

but their system of work is decentralised. It becomes essential that we should also enthuse our people so that they can do things. Unless you do it, people will not learn to work.

We have to advance our industry as well as our agriculture. For a country like ours, it is essential to have better agriculture and progress in our industry will depend on it. Whether it is industry or agriculture, the most essential thing is to have trained people to run it. This training can come out of practice only. There is some practical work in our technical and agricultural courses, but I feel there should be more of it. There is good practice to be had in administration, but a farmer cannot be sent to the school of administration. He will get training only in the panchayat or cooperative. I happened to be at a village near Delhi only ten days back,¹²⁵ and exhorted the people to work for their development through their panchayat. But I was told that there was no panchayat in the village. It is a matter of shame that a panchayat could not be formed even in a village of Delhi. If we think that we can achieve things by having some trained people at the top, we would be sadly mistaken.

There is a large body of landless labour in our villages. This may number five or seven crores, I am not certain. They do not produce, but they consume. There are also a large number of sadhus and fakirs in our country. Some of them are good people indeed, but they do not constitute more than five per cent of them. There are also *maths*. Most of such people are a burden on the society. I have been to the South and I was told about the Tirupati Temple,¹²⁶ which has an income of about eight to ten lakhs of rupees per annum, and they have opened a medical college and some other colleges and are also doing a number of other good things. But some other *maths* treat their temple properties as their own. This is wrong and unacceptable. This is not a question of religion.

Talking about landless labour, if they can be given some employment, be it spinning on the charkha only, and even if they earn four or eight annas a day, their labours would contribute to a net addition to our national capital. I do not say that five or six crores of our people should be spinning charkha only, but we have to see that they do something and produce some capital. There are community development schemes. They should consider how they can utilise these people.

We have defined our objective as the establishment of a socialist cooperative commonwealth. In a socialist cooperative, you cannot impose anything from above. It has to start at the root only, from the village, the village panchayat or the village cooperative.

125. On 15 October 1958.

126. Tirupati Balaji Temple, Tirupati in Chittoor District, Andhra Pradesh.

In connection with the community development programmes, some camps were held during the last few months and on a few occasions I visited them and met the panchs. I found that they were awake and taking interest in things. The officials there sat with them, talked with them and met them on an equal footing. We have to try to open the windows of their minds. This cannot be done in the official way. If you talk to them from above, it will have no effect. You have to come down and talk to them on their level.

I am talking to you about it because I have had some experience of it. I am not a kisan. I have never farmed or produced anything nor do I have a single yard of land to do it, but I have my own personal and practical experience and I have, I feel, the key to their minds and hearts. I am not indulging in self-praise. Because I meet them on an equal footing, respect their wisdom and their individuality, hence they respond.

This is how you have to work. The official approach is wrong and should be discarded. If an officer pays a flying visit to a village in a big jeep, he does not come in contact with the people. If he goes and sits with them on their charpais, only then he can influence them. The curtain or the wall which divides the people from the officer has to be removed, and this is the only approach that can work.

I am of opinion that the officials, be they big or small, should work in the villages for some days in the year and work with the kisans in their fields. This will add to their health as well as their experience. I am also of opinion that everyone in India, every boy and girl, should be conscripted for compulsory social service. There is military conscription in other countries. We do not want military service but we do want military discipline.

I have never been a panch of any panchayat. You know their problems much better, but I can tell you about the approach that you should have. Your approach should be intellectual as well as emotional. You should approach them on a footing of equality and the larger the amount of responsibility you can entrust to them, the larger would be the gains.

(d) Judiciary

45. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹²⁷

September 5, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I have received your letter of 4th September and copies of the correspondence with Khosla and Bhandari. I am no great admirer of Bhandari,¹²⁸ but the language Khosla has used about Bhandari, and in fact the whole tone of his letter, seems to me highly improper. I rather doubt if your efforts to reconcile the two will be successful. The matter appears to have gone much too far.

I think that it would be better to inform the Chief Justice of India¹²⁹ about this matter. This need not be done by formal communication. He might informally see this correspondence and you can tell him that for the moment you are not referring this matter to him officially. It is quite possible that there might be other developments of these internal conflicts. The Chief Justice's mind should be prepared for them now onwards.

I have read through the lengthy letters you sent me. It has been a bit of a painful ordeal. It is no good my keeping them, so I am returning them to you.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

127. JN Collection.

128. Apparently the reference is to G.D. Khosla, senior most puisne judge of the Punjab High Court, and A.N. Bhandari, Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court.

129. S.R. Das.

46. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹³⁰

September 15, 1958

My dear Pantji,¹³¹

I mentioned to you today that there were three Judges or Magistrates in Delhi nearly related to each other. Their names are:

- (i) Tikka Jit Singh Bedi, District Judge. He is from Patiala and is, I understand, a big landlord there.
- (ii) His younger brother, Surendra Singh Bedi, who is an Additional District Magistrate in Delhi.
- (iii) Their first cousin, Harbans Singh, who is a First Class Magistrate in Delhi.

I know nothing about them, for or against. I am merely passing on this information to you.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

130. JN Collection.

131. Union Home Minister.

(e) Media

47. To R. Venkataraman¹³²

September 4, 1958

My dear Venkataraman,¹³³Thank you for your letter of the 3rd September.¹³⁴

It is possible that I may have heard one-sided accounts of the strike in *The Hindu*.¹³⁵ So far as I am concerned, I have felt all along that the attitude of *The Hindu* in regard to its working journalists has not been fair and reasonable. My sympathies, therefore, were with the Working Journalists. I was worried, however, when I learnt that there had been violence on the part of the strikers and what was called a siege preventing people from coming in and out.¹³⁶

I am glad that a comprehensive statement is going to be made by the Madras Government in the Assembly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

132. File No. 43(129)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

133. Minister for Industries and Labour, Government of Madras.

134. R. Venkataraman forwarded to Nehru an extract from the Police Commissioner's report about the strike in the *Hindu* office in August 1958. The report said that Kasturi Srinivasan, the editor, stayed on in his office past midnight and used the Police Commissioner's presence essentially to boost the morale of loyal workers who had been there for more than four days. He could have returned home with a police escort had he chosen to do so. Venkataraman complained to Nehru, "I do not know how far the *Hindu* has succeeded in prejudicing you and other respected national leaders against the Madras Government and me personally."

135. For events leading to the strike in *The Hindu* and subsequent stoppage of its publication, see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 665-666.

136. The Police Commissioner's report specifically denied that there had been a siege.

48. To B.V. Keskar¹³⁷

September 6, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,¹³⁸

A deputation of the Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association¹³⁹ came to see me today. They spoke at length about their various complaints and demands and I listened to them. They said nothing against you or your Ministry as such, but said that greater attention should be paid to these matters.¹⁴⁰

I need not repeat what they said because that has been said before. But they mentioned one matter which did not fit in with the note you had sent. They said that within the last three months, eighteen films had been refused certificates by the Film Censors.¹⁴¹ As previously only four or five were refused out of a hundred in the course of a year, this spurt seemed odd.

Further, they said that the tests applied to foreign and especially American films appeared to be much more lenient than those applied to Indian films, more especially from the point of view of sex or crime and violence. Why should these American films be allowed?

They talked about the money they could earn by way of foreign exchange which would be much more than any expenditure incurred on raw films. Because of scaling down of their business, they had to retrench twenty-five per cent of their personnel. It would be a good thing, both from the point of view of foreign exchange as well as Indian publicity, to encourage Indian films to be sent abroad.

137. JN Collection.

138. Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.

139. Formed in Bombay in 1937. J.B. Roongta was its president from 1957 to 1960.

140. On 2 September, B.V. Keskar had sent Nehru a note on the film industry and had also written about his interview with the President and Secretary of the Film Federation of India, an apex body of film producers, distributors, exhibitors and studio owners founded in 1951. In his reply to Keskar the same day, Nehru had written: "I am surprised at their suggestion that I should have consulted them before I promised an interview. I cannot go about consulting people or organisations when I give interviews. I give them to anybody who seeks them, whatever his position or status might be, provided I have the time." Nehru added: "The fact that I give an interview might perhaps be exploited, but it certainly does not mean that I recognise the person or group as having any particular representative capacity. I am constantly giving interviews to odd people and odd groups with whom I disagree completely. In fact, I rather want to meet groups with whom I disagree."

141. Formally known as the Central Board of Film Certification. A statutory body under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, it regulated the public exhibition of films under the provisions of the Cinematograph Act, 1952.

Their general complaint was that they were not getting any particular help about these matters from the I & B Ministry.

I did not encourage them in any way. But, to some matters they have raised, some attention might be paid.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

49. To S. Nijalingappa¹⁴²

October 12, 1958

My dear Nijalingappa¹⁴³

Your letter of October 11 about the UPI.¹⁴⁴ I do not understand how you can expect us to restore the teleprinter services to the UPI. That matter is over and we cannot go back to the UPI as it was. We have been trying our utmost to get it reformed for the last two years at least, if not more, without success. I think the only proper approach now is for an entirely new scheme to be put forward for a news agency. We are all in favour of another news agency.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

142. File No. 43(37)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

143. S. Nijalingappa was the Chief Minister of Mysore from November 1956 to May 1958.

144. The United Press of India (UPI) had suspended its service from 1 October after its teleprinter lines were disconnected for not paying dues to the Posts and Telegraph Department. Nijalingappa was concerned that several hundred persons would lose their jobs if the UPI folded.

50. Helping an Urdu Newspaper¹⁴⁵

Please write to Shri Goswami Ganesh Dutt¹⁴⁶ acknowledging his letter to me (in Hindi).¹⁴⁷ Tell him that I would indeed like the Daily *Virbharat* of Jullundur to continue. At his request I brought this matter to the notice of the Defence Ministry here as well as the Chief Minister of the Punjab.¹⁴⁸ They said they would try to do their best, subject to the rules governing such matters.

It is beyond my authority to issue instructions to the Defence Ministry or to anyone else to purchase three or four thousand copies of the paper. That would be a breach of our rules and I am sure he would not like me to do any such thing. I shall however mention this matter again to the Defence Ministry.

¹⁴⁹

145. Note to Private Secretary, 28 October 1958. File No. 2/11/56-H, PMS.

146. Social worker and journalist.

147. Goswami Ganesh Dutt had written on 25 October that, with the Partition, the daily *Virbharat* had lost both its assets worth lakhs of rupees and its donors. He reminded Nehru of his earlier request that the Defence Ministry buy three to four thousand copies of the paper since it was nationalist and supported the Government unlike other Urdu papers which were popular because of their constant criticism of the Government.

148. Partap Singh Kairon.

149. Nehru wrote to Partap Singh Kairon on 30 October about this matter: "You will remember that I once told you about a daily Urdu paper issued by Goswami Ganesh Dutt. This has been doing some good work but it is languishing and is likely to die. It will be unfortunate if it dies. I wish you could help it in some way. That can only be by subscribing to it in considerable numbers." Nehru, while replying to Kairon's request for a message for the Punjab Government's Urdu magazine, *Pashan*, added, "I am not sure if it is right for me to send a message for a Government publication of this kind to begin with at least. I try to avoid these inaugural messages."

(f) Union and States

(i) Bombay

51. To M.D. Tumpaliwar¹⁵⁰

September 2, 1958

Dear Tumpaliwar,¹⁵¹

I have your letter of the 30th August. I do not know what report you have seen of my speech in Aurangabad.¹⁵² I stated there what I have always said. This was to the following effect. The decision for the present Bombay State was taken by Parliament and, in my opinion, it was a correct decision.¹⁵³ But my personal opinion does not count very much, as Hyderabad State was split up in spite of my opinion to the contrary.¹⁵⁴ It is always for Parliament to decide. I then referred to the hooliganism and violence of the Maha Gujarat¹⁵⁵ people in Ahmedabad and elsewhere, and expressed my strong disapproval of it.

It is not correct, therefore, to say that I favour unilingual States. What I said was that I do not favour them. But it is always possible for Parliament to decide as it chooses.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

150. JN Collection.

151. Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Bombay State.

152. Referring to speech in Aurangabad, 23 August 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 60-81.

153. The Bill for a composite state of Bombay was passed by the Lok Sabha on 10 August 1956, and by the Rajya Sabha on 25 August 1956.

154. On 1 November 1956, the Marathwada area of Hyderabad State, comprising Aurangabad, Parbhani, Bhir and Osmanabad districts, and some taluqas of Bidar, Nanded and Adilabad districts, was merged with the bilingual Bombay State.

155. The Mahagujarat Janata Parishad, formed on 8 August 1956, demanded a Gujarat state composed of Gujarati-speaking areas and Bombay City. Indulal K. Yajnik, Mahagujarat Janata Parishad Member of the Lok Sabha from Ahmedabad (Scheduled Castes), was its President. He was formerly associated with the Congress.

52. To Y.B. Chavan¹⁵⁶

September 4, 1958

My dear Chavan,¹⁵⁷

Some people have seen me, and have written to me also, complaining that the police in Ahmedabad entered people's houses and beat them inside their houses. Even women were beaten. According to these reports, this was done to people who were not concerned at all with the agitation and were quietly living in their houses.¹⁵⁸

I do not know how far this is true, but I thought I should pass on this information to you, more especially because at least one person who came to me, had nothing to do with the Maha Gujarat agitation and disapproved of it.

I do not know what you are thinking about having an enquiry there into these disturbances. I realise that some kind of so-called "satyagraha" is continuing.¹⁵⁹ This may well continue for a considerable time. At the same time, I feel that when these big major disturbances take place (I am not thinking of the police firing), it should be a normal rule to have a proper impartial enquiry. Not to have it leaves a trail of bitterness and it is thought that we are afraid of the light of day.¹⁶⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

156. JN Collection.

157. Chief Minister of Bombay.

158. Purushottamdas R. Patel, Mahagujarat Janata Parishad Member of the Lok Sabha from Mehsana, Bombay, complained to Nehru on 4 September about police atrocities in Gujarat in Mehsana, Kalol, Ahmedabad, Nadiad and Baroda districts, and set out the details in a letter the next day.

159. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad were agitating for the linguistic states of Maharashtra and Gujarat respectively.

160. Chavan replied justifying the police action of entering houses in which rioters had sought refuge. He was prepared to hold a judicial inquiry. The date of Chavan's reply is not certain; these details are from an extract of Chavan's letter included by Nehru in his letter of 21 October 1958 to Patel.

53. To B.S. Hiray¹⁶¹

October 21, 1958

My dear Hiray,¹⁶²

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of 16th September. This came when I was away in Bhutan and since my return, I have been terribly busy.

Some time ago I addressed a meeting in Aurangabad and I spoke rather fully about this question of Bombay State. I expressed my views quite frankly on that occasion. For my part, I do believe that the present Bombay State, as it is, is good and particularly so for Maharashtra. Any attempt to change it will give rise to new complications and upsets and come in the way of the progress of the State. Maharashtra necessarily plays a dominant role in the State and the whole of Maharashtra is in it.

However, it is not for me to impose my will on anybody. At the same time, I must tell you quite frankly that the methods by the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti¹⁶³ and the Maha Gujerat Parishad have greatly distressed me. Are we to give in to this type of violence? My own reaction has been entirely opposed to what presumably they had intended it to be.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

161. JN Collection.

162. Congressman from Nasik and an active leader of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti.

163. Formed on 6 February 1956 to demand a separate state of Maharashtra comprising the Marathi-speaking areas and Bombay City. It included, among others, members of the Maharashtra Congress, the Praja Socialist Party and the Communist Party of India.

(ii) Kerala

54. To V.R. Krishna Iyer¹⁶⁴

September 5, 1958

My dear Krishna Iyer,¹⁶⁵

I received your letter of the 1st September two days ago. I was a little surprised to get it. If you had wished to find out why my colleague V.K. Krishna Menon had gone to Kerala¹⁶⁶ and what he was doing there, you could have seen him yourself while he was in Kerala, or written to him. I am told that you were in the neighbourhood at the time when he was there, and you know him well enough to go to see him.

You are aware that he is a Minister of the Union Government and his field of activity is, therefore, the whole of India. There is not much comparison between his going to a part of India and a Minister of a State Government going to another State. As a matter of fact, he had gone to Kerala partly on official work and partly for personal and other reasons. He had not gone there to conduct an enquiry. If that had been his purpose, he would have seen some of the Ministers of the Kerala Government. I think he met Namboodiripad there.¹⁶⁷ I am told that among the people who came to see him, was your father.¹⁶⁸

You refer to memoranda being prepared for him and being given to him. What these memoranda were, I do not know. Whenever any of us goes on tour, large number of people give applications, complaints and the like. Krishna Menon gets many such papers from ex-servicemen. He told me that he received a number of papers and memoranda which he has not even seen as yet. It is quite possible that some of them might be complaints against the Kerala Government.

If I went to Kerala for any purpose and I was asked to visit some places which had become rather notorious, I would probably visit them if I had the time.

164. JN Collection.

165. Minister for Law, Home, Irrigation and Power in the Government of Kerala.

166. V.K. Krishna Menon, Defence Minister, arrived in Cochin on 30 August on a three-day visit to Kerala.

167. Krishna Menon met E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, on 30 August at a guest house in Perumbalam Island, ten miles south of Cochin.

168. V.V. Rama Iyer, a noted lawyer.

You refer to conducted tours. I do not know what you mean by this. When a Union Minister visits any place, it is the duty of the people there, including the Congress Party, to help in that tour. You might have noticed that Krishna Menon has said nothing in public before or after his tour, about what he thought of certain events in Kerala or what he saw there.

A great deal has been said in Kerala by Ministers and others and in the resolutions of the Communist Party about some remarks I made at a Press Conference in regard to certain happenings in Kerala.¹⁶⁹ I have avoided a controversy on this subject. I did not take any initiative in saying anything about Kerala. It was only when I was asked questions at a Press Conference that I had to reply. I did so in restrained language. The chief points I mentioned were that I gathered the impression that there was a sense of insecurity in a considerable section of the people there, and further that two incidents had happened in Kerala which had shocked me greatly. I was rather surprised at the vehemence of the criticisms made about my remarks. This made me feel that the critics were probably conscious of the truth of what I had said.

I have read various accounts prepared by the Kerala Government and have also met Namboodiripad.¹⁷⁰ I have been unable to change my opinion in regard to these matters. Indeed, it has rather been confirmed by subsequent happenings.

As I think I told you when you were here, I have not based any opinion on the students' agitation¹⁷¹ or on the firing by the police then,¹⁷² but conditions in Kerala from the point of view of security have seemed to me to have deteriorated. I have also the impression that the policy of the Communist Party there has led to this deterioration, and the Government of Kerala has given rather a special place to the Communist Party and thus encouraged it.

I once said that the people of Kerala were normally among the most peaceful in India.¹⁷³ It was, therefore, even more of a surprise and shock to me that this situation should have arisen there.

169. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India on 12 August protested against the Prime Minister's "sweeping accusations and insinuations" against the Kerala Government as "gross intervention in the affairs of a State contrary to all principles of federal administration." See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 615-618.

170. Namboodiripad met Nehru and Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Home Minister, in Delhi on 21 August 1958.

171. For the students' agitation in Kerala, see SWJN/SS/43/p. 331

172. Two were killed and six injured in police firing on workers picketing at the gates of a cashew factory at Chandanathope, about five miles from Quilon, on 26 July 1958.

173. At a press conference in Calcutta on 27 July 1958. See item 9, fn 111.

News continues to reach us about the prevalence of violence and stabbing cases from Kerala, chiefly in the Trichur area. It appears that even during the last few days, a number of such cases have occurred there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

55. To V.R. Krishna Iyer¹⁷⁴

October 16, 1958

Dear Krishna Iyer,

I received two letters dated the 7th October from you some time ago. I am sorry for the delay in answering them. On my return from my Bhutan trip, I was somewhat unwell for a few days. Just about that time also, large numbers of visitors came to Delhi in connection with the Bank conferences, and they took up much of my time.

In one of your letters, you refer to the rehabilitation of fallen women. This is, of course, a major social problem, and I wish you success in your efforts to deal with it. I confess, however, that I have long felt that the type of efforts that are made usually meet with little success. I remember that, nearly thirty-five years ago, when I was Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality,¹⁷⁵ I tried to deal with this problem there and wrote a long note on this subject.¹⁷⁶ I did not succeed to any marked extent. The problem is so much connected with other economic and social aspects of our life that it is a little difficult to separate it. Anyhow, it is good to do something about it.

As for your second letter, it is a little difficult, as you yourself say, to carry on an argument on the subject of what has happened in Kerala or elsewhere. Undesirable and regrettable events happen everywhere. The point that struck me about Kerala was the attitude of the Government there to such happenings. As I have often said, I have no grouse against Communism as such in so far as economic policy is concerned. I do not agree with it in many particulars. But that does not matter. What has distressed me for many years is a certain approach of the Communist Party which seems to me to have little to do with normal standards of behaviour. The ardent Communist works for a cause, which is good. But, like the Jesuits of old, he thinks that every standard or value can be

174. JN Collection.

175. Nehru was Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality from 1923-25.

176. See SWJN/FS/2/pp. 14-18.

sacrificed for the good of the cause. I think this is a very harmful approach. Also, unfortunately, there is an association of violence, both in words and action. The result is a lack of faith even in assurances. When standards and values go, what remains?

You refer to my feeling that pressure has been exercised on the subordinate judiciary. It is true that I have felt that, as I have also felt that the general approach is not what I call a fair one to non-party men or groups. The fact that others might misbehave, does not minimise the gravity of such an organised approach. Violence breeds violence, and then the next step is to suppress it, which again is no remedy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

56. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹⁷⁷

October 21, 1958

My dear Pantji,¹⁷⁸

A little while ago, I wrote a letter to you giving a telegram received from Dr John Matthai's¹⁷⁹ brother-in-law about the conditions in Kerala plantations.¹⁸⁰ I have now received another telegram which, perhaps, you have also received. This is from the President, United Planters' Association of Southern India, Coonoor. It runs as follows:

"Kerala plantations labour situation completely out of control. Mob rule and widespread violence reported. Many tea estates in high ranges abandoned. Pray your good offices immediately to stop violence and restoration normal conditions."

Dr John Matthai's brother-in law, who sent me the telegram, telephoned to M.O. Mathai¹⁸¹ from Coonoor to say that many Europeans had left the Estates and had fled to places of safety outside.

177. JN Collection.

178. Union Home Minister.

179. Economist; Minister of Railways and Transport, August 1947-September 1948, and Finance Minister, 1948-50, Government of India.

180. Plantation workers on the high ranges were on strike since 4 October. On 15 October, police fired on Communist workers in Netti Kandi tea estate, and again on 20 October at Gudirally, leading to one dead and three injured.

181. Special Assistant to Nehru.

From such accounts as we have received, it seems that the situation in these Estate areas is pretty bad, and the Kerala Government or their police are unable to control it. The fact that the Police have had to fire on, I think, three occasions, in spite of the great reluctance of the Communist Government to fire on a Communist crowd, also indicates that the situation is out of hand.

Should we allow such things to continue without interference? It is worth considering whether we should not ask the troops to interfere and preserve some kind of order in these areas. Before we do so, the Kerala Government should be directly asked about the situation.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

(iii) North East

57. Zapu Phizo¹⁸²

Hem Barua:¹⁸³ ...My question is this. From the statement it is seen that the leaders of the Naga People's Convention are contacting the underground leaders of Naga hostiles.¹⁸⁴ It is also seen from the report that our officers are undertaking extensive and intensive tours in those areas. May I know whether the tours of these officers, as also the attempts on the part of the Naga leaders, have yielded any results as to the information about the future and present plans and programmes of the hostiles, as also information about the whereabouts of Phizo?¹⁸⁵

Jawaharlal Nehru: I shall endeavour to give a simple reply to a complicated question. I will take the last part first. So far as our information goes, Phizo resides at present in Dacca.

182. Reply in the Lok Sabha, 1 September 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XIX, cols 3860-3863. Extracts.

183. PSP Member of the Lok Sabha from Gauhati, Assam.

184. Hem Barua had asked whether hostile Naga activity had intensified in Pughoboto and Sataka ranges in the Sema area in Mokokchung sub-division and in Manipur. Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs, had stated that the Naga People's Convention leaders had appointed a liaison committee of representatives of various tribes to contact underground leaders to arrive at a settlement.

185. A.Z. Phizo; founder-member of the Naga National Council and leader of the Naga rebels.

An Honourable Member: Dacca?

Hem Barua: What about Phizo? Has he succeeded in setting up his Naga Independent Government in Dacca and how far has he been able to contact the foreign embassies there to take up the cause of the Naga Independent State, which is one of his main objectives in running to Dacca?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no such thing as a Government established by Mr Phizo, except on paper which may issue circulars and those circulars may even reach hon. Members here.

As for his attempts to get in touch with foreign embassies, I have no doubt that he has made attempts but I do not think that he has met with much success. But sometimes it is possible that some countries may show him some favour. It would not be proper for me to mention names here, but so far as I know nothing has come of it. Mr Phizo has relied very greatly on promises for the future, i.e., the United Nations will come in or somebody will come in. There is no chance whatever of this matter being brought up in the United Nations or anything happening there. That is the position as far as I know.

Ram Subhag Singh:¹⁸⁶ May I know whether the agreement which was recently negotiated in Karachi regarding the exchange of prisoners will also be brought to apply on Mr Phizo who is in Dacca?

Jawaharlal Nehru: First of all, no agreement has thus far been made in Karachi. Talks are taking place in Karachi. We shall only know the decision after the talks are over. Secondly, that has absolutely nothing to do with the Nagas. In Karachi, probably the subject under discussion was the people taken in border raids—people this way or that way and not others.

Hem Barua: May I know if our Government have advised our Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca to keep us informed from time to time about the progress that Mr Phizo has made there towards the implementation of the scheme for an independent Naga Government?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Naturally, we have many sources of information including the Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca. But principally there are many other sources and at other places too.

186. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Sasaram, Bihar, and Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament.

58. Indian Frontier Administrative Service¹⁸⁷

I agree that the old Special Selection Board is not necessary for the promotion of officers within the Service.¹⁸⁸ It is not worthwhile to summon the Adviser to the Governor of Assam to Delhi for this purpose. But the Board you suggest appears to me in effect two senior officials of the External Affairs Ministry. The representatives of Home Affairs and Defence will probably have a watching brief. I should have liked to have some outside help. This need not mean adding to the Board, but I think that we should have the definite recommendations of the Adviser as well as some expert in Tribal affairs such as Verrier Elwin.¹⁸⁹ On occasions the Governor's advice might be taken.

Although the External Affairs Ministry is likely to be well acquainted with these officers in the Indian Frontier Administrative Service, decisions taken at headquarters without adequate reference and some kind of consultation with those in the field, would become rather narrow decisions.

187. Note to B.N. Chakravarty, Special Secretary, MEA, 10 September 1958. JN Collection.

188. The initial recruitment to the Indian Frontier Administrative Service (IFAS), established in 1956, was made by the Central Government through a Special Selection Board (SSB) consisting of representatives from the MEA (as Chairman), and from the Ministries of Home Affairs and Defence, along with an expert in tribal affairs. Rule 10.2 (I) of the IFAS Rules, however, provided that even promotions from Grade II to Grade I of the Service should be made on the advice of the SSB. B.N. Chakravarty in a note of 10 September pointed to the inconvenience of summoning members from Shillong for Board meetings and proposed revising rules accordingly, and dropping tribal experts altogether.

189. Eminent anthropologist; Adviser to the Governor of Assam on tribal affairs since 1955.

59. Administration in NEFA and NH-TA¹⁹⁰

I spoke to you today about a talk I had with Dr Verrier Elwin. He gave me some interesting information about the marked progress being made in NEFA and, as far as he knew, in the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area. He spoke highly of our officers there.

2. He told me that NEFA had a big and high-powered secretariat at Shillong. Apart from the Adviser, there were a number of departments under competent heads. Thus, there was a Medical Department, Forest Department, Agricultural Department, Legal Department, a Department dealing with Assam Rifles and the Department dealing with Tribal Welfare with which Dr Elwin was connected. The persons in charge of these various departments, he said, were good men, but, as a matter of fact, they did not have too much work to do and it was a pity not to utilise them more.

3. In the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, on the other hand, there was no such big secretariat, although there were some officials dealing with various matters. Would it not be desirable to extend the scope of the work of these specialised departments in NEFA to the Naga Hills Area? This would be advantageous to the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area as they will have competent men supervising the various departments of work and there will be no additional staff required.

4. I think this is a good suggestion. I am writing to the Governor of Assam also on this subject.¹⁹¹

5. Apparently, the Financial Adviser is common for NEFA and the Naga Hills.

6. Previously I had said that Dr Verrier Elwin should be asked to look after and advise on tribal affairs in Naga Hills-Tuensang Area also.¹⁹²

7. We have a habit of judging of the work done by the amount spent. The Planning Commission always asks how much amount has been spent out of the money allotted. This does not seem to me a very good approach. Surely we should judge by the results and more particularly by the investment we make in improving the people and how far they have improved.

8. I think that in these tribal areas we should always lay great stress on the encouragement of the local arts and tribal culture.

190. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 12 September, 1958. JN Collection.

191. See item 60.

192. In note of 30 December 1957 to Subimal Dutt. See SWJN/SS/40/p. 352.

60. To Saiyid Fazl Ali¹⁹³

September 12, 1958

My dear Fazl Ali,¹⁹⁴

Thank you for your letter of September 10th. I read the other day your letter to the President also.

I entirely agree with the proposal you have made in your letter to me.¹⁹⁵ In any event, I would have abided by your judgement in this matter. In addition, I think that it is a correct judgement. Your proposal comes to this, that while avoiding any large-scale military operations, we should take some more limited steps against the hostiles. At the same time, we do not withdraw the amnesty. But we make it clear that although the amnesty continues and people can take advantage of it by surrendering their arms, etc., we do not propose to allow any hostile elements to take advantage of this amnesty to do mischief and indulge in criminal acts.

I had a visit from Verrier Elwin today and we had an interesting talk. He told me of the progress which was being made in NEFA and also of the much better atmosphere in Naga Hills-Tuensang Area.

There was one point to which he drew my attention and which seems to me worthy of your consideration. This was that while you had a big and high-powered secretariat at Shillong for the NEFA, the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, though under a very competent head,¹⁹⁶ did not have the advantage of having such a secretariat. For NEFA you have separate departments, such as, Medical, Agricultural, Forest, Law, Tribal Affairs (with which Elwin was specially connected) and Assam Rifles. All these are under competent men who, according to Elwin, were not at all over-worked and indeed who had some leisure. Would it not be desirable to extend the scope of supervision, etc., of these NEFA specialised departments to Naga Hills-Tuensang Area? You have at present a common Financial Adviser. The same principle might apply to the others.

Indeed, so far as Elwin is concerned, I think I wrote to you some time ago that he should be asked to advise us in regard to tribal welfare, etc., about Naga Hills and Tuensang also, in addition to NEFA.

193. JN Collection.

194. Governor of Assam.

195. Saiyid Fazl Ali had proposed i) a declaration that amnesty did not mean condoning crime; ii) limited operations against insurgents, since full-scale action might legitimise their insurgency and in any case was impractical in the thick jungle terrain.

196. P.N. Luthra, Commissioner of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area.

I have written a note to our Foreign Secretary today on this subject, a copy of which I enclose.¹⁹⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

61. Setting up Colonies for Tribals—a Retrograde Step¹⁹⁸

I am told that there is a scheme for establishing colonies for tribal people in Tripura State. The idea apparently is to collect the tribal people from little villages and put them in larger communities. From the administrative point of view, this will no doubt be more convenient. But I rather doubt about the wisdom of any such step. This will uproot them from their normal village life and we have always been against this kind of upsetting and uprooting of the tribals. Perhaps you would be good enough to look into this matter.¹⁹⁹

62. Shifting and Wet Cultivation²⁰⁰

Mofida Ahmed:²⁰¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the progress made so far in changing the habit of the tribals in NEFA areas from Jhum or shifting cultivation to wet cultivation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The practice of shifting (Jhum) cultivation is closely linked with the mythology and social customs of NEFA tribals. Due to the nature of the hilly and wooded terrain large-scale changeover to 'wet' cultivation is also not physically possible. It is not, therefore, the policy of Government to prohibit Jhum cultivation or to try to impose 'wet' cultivation on unwilling tribals.

People are, however, encouraged to take to terracing and 'wet' cultivation as far as possible. As a result of such tactful persuasion about 18,000 acres of land have been brought under 'wet' or terraced cultivation.

197. See item 59.

198. Note to Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Home Minister, 12 September 1958. JN Collection.

199. In a note of the same date to Kesho Ram, his Principal Private Secretary, Nehru said Verrier Elwin had made similar objections.

200. Written reply to a question in the Lok Sabha, 17 September 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XX, cols 6892-6893.

201. Congress Member from Jorhat, Assam.

Even where it has been considered desirable to allow Jhum cultivation to continue, attempts have been made to increase yield by the introduction of better seeds and implements and to reduce soil erosion and destruction of forests by advising people to lengthen the cycles of rotation so that the forests may recover.

63. Tribal Areas²⁰²

It is nearly twenty months since I wrote a foreword to this book of Dr Verrier Elwin.²⁰³ During this period, the question of our policy in the tribal areas has often come up before us. I am convinced now, as I was previously, that that policy should be on the general lines indicated in this book.

We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. In the world of today that is not possible or desirable. At the same time we should avoid over-administering these areas and, in particular, sending too many outsiders into tribal territory.

It is between these two extreme positions that we have to function. Development in various ways there has to be, such as communications, medical facilities, education and better agriculture. These avenues of development should, however, be pursued within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles:

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
2. Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.
3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

202. Foreword, written on 9 October 1958, to the second edition of *A Philosophy for NEFA* (Shillong: North East Frontier Agency Administration, 1959). Also available in JN Collection.

203. Nehru's foreword to the first edition of *A Philosophy for NEFA* (Shillong: North East Frontier Agency Administration, 1957) was written on 16 February 1957. See SWJN/SS/36/pp. 251-252.

4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.
5. We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

64. To Govind Ballabh Pant²⁰⁴

October 15, 1958

My dear Pantji,²⁰⁵

I enclose a letter from Fazl Ali about Verrier Elwin.²⁰⁶ I entirely agree with him that we should increase Verrier Elwin's emoluments. When he was first appointed, he was considered more or less as a part-time consultant. As a matter of fact, he has given all his time to his work for us and is very much a full-timer. He is an outstanding person in this domain, and his qualifications are unique. Indeed, from the point of view of qualifications and expert knowledge, it would be very difficult or hardly possible to find another person like him. I am, therefore, of opinion that we should accept the proposal made by the Governor. Personally, I would have been agreeable to even a higher figure, but the proposal is for rupees two thousand only. We might agree to this.²⁰⁷

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

204. JN Collection.

205. Union Home Minister.

206. On 13 October, Saiyid Fazl Ali, Governor of Assam, had proposed raising Verrier Elwin's salary from Rs 1,500 to Rs 2,000 a month. He had been appointed Anthropological Consultant to the NEFA administration in January 1954 on a part-time basis. He became Adviser for Tribal Affairs in July 1955, in effect a full-time appointment, and his additional responsibilities included publications, composing five divisional gazetteers, the Cottage Industries Board, membership of the Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare and of the Central Advisory Board for Anthropology. He also wrote several highly regarded books about the region.

207. Pant replied on 17 October that Verrier Elwin fully deserved it, especially as Pant had asked him to help with tribal matters in Manipur and Tripura also.

65. To Govind Ballabh Pant²⁰⁸

October 29, 1958

My dear Pantji,

The President of the Manipur Municipality came to see me. He spoke highly of the new Chief Commissioner, Raina,²⁰⁹ and said that his wife and he were both doing good work and were popular.

He then mentioned that owing to delays in sanctions, many proposals that had been agreed to could not be taken up. One such he mentioned was the Gandhi Memorial Home for which Rupees one lakh had been collected from the public and apparently two lakhs of rupees had been promised from the Centre. I do not know if these facts are correct. Anyhow he said that the public who had subscribed the money were complaining that nothing was being done because the Central help was not forthcoming.

Could you kindly have this matter looked into?

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

(iv) Punjab

66. To Gurmukh Singh Musafir²¹⁰

September 7, 1958

My dear Musafirji,²¹¹

This morning I received a deputation of a number of Congress workers of Sangrur District (Punjab). They were apparently members of the Punjab Legislature, the Punjab PCC and the District Congress Committee of Sangrur.

208. JN Collection.

209. Jagat Mohan Nath Raina (1911-1983); administrator; served in Banda, Mirzapur, Ghazipur and Bareilly districts of UP, 1933-46; City Magistrate and Collector, Aligarh, 1947-48, Agra, 1948-55, and Allahabad, 1955-58, Chief Commissioner, Manipur, 1958-63; General Manager, Delhi Electric Supply Undertaking, 1963-68; Principal, Administrative Training Institute, Nainital, 1973-75.

210. JN Collection.

211. Member of the Lok Sabha from Amritsar, and President, Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee.

They told me that the General Secretary of the PCC, Comrade Ram Kishan,²¹² was openly and consistently working against the Chief Minister, Sardar Partap Singh and his Government. He was particularly working against Partap Singh Kairon and Rarewala.²¹³ In this matter he was joining hands with Giani Kartar Singh.²¹⁴ People who had been elected to the Congress Mandals or DCC or PCC from Sangrur District were being harassed and election petitions had been organised against them.

At the Congress elections in Sangrur District, Comrade Ram Kishan openly canvassed in favour of the candidate backed by Giani Kartar Singh and some others and even published a pamphlet threatening members who had affiliations with Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, with expulsion from Congress. This pamphlet was distributed to members of the DCC before the election meeting. At the election meeting itself, Ram Kishan is reported to have said that "the Congress workers will have to choose either to support the Congress (that is, him) or the Government." Further, he declared that the conflict between the Punjab Government and the Punjab Congress was inevitable and the workers not supporting him (Ram Kishan) would have to quit the organisation. It is said that Ram Kishan repeated this speech at Ludhiana after a week.

The members of the deputation who saw me, further told me that Comrade Ram Kishan, whenever he stood for election, had been defeated or had not gained much support. He was defeated in the General Elections in March 1957. In the PCC, when he stood for election to the AICC, he only got three preference votes out of a house of about 160. Thus, I was told, that the majority of people in his own constituency as well as outside in the Congress were against him, but now he was the sole General Secretary of the Pradesh Committee and was trying to penalise and push out those who did not agree with him. For this purpose, various disciplinary measures were being taken.

The members of the deputation further told me that recently at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Pradesh Congress, a proposal was put

212. (1913-1995); Congressman from Punjab; associated with Naujawan Bharat Sabha and Congress Socialist Party; President, District Congress Committee, Jullundur, 1948-52; General Secretary, Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee, for several years; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1952-57 and 1962-67; Deputy Minister, Punjab, April 1956-March 1957; Minister of State, March-December 1962, and Chief Minister, 1964-66; Member, Lok Sabha, 1967-70.

213. Gian Singh Rarewala, Minister for Irrigation, Power and Community Development, Government of Punjab.

214. Giani Kartar Singh was given the charge of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Fisheries, Forest and Game Preservation in the reallocation of portfolios in the Punjab Ministry announced by Partap Singh Kairon on 19 August 1958.

forward to remove General Mohan Singh from his post as GOC of the Seva Dal.²¹⁵ The Executive was equally divided, the voting being eight and eight. Thereafter, apparently, the President gave his casting vote for the removal of General Mohan Singh.

I have repeated above what the deputation told me. I cannot of course judge how far their account was correct and that is why I am drawing your attention to this matter. Among the members of the deputation was Nasrat Ali Khan, President of the Mandal Congress Committee, Malerkotla. Apparently there is some kind of an election petition against him also. It was pointed out to me that those who had complained against him were themselves made the judges of this petition.

Whatever the truth may be in these allegations, there are some aspects of these which appear to me very unfortunate. The first is that a General Secretary of the Pradesh Congress Committee should have these allegations brought against him, whatever their value. A General Secretary should inspire confidence and should not function in a group manner.

Secondly, the allegations against Ram Kishan that he is constantly running down Sardar Partap Singh Kairon and saying that there was a conflict between the Government and the Congress in the Punjab, if true, is [sic] a very serious one and deserves enquiry. No person who is in the position of a Secretary of a Pradesh Committee can be allowed to function in this way. If he acts thus, he is a disruptive force.

Thirdly, after all the trouble we had in the Congress Party in the Punjab about Partap Singh Kairon, the Party decided in his favour.²¹⁶ After that, it was made clear that these inner conflicts must cease and everyone in the Party should support Partap Singh Kairon loyally. We cannot afford to have continuous tussles within the Party or the Organisation in the Punjab and discipline must be made to prevail. It is, therefore, most unfortunate that some members of the Congress carry on old feuds and, instead of being loyal to Partap Singh Kairon, actually try to work against him. This can only have disastrous consequences so far as the Congress Organisation is concerned.

215. The expression, General Officer Commanding (GOC), was used in the Seva Dal for an official in charge of an area. Mohan Singh was the GOC of the Punjab Area and hence also called General.

216. In March 1958, Congress Party critics of Partap Singh Kairon accused him of corruption, despotism, and communalism. U.N. Dhebar, the Congress President, inquired into the charges in May 1958, and on 19 May 1958 in New Delhi the Congress Central Parliamentary Board absolved Kairon of the charges of corruption but asked him to seek a vote of confidence from the State Legislature Congress Party. Kairon won that confidence vote by 102 votes to 54 on 5 June 1958.

Fourthly, a Secretary of the Pradesh Congress Committee should not even create an impression of partiality or prejudice. Apparently this impression has been created whatever the facts.

Fifthly, I should like to know if it is true that General Mohan Singh has been removed from his old post and, if so, why this was done. Mohan Singh is a man of integrity and prestige and it surprises me that owing to party factions he should be removed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

67. To Zail Singh²¹⁷

October 23, 1958

My dear Zail Singhji,²¹⁸

This morning I was surprised to find in the newspapers an account of the interview you had with me yesterday.²¹⁹ I suppose that you gave this account to the press. No one else could have done so.

I presume that you do not realise how wrong and reprehensible it is to give an account to the press of a private interview, especially with me. I find that some Punjab people are in the habit of giving such accounts to the press, and often those accounts are wrong. But, right or wrong, it is objectionable to mention anything in the press of a private interview.

This gives me the impression that you wanted some kind of publicity of this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

217. JN Collection.

218. Zail Singh (1916-1994); Congress leader from Punjab and the seventh President of India; took leading part in the movement against autocratic rule in Punjab states; Minister, Pepsu Government, 1949 and 1951-52; President, Pepsu PCC, 1955-56; Vice-President, Punjab PCC, 1956-58, and President, 1966-72; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1956-62; elected to Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1962, and Minister in Kairon Cabinet for some time; Chief Minister of Punjab, 1972-77; Home Minister, GOI, 1980-82; President of India, 1982-87.

219. Some newspapers reported that on 22 October Zail Singh had discussed with Nehru the Kairon-Musafir differences, Musafir resigning his post of president of the Pradesh Congress Committee on 21 October, and Zail Singh asking Nehru to mediate.

68. To Shah Nawaz Khan²²⁰

October 27, 1958

My dear Shah Nawaz,²²¹

I have received the following telegram:

“Shri Shah Nawaz Central Minister’s proposed tour of Jagmalera tehsil Sirsa being arranged by Namdhari Guru Partap Singh²²² whose son²²³ arrested in murder case might influence local officials. Tour be cancelled—District Congress, Hissar”.

I do not know if it is correct that you are going on tour to Sirsa Tehsil. If so, it will certainly not be desirable to have your tour arranged by the Namdhari Guru, Maharaj Partap Singh. He has been coming into conflict with the Government and his son has been implicated in a murder case.

I used to have a good opinion of Maharaj Partap Singh previously, but I must say that I have had to change it to a large extent because of all kinds of reports that have reached me.²²⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

220. JN Collection.

221. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Meerut, Uttar Pradesh, and Deputy Minister of Railways.

222. Head of the Namdharis.

223. Bir Singh.

224. See Nehru’s letters to Partap Singh Kairon, 25 July 1958, and to Maharaj Partap Singh Namdhari, 7 August 1958, about Bir Singh and the murder of a rebel Namdhari leader. SWJN/SS/43/pp. 351-353 and 355-356.

(v) Rajasthan

69. To Mohanlal Sukhadia²²⁵

September 6, 1958

My dear Sukhadia,²²⁶

A large number of women, about twenty, from Jaipur came to see me this morning.²²⁷ They spoke about the disturbed conditions in Jaipur and how everybody was unhappy there, the children were not going to schools and police ill-treated the children and beat them and so on and so forth. They asked me to intervene and to put an end to this kind of thing. I am afraid I spoke to them rather curtly and even a little angrily and told them that I would on no account intervene in this High Court affair. Further that I thought the whole agitation was entirely misconceived and I had no sympathy with it.²²⁸

When they told me about instances of police misbehaviour, I told them that in no event should the police misbehave and, if there was such misbehaviour, certainly they should be pulled up.

Whoever has come to see me on this subject has got little change out of me. But there is one aspect to which I wanted to draw your attention. There is no question of the issue of the High Court being considered afresh. But every effort should be made to bring about normal conditions. It is not a good thing to carry a trail of bitterness. Every effort should now be made, therefore, to normalise the situation and, more especially, the police should be told to behave. If there are any instances of misbehaviour by the police, you should enquire into them and even take some disciplinary action against the policemen concerned.

But, above all, the policy of your Government should be to soothe the ruffled feelings and not to irritate people too much. If the schools are not working, every attempt should be made to ensure that they work and children go there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

225. JN Collection.

226. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

227. There were agitations in Jaipur against the abolition of the Jaipur Bench of the Rajasthan High Court; a unified High Court would henceforth sit in Jodhpur. The Government of India's Capital Inquiry Committee had recommended this move and the Rajasthan Government acted upon it.

228. For Nehru's stand on the decision to abolish the Jaipur Bench of the Rajasthan High Court, see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 360-362.

70. To Bal Krishna Kaul²²⁹

11th October 1958

My dear Bal Krishna,²³⁰

On my return from Bhutan, Dr Syed Mahmud²³¹ told me about the fast you had undertaken.²³² I knew something about this matter previously, but I asked for full facts. The Home Minister was good enough to send me a long note.²³³ He also sent me a copy of a letter he had written to you recently.

It seems to me that you have acted very wrongly in undertaking this fast. In any event and whatever the facts, for you to go on fast in order to obtain some kind of improvement in the service conditions of some people would have been completely wrong, but it seems to me that even the facts are not right. However, the point is that the step you have taken is undoubtedly a wrong one and likely not only to set a very bad precedent but to some extent affect injuriously any persons whose interest you are espousing. I am really astonished at the irresponsibility of the action you have taken. It is clear to me that this can bring good to no one concerned whatever your motives might be. I would, therefore, strongly urge you to give up this fast.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

229. JN Collection.

230. A leading Congressman of Ajmer and former Home and Finance Minister of Ajmer.

231. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Gopalganj, Bihar.

232. On fast in Ajmer from 2 October to protest against Ajmer employees losing their jobs after Ajmer merged with Rajasthan. Syed Mahmud endorsed Kaul's stand after visiting Ajmer.

233. Union Home Minister Govind Ballabh Pant wrote to Nehru on 9 October that Kaul's complaints were baseless since i) the Central Government's Advisory Committee to hear appeals by Ajmer employees had been meeting since 23 August; ii) the Rajasthan Government had absorbed all employees of the Ajmer unit except three persons who had been appointed just days before the States reorganisation.

71. To Bal Krishna Kaul²³⁴

11th October, 1958

My dear Bal Krishna,

This morning I wrote to you about your fast and strongly urged you to give it up.²³⁵ Soon after I had written to you I had a message by telephone from your son who is studying in the Delhi University. He wanted to see me.

He was naturally greatly worried about your fast and your health. I told him that I had written to you on the subject already and I hoped very much that you would give it up.

I do think that it is not right for you to adopt such methods even for an objective which you consider right. One cannot put an end to something wrong by adopting a wrong method.

Therefore you should not continue this fast. You can try to serve your objective in other and better ways.²³⁶

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

234. JN Collection.

235. See item 70.

236. B.K. Kaul broke his fast on 11 October.

72. Exhortation to Girls and Women²³⁷

Nehru Visits Ideal Village

Abu Road, Oct. 19—Prime Minister Nehru yesterday visited the ‘Adarsh Gram’ (ideal village) newly set up by the villagers of Doongri who had been frequently afflicted by the Banas river. The new village is about two miles away from the road.

The Prime Minister had a look at some of the new blocks of houses nearing completion.

Addressing the villagers, Pandit Nehru said that they should, while naming the place ‘Adarsh Gram’, give greater attention to the promotion of panchayat system.

The Prime Minister also exhorted the women of Rajasthan to shed their complex and come forward to contribute their share to national reconstruction. He said he was gratified to learn that a large number of Rajasthan girls had joined the National Cadet Corps at Mount Abu.

237. Report of address to villagers at Adarsh Gram, a village near Abu Road, 18 October 1958.
National Herald, 20 October 1958.

(vi) Uttar Pradesh

73. To Shibbanlal Saksena²³⁸

September 1, 1958

My dear Shibbanlal,²³⁹I have your letter of the 30th August²⁴⁰ which has reached me only today.

You can well realise how anxious I am for the development of the eastern districts of UP. Apart from personal reasons, which naturally attract me to this area, there are wider national reasons for its development. I have stressed this frequently in the Planning Commission and elsewhere, and I am doing so now again. The problem is, I think, a much more difficult one than you seem to think. I am not competent to give any definite opinion about major multi-purpose river valley projects for Ghaghra and Rapti. Those may well be considered, but the fact is that we cannot take up any such major project today for paramount reasons. Such projects are not only exceedingly expensive, but they involve a good deal of foreign exchange which we cannot possibly afford in the foreseeable future. We can certainly keep this in view and study it more. Apart from this, these major projects take a long time to develop. You mention the Bhakra-Nangal scheme. This was taken up before independence. We have really carried on with it and even now it is far from completion. All that we have gained from it is electric power and very little irrigation. I doubt very much if we would have taken it up if the question came before us now.

We came to the conclusion, therefore, that we must concentrate on a large number of minor schemes which produce results much sooner and are relatively much less expensive. That is the broad policy we are pursuing. This does not rule out major schemes, but they will have to be considered later.

We are, therefore, concentrating not only on the small irrigation schemes but on small industries as well as on production of more fertilisers which are so important for greater food production. I have no doubt that the yield in

238. File No. 31(77)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

239. Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from Maharajganj, Uttar Pradesh, on a protest fast in New Delhi since 21 August 1958 against the food crisis in East UP.

240. Referring to Nehru's letter of 29 August to him [SWJN/SS/43/pp. 154-157], Shibbanlal Saksena argued that if food production could improve so much with the Bhakra-Nangal project, a similar comprehensive multi-purpose river valley project for the Ghaghra and Rapti was essential for the 2½ crore people of the region, and that small schemes were inadequate.

Eastern UP can be made to increase because, as you say, it is so low now, and every effort should be made in this direction.

As for major industrial schemes, every choice that we have made has been on the advice of expert committees which it is difficult to reject. The other day we tried hard to get an Optical Glass Factory in the UP but the Soviet experts who are going to be in charge of it insisted on another location.²⁴¹ We had to give in to them.

I sent your last letter with a copy of my reply²⁴² to the Chief Minister of the UP.²⁴³ I am doing the same with this letter of yours.

We have always to remember that industrial or agricultural progress, important as they are, cannot be undertaken without the wherewithal for them. Here we are today being embarrassed by having to ask for enormous loans and credits from other countries. I hope and believe that this crisis will pass in about two years or so and that our productive apparatus both on the land and in industry will increase by then. Progress will be swifter then.

Comparisons with the Soviet Union are hardly applicable because the Soviet Union after tremendous sacrifices, which fell on their people, got over the barrier of low production. Now they can afford huge schemes but it is forty years since the Russian Revolution. As a matter of fact, while the Soviet Union has progressed tremendously in industry, its progress in agriculture has been relatively little in spite of the vast lands at its disposal. In China also, in spite of very favourable accounts that come to us from time to time, the agricultural position continues to be very difficult.

I express the hope again that you will give up your fast.²⁴⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

241. This was Durgapur, West Bengal, about which the executive committee of the Eastern Uttar Pradesh Chamber of Commerce and Industry complained on 30 August.

242. Nehru's letter of 29 August 1958 to Shibbanlal Saksena was in reply to Saksena's letter of 26 August 1958.

243. Sampurnanand.

244. Saksena wrote that while "the worst zamindars could never realise more than 75 per cent of their dues in any year" in Eastern UP, the Government "has not only realised cent per cent dues, but more than the dues during this famine time." He added, "Tell me what is the proper method to save my people from dying of starvation? Fast and prayer in the last resort is the method that I have learnt from Gandhi. So I have adopted it as a last resort. I hope you will forgive me if I cannot accede to your wish that I should give up my fast."

74. To Sampurnanand²⁴⁵

September 2, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,²⁴⁶

Your letter of September 1st²⁴⁷ reached me today. I am glad you wrote to me a fairly full account of the situation as you see it.

You will have seen the resolution that we passed at a meeting of the Parliamentary Congress Party yesterday.²⁴⁸ Apart from other suggestions, we have asked MPs from the UP to visit their constituencies to deal with the food situation in various ways suggested. We thought it best, at this stage, not to say too much about the Opposition parties which are misbehaving so much in the UP although we have hinted at this. There is no reason why we should not draw attention to their wrong policy. But, on the whole, I think it is better not to be drawn too much into this type of argument. We have to approach the people, the trading community and cooperate with the authorities. I feel sure that if sufficient moral pressure was exercised on the traders, both on the part of the Government and on the part of the Congress and the public, prices would come down.

You say that a suggestion has been made that your Assembly might close for a fortnight to enable Members to go out to supervise proper distribution of grain, etc.²⁴⁹ I rather doubt if this will be desirable, though you are the best judge. If there is a general feeling in your Assembly that this should be done, then perhaps you might agree to it. But this kind of thing should not be done merely by a majority vote, if the Opposition is not agreeable to it. It should be possible, however, even if the Assembly is sitting, for groups of Members to go to their constituencies in turn.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

245. File No. 31(77)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

246. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

247. Referring to Nehru's letter of 28 August 1958 to him [SWJN/SS/43/pp. 371-373]. Sampurnanand wrote that he shared Nehru's concern about the food situation in Uttar Pradesh; he felt floods, waterlogging and drought had caused dearth regularly in recent years, in both eastern and western UP, but "there is nothing like famine conditions anywhere. There is no starvation." However, he was concerned about Opposition parties inciting disturbances.

248. See item 169.

249. Sampurnanand wrote that he was considering proroguing the Assembly for a fortnight so that Members could supervise grain distribution, help with law and order, and do propaganda for the rabi drive.

75. To Mangla Prasad²⁵⁰

3rd September, 1958

My dear Mangla,²⁵¹

After some thought, I have come to the conclusion that I should write to you. I have been much disturbed at numerous developments in the Uttar Pradesh Congress. But that is an old story. You know that I have not been happy at all about Congress affairs in Allahabad.²⁵² I do not think you have played a very helpful role in Allahabad in regard to the Congress. But I did not wish to interfere in that matter.

Now more important developments have taken place and it has come to my knowledge through various sources that you are functioning in a very peculiar way in the UP Legislature Congress Party and Government. You are a member of the Government and you are the Chief Whip of the Party and yet, from what I gather, you are not loyal to your Leader, the Chief Minister or to the Government. This, if true, is an extraordinary situation. A Minister has no business to be in the Government unless he is basically loyal to his Chief. A Chief Whip is supposed to be the eyes and ears of his Leader and to nurse the Party. If a Chief Whip becomes a disruptive element, then he has no business to occupy that post.

We have to face serious problems and difficulties in UP and in India and there should be no quibbling about these matters. It is because of this that I am writing to you and I think that you should resign from the Ministership and the post of the Chief Whip.²⁵³ Apart from the facts, even a reputation that you are not loyal to your Chief and are intriguing with others on group lines must necessarily come in the way of your doing effective work.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Sampurnanandji.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

250. File No. A/126, Sampurnanand Collection, National Archives of India. Also available in JN Collection.

251. Minister of State for Harijan Welfare and Legislative Affairs, Government of Uttar Pradesh.

252. For squabbles in Allahabad Congress, see SWJN/SS/43/p. 364-365.

253. Mangla Prasad resigned on 6 November 1958.

76. To Muzaffar Hasan²⁵⁴

3rd September, 1958

My dear Muzaffar Hasan,²⁵⁵

It has come to my knowledge from several sources that even though you are a member of the UP Government, you are not giving your loyalty to your Chief, Sampurnanandji, and in fact are engaged in functioning in groups which serve a disruptive purpose. No person who functions in that way and is not completely loyal to his Chief should remain in Government. Even a reputation of this kind is bad. Therefore, if you feel that you cannot be completely loyal to your Chief, you should immediately resign from Government.

Things have gone too far and we must pull ourselves up.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Sampurnanandji.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

77. To V.T. Krishnamachari²⁵⁶

3rd September, 1958

My dear VT,²⁵⁷

There has been some reference in the newspapers to the Planning Commission thinking of setting up some kind of a committee to enquire into the economic condition of Eastern UP. The Chief Minister has written to me about this matter. He does not think that any such committee is needed or desirable at this stage. I agree with him.

As a matter of fact, there is no lack of knowledge about the conditions in Eastern UP. The question is what we should do about them and how we can help them. I think we should devote some time to this constructive approach.

254. File No. A/126, Sampurnanand Collection, National Archives of India. Also available in JN Collection.

255. Minister of State for Social Welfare, Government of Uttar Pradesh.

256. JN Collection.

257. Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

Anyhow, at this moment, when all the Opposition parties are following the most extraordinary policies which include even looting and raiding food godowns,²⁵⁸ it is no suitable time for any enquiry. Later we may consider this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

78. To Shibbanlal Saksena²⁵⁹

4th September, 1958

Dear Shibbanlal,

Your letter of the 3rd September.²⁶⁰

I have already assured you that we are very conscious of the situation in the Eastern Districts of Uttar Pradesh and we are very anxious to do what we can to improve the lot of the people there. But we must recognise that, apart from relief measures, the problem is a long term one. We are examining this problem in all its aspects as a matter of high priority.

I have been in touch with the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh who has been writing to me on this subject.

As for your proposals relating to rivers Ghaghra and Rapti, this is much too big a project for us to be able to say when and how we can take it up. As you have mentioned, it involves the Nepal Government also. We have had difficulties with the Nepal Government even in regard to other projects with which they are connected, like the Kosi. It is no easy matter to deal with other governments in regard to such projects. But the main question relates to our own resources. It is not possible for us to commit any of our resources for the Five Year Plan to any new major project simply because these resources are

258. The Praja Socialist Party in Uttar Pradesh had asked its volunteers to seize Government grain godowns and picket hoarders' shops. For details, see item 169, fn 59 and 66.

259. File No. 31(77)/58-59, PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

260. Shibbanlal Saksena thought that Nehru's request to him to give up his fast was more formal than real. He reminded Nehru of "your visit to Bhagat Singh during the Lahore Conspiracy Case trial when he was on hunger strike and had passed about 25 days fasting. But you did not request him to break his fast at that time. Rather you strengthened him in his resolve." Saksena asked Nehru: "Is it possible for me to break my fast when people are dying around me in my constituency and at the same time are being subjected to... extortion [of rents and taccavi arrears] and torture? Can I be a silent witness to such a spectacle?"

not there at all. With great difficulty we have been trying to raise foreign exchange from outside to carry through the half finished schemes.

So far as our engineers are concerned, they are constantly being consulted by us in these matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

79. To Sampurnanand²⁶¹

September 5, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

Two or three days ago, Acharya Kripalani²⁶² made a suggestion in the Lok Sabha that I should meet the leaders of parties in Parliament to discuss the food situation. This question had been raised separately by our Speaker²⁶³ who had said that a special Ad Hoc Committee should be formed and that he would nominate it. We had agreed to this. When Kripalani made this suggestion, I asked Ajit Prasad²⁶⁴ to tell him that we welcomed this suggestion and to find out from him as to how he wanted us to proceed in this matter. As a result of this talk, I invited five MPs today:

- 1) Shri Asoka Mehta²⁶⁵
- 2) Shri Jaipal Singh²⁶⁶
- 3) Shri Surendra Mahanty²⁶⁷ of Orissa
- 4) Dr Z.A. Ahmad²⁶⁸
- 5) Shri Hriday Nath Kunzru²⁶⁹

Also Pantji²⁷⁰ and Ajit Prasad Jain.

They all came except Hriday Nath Kunzru who was unable to be present.

We met for nearly an hour and a half and everyone present was anxious that there should be cooperation in meeting this food crisis not only now and in

261. File No. 31(78)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

262. PSP Member of the Lok Sabha from Sitamarhi, Bihar.

263. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

264. Ajit Prasad Jain, Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

265. PSP Member of the Lok Sabha from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

266. Jharkhand Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Ranchi, Bihar.

267. Ganatantra Parishad Member of the Lok Sabha from Dhenkanal, Orissa.

268. CPI Member of the Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh.

269. Independent Member of the Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh.

270. Union Home Minister.

the near future, but in longer range also. I enclose a brief record of our talks.²⁷¹

Repeated stress was laid during these talks on a similar approach being made in UP and in West Bengal where the situation was said to be a very serious one. The only answer we could give was that we would welcome such approaches everywhere, but certain situations had been created by Opposition parties, more especially in the UP, which rather came in the way of any such approach. Anyhow, it would be for the State Government or the Chief Minister there to judge.

Reference was made to Eastern UP, and the desirability of remission or suspension of land revenue. Apart from other reasons, this would have a good psychological effect. Also, a postponement of school fees in that region.

I have read the reports in the newspapers of the debate in the UP Assembly on the no-confidence motion.²⁷² So far as the debate went, the Government appears to have done well. But I wonder if the situation will ease by a continuation of these tensions. Naturally you cannot run away from the challenge that the Opposition has given you. You have to face it. But, at the same time, I would imagine that the other approach can also be tried, that is, the approach of informal talks such as we have had here. There is no essential conflict between the two and, to some extent, that was Gandhiji's way. The one group with which perhaps it is almost impossible to talk is the Lohia group. That might be left out. But the PSP and the Communists, though they misbehave often enough, can be talked to. Anyhow, it is likely that the PSP and Communist leaders in Delhi might exercise some influence. They said they would do so.

It is really difficult for us here to advise you who have to face this situation. But I do feel that it might be a wise gesture on your part to invite three or four or five persons of the Opposition and to tell them that you want to talk to them, not about charges and counter-charges and demands²⁷³ and not on the party level, but to discuss this food problem and share ideas about it. It is possible that, in the present atmosphere, this may not yield any result. It is also possible that it might bring about some result. It is worth trying.

271. For Nehru's note on the informal consultative committee meeting of Members of Parliament, see item 172.

272. On 3 and 4 September, the UP Legislative Assembly debated a no-confidence motion against the UP Government tabled by Triloki Singh, PSP Member and leader of the Opposition in the Assembly.

273. The PSP leaders had demanded: i) opening of cheap grain shops for the poorer sections; ii) opening of relief works on a larger scale; iii) remission of school fees in the badly hit districts till January next; and iv) remission of taccavi loans and suspension of land revenue collection.

Then about the remission of revenue in Eastern districts of UP or, at any rate, a suspension. In view of the reports that are prevalent and are more or less admitted, there can be no doubt that Eastern UP has been hit hard. It may recover soon. But at the present moment it is in a bad way. It might, therefore, be desirable at least to postpone recovery of revenue till the next harvest comes. Such a gesture would no doubt be appreciated. Some similar postponement might also be desirable in the case of students' fees in schools.

I should imagine that the situation will improve fairly soon on the harvest of Sanwan and a little later, corn will come in. But I do feel that we shall make little real progress in production of food or other matters connected with it, unless we get out of this vicious circle of conflict and tension. Therefore, it is worthwhile taking the initiative and some steps which help us to get out of that circle or, if we fail, make it clear that we are in the right and others are bent on some obstruction.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

80. To Ajit Prasad Jain²⁷⁴

September 5, 1958

My dear Ajit,

After writing to you about our Informal Food Committee meeting today, I telephoned to Sampurnanand. He told me that the situation was more or less satisfactory. As announced, some of the Opposition MLAs had led groups to perform satyagraha, but everything had remained peaceful. About forty or so persons had been arrested.²⁷⁵ Thereafter, I told him of our meeting today and gave him a fairly full account of it. I suggested to him that it might be desirable for him to follow our example and invite some of the leaders of the Opposition to discuss the food problems with him. He said that he had actually done that some days ago, when the no-confidence motion came up. He then said that there was no point in discussing these matters while this motion was pending, but, afterwards, he would take it up again. He told me that he now intended inviting them.

274. File No. 31(78)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

275. Seventy-four members of the PSP were arrested on 5 September in the east UP districts of Azamgarh, Ballia and Ghazipur for agitating against the State Government's food policies.

I also told him about the request for a remission or suspension of revenue in the Eastern districts of the UP. He said that, in fact, there had been a great deal of remission, and no coercive processes were employed now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

81. To Z.A. Ahmad²⁷⁶

September 7, 1958

My dear Ahmad,

I have received your letter of the 5th September, which is signed also by Bhupesh Gupta²⁷⁷ and A.K. Gopalan.²⁷⁸ This refers to the food situation in the UP. Probably since you wrote that letter, we met, and we are meeting again tomorrow and subsequently, to consider these problems. It is not worthwhile, therefore, for me to enter into an argument about past policies.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

82. To Syed Ali Zaheer²⁷⁹

September 8, 1958

My dear Ali Zaheer,²⁸⁰

I have received your letter²⁸¹ of September 6. I must say that it is very odd indeed for a major food debate to take place in your Assembly and the Food Minister should not speak in the course of it. I really do not know what I can

276. JN Collection.

277. CPI Member of the Rajya Sabha from West Bengal.

278. CPI Member of the Lok Sabha from Palghat, Kerala.

279. JN Collection.

280. Minister of Food, Government of Uttar Pradesh.

281. Syed Ali Zaheer complained of hostility to Nehru in the UP Government and to himself also because he supported Nehru's policies. The no-confidence motion debate was focused on the food policy, and although he was attacked, the Chief Minister did not allow him to speak while three other Ministers were permitted to do so. He felt he might resign if the Chief Minister persisted with this behaviour.

advise you in the circumstances. In any event, I am always in favour of a frank talk. I suggest therefore that you should have a frank talk with the Chief Minister. I am sending your letter to Pantji.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

83. To Shibbanlal Saksena²⁸²

September 8, 1958

My dear Shibbanlal,

I have twice written to you and urged you to give up your fast. I am sorry that you have not accepted my advice.²⁸³ You know that I do not approve of hunger strikes. But, whether I approve them or not, it distresses me to see the suffering of an old friend and colleague. I am, therefore, writing to you again on this subject to urge you to end your fast. If that fast was intended to draw pointed attention to certain aspects of the food situation in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, it has achieved its object. To continue it cannot do much good now and can only distress your friends and colleagues.

I wrote to you that the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh have often been in my thoughts and lately that has been even more so than previously. None of us can bring about magic changes anywhere, however much we may wish to do so. But I am convinced that special attention must be given to these areas which have both an ever-increasing population and a continuing state of economic backwardness. Both from the local point of view and the national point of view, this is of importance.

282. File No. 31(77)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

283. Shibbanlal Saksena replied to Nehru on 4 September [for Nehru's letter, see item 78]: "Your assurance that you are very anxious to do what you can to improve the lot of the people there [Eastern UP] is too general, and cannot help me much. What I feel is that the UP Government have how made it a question of prestige not to respond to any demand of the Opposition parties, howsoever reasonable it may be. They will not worship God because the devil tells them to do so. And after correspondence with the Chief Minister, it seems your hands have also become tied, and you can neither deliver the goods yourself, nor persuade him to do so."

You have asked me more than once to give you an assurance about some major river valley schemes in those areas.²⁸⁴ You will realise that no Government can give such assurances for the future, more especially when we are in grave difficulties about internal and external finance. But I have no doubt that the Planning Commission and the Government will give earnest consideration to the ways and means of improving the condition of the peasantry in these areas, and, in this connection, consider schemes both big and small. Something in the way of small schemes may be admitted as soon as feasible. So far as any big scheme is concerned, it can only be considered in connection with the Third Five Year Plan, though what the result of that consideration then will be, obviously I cannot say now.

You wrote in one of your letters to me about the remission or suspension of land revenue as also the remission or suspension of school fees.²⁸⁵ I conveyed this request to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. He has assured me that that is their broad practice and in fact they have given large remissions and orders have been issued that no coercive apparatus should be employed while these hard conditions last. In regard to school fees also, he said that he was prepared to consider this wherever such a request was made.

The latest news from these eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh is good. A friend, only a day or two ago, motored from Lucknow across several districts in the east. Everywhere he found promising crops. Abundant rain had come recently and this had assured a good harvest. The peasantry were happy at this development. I am very glad that at long last these poor long suffering peasants of the eastern districts will have this good harvest. But I realise that this does

284. Shibbanlal Saksena again demanded a Ghaghra and Rapti project, asserting that the Nepal Government must agree since they would be protected from floods and "get irrigation and power without any cost to themselves", and since they had already agreed to the Kosi and Gandak projects.

285. In his letter of 30 August to Nehru, Shibbanlal Saksena had written that "torturing people to realise rents and seven years' arrears of taccavi dues and panchayat taxes during famine and extorting money from them which they would normally invest in cultivation for growing more food is not only cruelty but a national crime, for it reduces production of food by reducing the capital which would otherwise be invested in agriculture." Saksena also stated, "I know from personal knowledge that innumerable students have given up studies because they could not pay fees."

not absolve us from our responsibility for the development of these areas. That will involve hard and cooperative effort and not party conflicts.

I urge you, therefore, again to end your fast.²⁸⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

84. To Chandra Bhanu Gupta²⁸⁷

September 14, 1958

My dear Chandra Bhanu,²⁸⁸

Thank you for your letter of the 11th September²⁸⁹ which I have received and read with care. It is rather difficult for me to enter into any controversy with you, more especially about personal matters, in a letter. I told you, when you

286. Nehru sent a copy of this letter to Sampurnanand. In the covering note he wrote, "Shibbanlal has been coming to Parliament every day for half an hour or so in the mornings. He sits there on the front Opposition bench, dazed or half-asleep. He walks slowly with assistance. Today, as he got up from the bench to go out, he fell down." Nehru added, "As you know, he is very obstinate. A number of people have been trying to induce him to give up his fast without much success. Some of these people asked me to write to him. I agreed to do so." Shibbanlal Saxena broke his fast on 10 September 1958.

287. JN Collection.

288. A prominent Congressman from Uttar Pradesh, Chandra Bhanu Gupta had been a Minister in the UP Government from 1947 to 1957. He was defeated in the 1957 general elections from the Lucknow City constituency and again in a by-election in April 1958 from the Maudaha (Hamirpur) rural constituency. Later he served three times as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh: from 1960 to 1963, briefly in 1967 and from 1969 to 1970.

289. Chandra Bhanu Gupta wrote that he was greatly disillusioned after his recent conversation with Nehru in Delhi which, he said, was "an eye opener to me for its jolts and misgivings". He further said, "I am today a victim of a well-organised partisan malicious campaign born purely of prejudices, jealousy and self-interest with a view to tar and smear me." Attributing his defeat at Maudaha to "objectionable tactics and manoeuvrings of interested persons", Gupta said that his defeat had given his adversaries a handle to propagate that his personal unpopularity more than anything else had brought this about. C.B. Gupta also wrote, "I am charged with bossism.... In that connection you casually referred to the bossism of Sardar Patel and consequent hollowness as a result of it in his home province after his death. I was too small to be mentioned along with that great personality and leadership." Gupta denied he ever played the role of a boss. He also said that during the conversation with Nehru he was stunned to know that "my present role in UP politics is akin to that of a 'disturber'." Offering to resign from the PCC and the AICC, he said, "Besides peace this may also save you from embarrassment on account of me and my alleged unwholesome role in the organisation."

were here, that it is because of my regard for you that I had felt disturbed at various happenings and developments. If you had not been an old and valued colleague, I would not have cared much.

It is possible that I may be misled occasionally by some reports that reach me. But, surely, I have some long experience of political life and of many colleagues and comrades, and I would be a very ineffective person if I allowed myself to be led away by odd reports. Again, the fact of defeat at elections does not and should not colour one's view of a person.

You say that you are not a "yes" man.²⁹⁰ That is perfectly true, and I do not think anyone has accused you of that. But, what has often been said, and I think with truth, is that you have gathered round yourself "yes" men.

In UP politics, groups have been formed almost always on the personal basis, and not on any high principles. Indeed, principles are seldom discussed or even intellectually appreciated. There has been a general tendency for a communal outlook to creep in slowly.

I spoke to you frankly when you came, because any other course would have been unfair to you and to me. I did think that you had introduced a certain disruptive element in provincial Congress affairs. This does not mean that I want you to resign from the Congress or from any Committee of the Congress. In fact, what I did not like was your being out of important Congress bodies or the Legislature, and yet playing a rather important and sometimes disruptive part from outside.

There is no question of any embarrassment to me because of your working in the Congress. Indeed, I would like you to do so. You are much too valued a colleague for me to like losing you. There is tremendous work to be done in the country, and I am afraid that we are not proving ourselves up to the mark and losing ourselves in petty matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

290. C.B. Gupta wrote that he would like to step aside from active Congress politics, if Nehru so desired. He added, "For good or bad I cannot be an 'yes' man. In public matters I have never played that role and cannot perhaps adopt it at this age."

(vii) West Bengal

85. To B.C. Roy²⁹¹

September 5, 1958

My dear Bidhan,²⁹²

Kripalani made an appeal the other day in the Lok Sabha for the Government here to ask for the cooperation of leaders of parties here in regard to the food problem. I invited today, therefore, leaders of some groups, such as Asoka Mehta, Jaipal Singh, Surendra Mahanty of Orissa, Z.A. Ahmad of the Communist Party of UP and Hriday Nath Kunzru. They all came except Hriday Nath Kunzru who was unable to attend. Also present were Pantji and Ajit Prasad Jain.

We had a friendly talk for about an hour and a half.²⁹³ I enclose a summary of that talk.

You will see that special stress was laid on the situations in the UP and West Bengal and it was repeatedly suggested that similar top level talks between party leaders as we are having in Delhi, should take place in UP and West Bengal.

It is difficult for me to advise you about this because I am not intimately acquainted with the situation in West Bengal. But it seems to me that it would be a good approach to invite a few of the leaders of the Opposition parties to discuss the food situation quite informally and without the heat and passion of debate. So far as we are concerned, we intend to have this informal committee here as a more or less continuing feature.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawahar]

291. File No. 31(78)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

292. Chief Minister of West Bengal.

293. For Nehru's note on the meeting, see item 172.

86. Anti-Profiteering Ordinance²⁹⁴

The Cabinet considered the draft of the West Bengal Anti-Profiteering Ordinance, 1958, proposed to be promulgated by the West Bengal Government²⁹⁵ and was of the view that, while it was desirable to take suitable steps to control the prices of certain articles of daily use, the procedure suggested by the State Government would lead to various difficulties. The Cabinet, therefore, desired that, before taking any further steps in this direction, a representative of the West Bengal Government might be invited to come to Delhi so that the matter might be discussed with him in all its aspects. In this connection, the Cabinet made the following suggestions:

- (1) The aim should be to control the prices of essential articles of common use;
 - (2) The State Government should have discretion to select and notify the areas to which the Law controlling prices would apply; and
 - (3) The formula for controlling prices should be so framed that the maximum prices allowed should be specific and easily ascertainable.
2. The Prime Minister suggested, and the Cabinet agreed, that the desirability of taking similar measures in respect of other States should also be examined.

294. Minutes of the meeting of the Cabinet, 8 October 1958. File No 28/30-JudI-I/1958, Ministry of Home Affairs, National Archives of India.

295. On 17 July 1958, the West Bengal Government warned dealers against hoarding essential commodities. As neither the warning nor the existing law seemed effective, the State Government considered fresh legislation.

87. To B.C. Roy²⁹⁶

9th October, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

When I was away in Bhutan, Jyoti Basu,²⁹⁷ one of your MLAs, wrote to me and sent me a copy of the report of the committee appointed by you in regard to food policy.²⁹⁸ Since my return to Delhi I have been heavily occupied with these bank meetings and the rest and I could not see my old papers. I have now seen them.

The report apparently was not published at all till it came out in the press through some leakage. Later, the Government published it. This was rather unfortunate as it indicated that Government were afraid of the public knowing what the report contained.

Actually, the report is very critical of Government's policy and more especially of its implementation.

Since you received this report, or since its publication, did you take any steps in regard to the matters raised in the report?

Yours affectionately,
[Jawahar]

296. JN Collection.

297. A leader of the Communist Party of India.

298. The West Bengal Food Enquiry Committee under Tarun Kanti Ghosh, Minister of State for Development, appointed on 2 May 1958, reported on 20 September 1958 that inadequate statistical information led to poor implementation of policy, that the Cordoning Order to control paddy smuggling was poorly enforced, and that the procurement target of 1,58,000 tons had been missed by a wide margin.

88. To Prafulla Chandra Sen²⁹⁹

19th October, 1958

My dear Prafulla Babu,³⁰⁰

I have just received your letter of the 17th October about the West Bengal Anti-Profitteering Ordinance.³⁰¹

I was not present when the talks about this ordinance took place here, but I had a brief talk with Dr Roy and pointed out to him that the original draft which had been sent to us by the West Bengal Government seemed to us quite unworkable. We were anxious that some such ordinance should be passed as early as possible, but certain changes were necessary. After that I had no discussion on this subject.

I have not seen the new draft and cannot say anything about it. But I still think that your original draft was hardly capable of being worked. I am sending your letter and note to our Food Minister.³⁰²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

299. JN Collection.

300. Minister for Food, Relief and Supplies, Government of West Bengal.

301. P.C. Sen commented adversely on the Union Law Ministry's draft of the West Bengal Anti-Profitteering Ordinance, which aimed at the State Government fixing price maxima, whereas his Department had wanted "a formula which would allow all honest traders to charge reasonable prices without any difficulties." He pointed out that fixing prices without full control of production and distribution was impossible, that it was possible to arrive at a reasonable price and profit margin for traders by calculating transport and incidental costs, that the prices fixed as maxima would inevitably become the statutory prices, and that if prices were fixed for certain areas, goods would disappear from those areas and appear in the black market just outside them. So he asked Nehru to restore his Department's draft.

302. The West Bengal Government issued an Anti-Profitteering Ordinance on 22 October 1958 to control and fix the prices of essential commodities: rice and rice in the husk, wheat and wheat products, pulses, spices, edible oil, sugar, baby food, paper, drugs and medicine. Profitteering would be punishable with rigorous imprisonment up to two years.

(g) Goa and Pondicherry**(i) Goa****89. Trade Agreement between Pakistan and Portugal³⁰³**

Starred Question No. 1062 for the Lok Sabha.³⁰⁴

I am redrafting the answer. Please have it put in Hindi:

Answer

It is open to Pakistan to have any trade arrangements or treaties it likes with other countries. The Government of India can only regret that some of these arrangements are apparently motivated by a dislike of India. The people of Pakistan, as the people of India, have had past experience of foreign domination and both have declared their strong disapproval of colonial rule. It is, therefore, surprising that the Government of Pakistan should carry on a policy of supporting colonial domination of Goa by Portugal.

(To be answered by Parliamentary Secretary, SAK³⁰⁵)

303. Note, 5 September 1958. File No. 10-31/58-Goa, MEA.

304. Iqbal Singh, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Ferozepore, Punjab, and Amar Singh Damar, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Jhabua (Reserved Constituency), Madhya Pradesh, in a question submitted in Hindi, wanted to know about "the attitude adopted by the Government of India regarding the trade and air agreements reached recently between Pakistan and Goa." Pakistan and Portugal signed a one-year trade agreement in Karachi on 16 June 1958 providing for, among other things, special arrangements for exchange of certain commodities between Goa and Pakistan. A joint communiqué said that the two countries had agreed to extend "most favoured-nation" treatment to each other.

305. SAK is Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for External Affairs. The question was answered by him on 9 September 1958.

90. Imprisonment of Sudha Joshi³⁰⁶

I see from the answer to a question for the Lok Sabha that Sudha Joshi is still supposed to be in a Goa prison.³⁰⁷ This is surprising as you will remember that we have been definitely told, I think, by the Brazilian Ambassador³⁰⁸ that Sudha Joshi was going to be released. Will you please verify the answer to this unstarred question No. 7644. If it is a fact that Sudha Joshi has not been released, then the Brazilian Ambassador should be asked about it.³⁰⁹ There are also three other names of Indians in prison in Goa.

91. To Berta Menezes Braganza e Furtado³¹⁰

October 4, 1958

Dear Mrs Furtado,³¹¹

On my return from my tour in Bhutan, I have learnt with deep regret of the death of Dr Tristao de Braganza Cunha.³¹² His death indeed is a great loss to all of us who knew him and more particularly to the cause of Goan freedom which he served and for which he suffered so much.

306. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 13 September 1958. JN Collection.

307. In a written answer to a question in the Lok Sabha on 22 September 1958, Nehru stated that Sudha Joshi was still in prison in Goa, along with Mohan Laxman Ranade, Madhusudan Guntak and Gangadhar R. Manjrekar. She was arrested on 6 April 1955 after presiding over the ninth annual session of the National Congress, Goa and calling upon the Portuguese to quit Goa.

308. Jose Cochrane de Alencar. By an agreement between the two states in November 1955, Indian interests in Portugal were handled by Egypt, and Portuguese interests in India by Brazil.

309. Sudha Joshi was released from detention in May 1959.

310. JN Collection.

311. Berta Antonio Furtado, née Menezes Braganza; niece of T.B. Cunha and a leading member of the Goan liberation movement; addressed a huge rally at Margao on 30 June 1946, whereupon many Goan women actively participated in the movement; sought political asylum in Belgaum and later in Bombay along with her husband, Antonio Furtado, a political refugee; edited *Free Goa*, which was started by T.B. Cunha; participated in the Afro-Asian Women's Solidarity Conference, Cairo, and the International Women's Peace Council, Moscow.

312. Goan freedom fighter, popularly known as the father of Goan nationalism.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly convey my sorrow and condolence to the other members of his family.³¹³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

92. To M.C. Chagla³¹⁴

October 21, 1958

My dear Chagla,³¹⁵

Thank you for your letter of the 20th October, in which you refer to the question of Goa.³¹⁶

You will, of course, have to keep this in view when you go to Washington, and it would be a good thing if you discussed this matter, whenever occasion arises, with the State Department of the United States Government and Cardinal Spellman.³¹⁷ We shall keep you informed of our own thinking on this subject.

I do not think that we should suggest a plebiscite in any form, nor should we discuss an independent administration of Goa. Apart from the possible

313. The same day Nehru also sent a message of condolence to Peter Alvares, President, National Congress, Goa, on the death of T.B. Cunha.

314. JN Collection.

315. Ambassador designate to the USA.

316. M.C. Chagla wrote that a delegation of the Freedom for Goa Movement had described their demoralisation. They asked him to urge the USA and Cardinal Spellman to get Portugal to agree to Goa deciding her own future. He added: "It was pointed out to me that if a plebiscite was taken to decide whether Goa should remain with Portugal or join us, the decision may be doubtful and in all probability adverse to us. But if the plebiscite took the form of Goa deciding whether she should remain with Portugal or become independent and autonomous, then it was certain that Goa would decide to become independent by an overwhelming majority. It was further pointed out to me that if Portugal gave autonomy to Goa, then it was certain that within a short time Goa would merge with India. I was told that Cardinal Spellman, who has considerable influence with the Vatican, will support us in this move and persuade the Vatican to put pressure upon Portugal to accept this solution." Chagla wanted to know whether Nehru would like him to act on this suggestion.

317. Francis Joseph Spellman (1889-1967); ordained, 1916; Archbishop of New York, 1939; Cardinal, 1946; known for his diplomacy behind the scenes.

undesirable consequences of these proposals,³¹⁸ there is no reason why we should put forward any such supposed solution. I think our line should be to point out that the Portuguese administration of Goa is an authoritarian, oppressive Government which does not permit any trace of civil liberty or free expression of opinion. Considerable numbers of people are kept in prison. We should point out that in the nature of things, India can never agree to a continuation of a foreign foothold in this country. It is only because of our desire to avoid any military conflict that we have patiently waited for a change and kept back our own people who wish to take some action.

Further, stress should be laid on the nature of the population there, which is exactly the same, except for a very tiny proportion, as the surrounding population. There are a very large number of Catholics in the rest of India, and they have no complaint against our Government and have perfect freedom. Apart from this, a considerable majority of people in Goa are not Catholics. Anyhow, whatever their religion, they are perfectly free to practice it and to abide by their customs and habits. In fact, we have made it clear right from the beginning that Goa should remain a separate entity, following its own ways.

The Catholics have not only full play for their religion, etc., but we are on friendly terms with the Catholic Church. We do not understand, however, why the Catholic Church, in the name of non-interference, actually passively and, sometimes, actively, encourages the maintenance of the status quo, which is indefensible.

What we would like immediately is the establishment of full civil liberties in Goa so that people could function as they like and express their views as they like, and people in prison for purely political offences should be released. The ultimate solution can only be close association with India, with possibly internal autonomy.

As a matter of fact, no question of plebiscite can arise so long as the Portuguese are in authoritarian control of the place. We have seen how elections are carried on even in Portugal, and the whole world has laughed at the recent

318. Chagla wrote that in his opinion there was "no analogy whatever" between proposals for plebiscite in Kashmir and Goa, as Kashmir had constitutionally merged with India, a constituent assembly elected by the people of Kashmir having taken the decision, while Goa had given no such decision. Moreover, he added, "the various circumstances which make plebiscite in Kashmir impossible today do not exist in the case of Goa."

Presidential election there.³¹⁹ To talk of any kind of plebiscite or election in Goa under Portuguese administration is, therefore, rather absurd.

As I have said above, we shall keep you informed of developments here and what steps we think should be taken abroad. But I would like you to discuss this matter from time to time with both the US Government and Cardinal Spellman. They must not be allowed to feel that we have accepted the status quo and that nothing more need be done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

319. Portugal held her first contested election since 1926 on 8 June 1958, and Rear-Admiral Americo Tomaz was elected President. The opposition candidate General Humberto Delgado, Director-General of Civil Aviation, complained of numerous irregularities, but he was removed from his post on 11 June and reverted to the Portuguese Air Force.

(ii) Pondicherry

93. Dissolution of the Pondicherry Assembly³²⁰

I agree with the note.³²¹ It may be issued.

I have met M. Goubert³²² here (Hyderabad) and he was pressing me to have this dissolution soon and then fresh elections. I told him we had decided this.

M. Goubert also said that much of the trouble is due to our fixing salaries and allowances for the councillors and members. There were no such payments before the merger;³²³ it was the Government of India that introduced them in 1954. He urged therefore that no payments should be made to the councillors or members except travelling expenses and some kind of a daily allowance for attendance if any members live outside Pondicherry. I told him that this question of payment could be considered later.

320. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, Hyderabad, 26 October 1958. File No. 48/(3)/58-Pond.(W), MEA.

321. The press note announcing the dissolution of the Representative Assembly of Pondicherry was issued by the Ministry of External Affairs on 27 October 1958 as follows: "The Government of India has carefully considered the situation that has arisen in Pondicherry following the election of the President of the Representative Assembly on August 25 after the Assembly had been adjourned earlier in the day by the oldest member presiding at the time. The Government is advised that the subsequent proceedings of the Assembly on that day relating to the election of the President and on the other days during the session with the elected President in the chair are of doubtful validity. The frequent change in the alignment of the parties in the Assembly has also made it impossible to secure effective and continuous representation of the elected members in the Council of Government at Pondicherry."

Chief Commissioner M.K. Kirpalani had dissolved the Government Council on 23 May 1958 since the majority Congress Party in the Pondicherry Assembly could not form a government. The efforts of U.N. Dhebar, Congress President, and K. Kamaraj, Chief Minister of Madras, to bring the two rival Congress groups in the Assembly together failed, and the Pondicherry Assembly was adjourned sine die on 21 September 1958.

322. Edouard Goubert, Congress Member of the Pondicherry Representative Assembly.

323. On 1 November 1954, all the French possessions in India were formally handed over to India, though the de jure transfer of the territories took place only in August 1962.

94. To K.S. Venkatakrishna Reddiar³²⁴

October 29, 1958

Dear Shri Reddiar,³²⁵

Thank you for your letter of the 27th October.³²⁶ As you must have known, the dissolution of the Pondicherry Assembly has already been announced and it is hoped to have fresh elections in the relatively near future. This step was taken after a good deal of thought and we must abide by it now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(h) Sikkim and Bhutan**(i) Sikkim****95. Prohibiting Entry of Mademoiselle Delannoy into Sikkim³²⁷**

I have seen these papers. Whatever the truth may be in what Mlle. Delannoy writes, it is obvious that she should not be allowed to go to Sikkim. The mere fact that the Sikkim Darbar is against her going there is enough for that purpose. Probably, it will not be desirable for her to go to Kalimpong either. She herself complains of people threatening her there. It is best, therefore, if she keeps

324. JN Collection.

325. A former Congressman from Madras State and member of the Tamilnad Congress Committee; participated in the Pondicherry freedom struggle; elected President of the Congress Reform Committee (CRC), a party consisting of dissident Congressmen in Madras State, January 1957; (The CRC emerged as the second largest party in the State in the 1957 Assembly elections and was renamed the Indian National Democratic Congress in September 1957).

326. Reddiar warned against a dissolution as the Congress was weak and communist and communal forces might benefit. He suggested a whip to bring the Congress factions together; he also reassured Nehru that in case of dissolution, his CRC would not obstruct Congress although it would not officially support it in an election.

327. Note to the Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 5 September 1958. JN Collection.

away from Kalimpong. But I think she might be allowed to remain in India for the time being at least.

2. It would be desirable to ask the DIB³²⁸ for enquiries and assessment. After you have heard from Dr Roy³²⁹ and DIB, this matter might again be put up before me.

96. Development of Sikkim³³⁰

Development of Sikkim—Mr Nehru's Appeal—People Must Work Hard

Gangtok, Oct. 1. Prime Minister Nehru said here today Sikkim's prosperity depended on the hard work of its own people the Lepchas, Bhotias and Nepalese, on their unity and their upright character.

Speaking at a meeting where an address of welcome was presented to him by the Maharaja of Sikkim³³¹ and by the residents of the State, Mr Nehru said history afforded examples of small countries prospering while big countries had fallen. He said it was the self-reliance and great capacity to work of the people of these small countries that had sustained their continued progress. Given these attributes, no country could be stopped from going ahead. It was, however, a different matter that "in times of crisis or a danger confronting it, a country should be helped by another friendly country".

Mr Nehru said that at first there were Lepchas in Sikkim. Then came Bhotias and they were followed by Nepalese. How could Sikkim develop without co-operation and abiding unity between these people? No country whose people quarrelled among themselves could progress.

Mr Nehru said the Maharaja in his address had observed that efforts were being made to develop Sikkim as a Welfare State. "We in India are trying to build a Welfare State. The time is past when things in any country could be done in accordance with the wishes and needs of a few rich people. Every country now has to think in terms of upliftment of its people by assuring them of facilities for physical and intellectual growth".

In his address, the Maharaja said that it was largely through the help of the Government of India that much had been done by way of development of Sikkim in a short time.

328. B.N. Mullik was Director, Intelligence Bureau.

329. Dr B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal.

330. Report of speech at Gangtok, 1 October 1958. *The Hindu*, 2 October 1958.

331. Tashi Namgyal.

The Maharaja's address was read in English by the Maharajkumar³³² and translated in Sikkimese by the Chief Secretary of Sikkim, Rai Bahadur Den Sapa. An Address on behalf of the public also expressed the hope that help in the development of Sikkim would be given by India in future "as from an elder to a younger brother in a family."

Mr Nehru said that he was glad to see that Sikkim was making progress in regard to her development. Since his last visit,³³³ many new development schemes had been taken up, [and] the Maharajkumar in particular had been taking great interest in the development of the State. Mr Nehru said that he was also gratified to note that the new buildings in Gangtok retained Sikkim's traditional style. It was true that in a new age new things should be learnt. But this did not mean that a country should uproot itself from its traditions and culture.

97. The Sikkim Lottery³³⁴

When I was in Sikkim recently, the Maharajkumar spoke to me about this matter with some earnestness. I did not know the facts then but my reaction was that we should not come in the way of this Sikkim lottery and that we should allow it to function.³³⁵ I have now seen these papers and I am still of the same opinion. On the merits of running a lottery I do not think we should impose our own views on Sikkim. If they want to have it, we should allow them to do so. As for the strict law, whatever this may be, we need not take too restrictive [a] view having regard to the peculiar situation of Sikkim and our very intimate relations with it. What we decide about Sikkim need not be treated as a precedent for other States. It is obviously a special case.

I would recommend therefore that we should not oppose or obstruct the working of this Sikkim lottery.

332. Palden Thondup Namgyal.

333. In the last week of December 1958.

334. Note the Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 13 October 1958. JN Collection.

335. Subimal Dutt recommended permitting the lottery on the ground that i) the central government cannot interfere; ii) some states like Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal do allow it while most don't because the Government of India does not approve; and iii) Sikkim as a small state derives a good income from it which is used for charity.

98. To U.N. Dhebar³³⁶

October 27, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,³³⁷

You wrote to me some time ago about a request from the Sikkim Congress for financial help for the elections what are going to take place there soon. I think I replied to you suggesting that no such help should be given.³³⁸

I find that one of our MPs, Raghubir Singh Panchhazari³³⁹ (from PEPSU) is in Sikkim. He has in the past had some connection with the State Congress. He has been talking about financial help being given from here or some help in the shape of loudspeakers, etc., from the Darjeeling Congress. I am quite clear that we should not interfere in the Sikkim elections in any way, and I have sent word to Raghubir Singh accordingly.³⁴⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

336. JN Collection.

337. President, Indian National Congress.

338. See Nehru's letter of 26 July 1958 to U.N. Dhebar, SWJN/SS/43/pp. 408-409.

339. Raghubir Singh Panjhazari (1914-1999); Congressman from Punjab; General Secretary, Pepsu Pradesh Congress Committee, 1954-55; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1954-72.

340. Nehru wrote to Subimal Dutt the same day: "Shri Raghubir Singh should not interfere in the coming elections in Sikkim. He might be informed by our P.O. [Political Officer Apa Pant] that the matter was referred to me and I was clearly of opinion that there might be no interference on our part with these elections. It will not be desirable even to arrange any supply of loud speakers, etc., from the Congress organisation." Nehru added, "There is further no chance of any financial help being given from the Congress." Elections for the Sikkim State Council were held in November 1958.

(ii) Visit to Bhutan

99. Itinerary of the Visit³⁴¹

I sent you this afternoon a tentative programme for my visit to Bhutan.³⁴² This was based entirely on the information given to me by Shri Apa Pant³⁴³ when he was here. In fact, it is largely a reproduction of the programme he had made, except that he had provided five and a half days in Paro and I have reduced this stay to four and a half days. Also, he had provided two clear days' halt at Gangtok and I have reduced this to one clear day.

2. As I have told you, I am prepared to extend my programme by a day or even perhaps two days, that is, to return to Delhi on October 2nd. Perhaps it might be desirable to spend an extra day at Paro, that is, five clear days. As I am going that far and I am not likely to go there again, a slightly longer stay might be desirable. But I do not think I should stop at Gangtok for more than one clear day on my return.

3. If I adhere to the programme I have sent you except for giving an extra day to Paro, this would mean our returning to Delhi on the 1st October. I have thus a day in hand still, as I am prepared to come back by the 2nd October. I think that might be left in reserve for any possible variation of the programme later. We might definitely fix up the first part of my programme, that is, the journey to Paro.

4. It has been pointed out to me, however, that the programme as drafted is a pretty strenuous one, more especially on the 4th day when we have to cross two high passes over 14,500 feet. I am quite unable to judge what this involves because a great deal depends upon the terrain and other conditions. I have simply accepted what Shri Apa Pant has told me about them. The distance is sixteen miles. That is fairly considerable in mountain regions. Further, this involves two high passes.

5. I suggest that you might send a copy of the tentative programme as I have drafted and also a copy of this note by air mail to Shri Apa Pant, so that he may give us any further advice if he considers this necessary.

6. You will see that the programme I have suggested now is almost exactly what Shri Apa Pant gave me (I enclose his original paper giving this programme). The only difference is the stay in Gangtok is reduced to one clear day.

341. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 2 September 1958. JN Collection.

342. Nehru left for Bhutan on 16 September and returned to Delhi on 2 October 1958.

343. Political Officer of India in Sikkim and Bhutan from 1955 to 1961.

7. I have seen two telegrams from Shri Apa Pant which were received today. In one of these he points out that the programme will be crowded if I have to return to Delhi on the 30th. As I have already extended my stay by a day or two, this need not trouble him.

8. The other telegram is about security arrangements. I do not think it is necessary for Atuk Tsering³⁴⁴ to go to Bhutan and come back in time to meet me. There is no point in this. What would be desirable would be for Atuk Tsering and one or two of our other security staff to go ahead of me, perhaps to Yatung. They could come back and meet us on the Tibet border if considered necessary. Or else, some two or three persons could go a day or two ahead of me throughout the journey.

100. To H.N. Mukerjee³⁴⁵

September 9, 1958

Dear Hiren,³⁴⁶

Your letter of the 7th September.

It is not quite clear to me what we can do about Joliot-Curie's daughter, Irene.³⁴⁷ Of course, if she comes, there will be no objection on our part. But we can hardly invite her to come. However, we shall try to find out something about her from our Embassy in Paris.

Bhutan is one of the most inaccessible and remote countries in the world. It takes five days from Gangtok of hard trekking over three mountain passes between 14,000 and 15,000 feet, to reach there. I suppose that politically or otherwise it is what is called backward. It is very sparsely populated. The entire population, I think, is about 300,000³⁴⁸ mostly of small farmers. They are fairly tough people. I can well imagine that the Maharaja³⁴⁹ or the Government there do not approve of political agitation. But I had not heard of any atrocities

344. Atuk Tsering, a Khampa-Tibetan, was a Deputy Superintendent of Police in the Intelligence Bureau; he accompanied the Prime Minister on his visit to Bhutan.

345. JN Collection.

346. CPI Member of the Lok Sabha from Calcutta Central, West Bengal.

347. Perhaps Nehru was referring to Hélène Langevin-Joliot (b. 1927), a nuclear physicist, the daughter of the French scientists Frédéric and Irène Joliot-Curie.

348. According to *The Statesman's Yearbook 1958* (London: Macmillan), the estimated population of Bhutan at the time was around 600,000.

349. Jigme Dorji Wangchuk.

such as you indicate.³⁵⁰ As a matter of fact, Nepalese are usually the aggressive elements in all these areas, Sikkim, Bhutan, etc. The real people of Sikkim and of Bhutan are rather soft and gentle looking. Their population increases also at a very slow pace. Nepalese, on the other hand, increase rapidly, spread out and overawe the others. The objection to them not only comes from the ruling authorities but also from the indigenous people.

I shall take your book on Gandhiji³⁵¹ with me to Bhutan.

Ever yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

101. Cable to David Astor³⁵²

I have your telegram. I am sorry it is not feasible for me to take newspaper correspondents with me. I am going to Bhutan and not Tibet, though I have to pass a small corner of Tibet en route. Owing to various difficulties, I am not taking any newspaper correspondent. Only one Indian news agency correspondent will accompany me.³⁵³ Visas have to be obtained, and we have decided to keep our party as small as possible.

350. Hiren Mukerjee's letter containing these details has not been traced.

351. *Gandhiji: A Study* (Calcutta: National Book Agency, 1958).

352. 14 September 1958. JN Collection.

Francis David Langhorne Astor (1912-2001); English newspaper editor and proprietor and member of the prominent Astor family; Foreign Editor, *The Observer*, 1946-48, Editor, 1948-75, and Director, 1976-81.

353. Only the staff correspondent of the PTI accompanied Nehru during his visit to Bhutan.

102. A Toast to Friendship between India and China³⁵⁴

His Excellency and friends, if I may address this company as friends, You have just proposed a toast which is very dear to me, that is, a toast of the friendship of the people of China and the people of India. You know that these two great countries which have been neighbours for thousands of years have never had a war between them. That is a record which few countries can compare with. And now it is all the more important that our two countries should live in friendship and cooperation and work for the great cause of peace in the world, as well as, of course the great cause of serving their own people.

So you know, Your Excellency, that I have come here to Yatung today rather accidentally, on my way to Bhutan. This is not a regular visit of mine to this great State or to the Tibetan region of China. Nevertheless I am glad that I have been given this opportunity, even for a brief time, to set foot on this land and to meet some of these people here. I welcome this, and I shall take away a memory of your hospitality, as well as the hospitality of the others, many others whom I have already met here, or whom I am likely to meet.

I shall like you to convey my sense of gratitude to the Government of the People's Republic of China for their kind arrangements for my passing through this part of the country, and may I ask Your Excellency and all others present here to drink to the health of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader and a symbol of the people of China. As I had said that the contacts of India and China have been peaceful and friendly for thousands of years, with that part of the Chinese state, namely, of the Tibetan region which is our neighbour, we have had close cultural and religious ties also for over thousand [sic] of years, which we have cherished.

354. Speech at Yatung, in Tibet, on 18 September 1958, at a banquet hosted by General Tang Kwan Sun, special representative of General Chang Ching Wu, the Chinese Central Government's representative in Tibet, AIR tapes, NMML.

Nehru entered Tibet on 18 September on his way to Bhutan. He was received on the Sikkim-Tibet border at Nathu La Pass by K.C. Johorey, India's Trade Agent at Yatung. Nehru stayed overnight at the Indian Trade Agency in Yatung.

103. The Binding Links between India and Bhutan³⁵⁵

Sovereignty of Bhutan, India Will Always Respect: Nehru's Assurance
Need for Mutual Goodwill Stressed

Paro, Sept. 23. Prime Minister Nehru told the people of Bhutan today that India's only desire as regards their country was that it should remain independent and choose its own road of progress.

At a public meeting, Mr Nehru said: "Some may think that since India is a great and powerful country and Bhutan is small one, the former might wish to exercise pressure on Bhutan. It is, therefore, essential that I make it clear to you that our only wish is that you should remain an independent country, choosing your own way of life and taking the path of progress according to your will.

"At the same time we two should live with mutual goodwill. We are members of the same Himalayan family and should live as friendly neighbours, helping each other. The freedom of both Bhutan and India should be safeguarded so that no one from outside can do any harm to them".

Most of the nearly 5,000 men, women and children of Paro had gathered to hear the Prime Minister and they cheered him frequently, especially when he spoke about friendly and equal relations between India and Bhutan.

For the first few minutes, the Prime Minister's speech, in Hindi, was translated by an official interpreter, but thereafter, the Maharaja of Bhutan himself took over. Earlier, in his welcome speech the Maharaja paid a tribute to Mr Nehru as having always been a peace-maker amongst powerful warring nations.

The Maharani of Bhutan, the Prime Minister of Bhutan, Mr Jigme Dorje, Lamas of Paro Dzong, Mrs Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of Sikkim, and the Indian officials, Mr A.B. Pant and Mr M.K. Rustomji [sic], were present.

Mr Nehru said that the world was fast changing. Bhutan could not remain isolated but any change Bhutan underwent would be in accordance with its own will and not because of the pressure of other countries. In the world of today new machines, new factories and new power were changing the lives of the people. With their help the upliftment of the people was being achieved. India was trying to press these things in the service of her people, and while doing so, she would be glad to give training to the youth of Bhutan also. Even at present some boys from Bhutan were receiving education in India. When they came back, they would be able to serve the people here.

355. Report of speech at a public meeting, Paro, Bhutan, 23 September 1958. *The Hindu*, 24 September 1958.

Teaching of Hindi in Bhutan

Mr Nehru said he was glad to learn that the Maharaja had arranged for the teaching of Hindi in schools in Bhutan. This, he added, would strengthen Indo-Bhutanese friendly relations. He hoped that the learning of Hindi would spread here so that both India and Bhutan would be able to benefit from it.

Mr Nehru said he could not come to this beautiful country earlier because of pressure of work. Bhutan lay in the lap of the Himalayas. He had always been fascinated by these mountains. So he had come not as a stranger but as a friend of Bhutan. He was touched by the affectionate welcome given by the people. This love of the people and grandeur of the Himalayas, he said, made the problems of India and the world recede into the background. He hoped that he would get another opportunity of seeing the other parts of Bhutan too. The two countries were like brothers. One could say India was the elder brother and Bhutan the younger, but all the same they were brothers and brothers must live in amity.

Message of Buddha

The Indian Prime Minister said that a long time ago a voice from India, that of the Buddha, had reached Bhutan. It also spread in many other countries. This message of the Buddha was a binding link between India and Bhutan. The message of the Buddha had been spread in these regions by Padmasambhava³⁵⁶ from Nalanda University and at a time when there was talk of war in the world, the people of the world would do well to learn that message. "Whatever happens elsewhere, we have to resolve that in our countries we should maintain peace and we should go along the path of peace and help each other".

Mr Nehru expressed the hope that the Maharaja of Bhutan would come to India,³⁵⁷ thus further strengthening the ties of friendship between the two. "I

356. He was from Uddiyan (traditionally identified with the Swat Valley in Pakistan) and lived in the middle of the eighth century AD; venerated as "a second Buddha"; taught at Nalanda; went to Tibet in 757 AD at the invitation of the Tibetan King and transmitted Vajrayana Buddhism, a tantric form of Buddhism, to Tibet, Bhutan and the neighbouring countries; founded the first Tibetan monastery at Samye in 779 AD; introduced Lamaism in Tibet, where he is also known as Guru Rinpoche (Precious Guru); in Bhutan, he is associated with the "Tiger's Nest" monastery built on a cliff wall about 500 metres above the floor of Paro valley.

357. The Maharaja of Bhutan visited India in February 1960.

will again cross over (on his return journey) and while doing so, I will leave a part of my heart in these mountains," the Prime Minister added.

After the public speech, Mr Nehru watched performances by masked dancers. Later tea was served on behalf of the Prime Minister to all the 6,200 people who had gathered for the public meeting and the dance performances. Folk dances were staged by boys and girls after the tea. One unique feature of the entertainment programme was a collective dance by children of five and below, including a daughter of the Maharaja. People also saw an exhibition of photographs depicting India's developmental activities and rich cultural heritage.

104. Note on Visit to Bhutan³⁵⁸

I have now been here at Paro for five days. Tomorrow morning, we leave this place and after crossing various passes reach Yatung. From there to Gangtok and Delhi.

2. During our stay here, we have been constantly with the Maharaja and his Prime Minister, Jigme Dorji. Apart from many general conversations that we have had, I have had two special and private conversations with the Maharaja; also with Shri Jigme Dorji. At the Maharaja's suggestion, I met his Council of Ministers or Advisers and some senior officials of the Bhutanese Government on two occasions when questions were put to me and I answered them.

3. The Bhutanese Government and the Maharaja did everything in their power to make our visit pleasant and agreeable. In addition to these arrangements, which were on a lavish scale, we were surrounded by an atmosphere of friendship and affection. Even when the Maharaja came to India some years ago,³⁵⁹ he was friendly and created a good impression upon us. But he was also a little cautious then and perhaps we were a little too anxious then to get something out of him, in regard to Bhutan's relations with India. Anyhow, on this occasion, there were hardly any inhibitions, and we talked quite frankly and in a spirit of mutual trust.

4. This development is no doubt due to many causes. Firstly, our general attitude towards Bhutan and our avoidance of pressure tactics. Secondly, a reaction to what is happening in Tibet under Chinese domination. Thirdly, to

358. Written at Paro, Bhutan, 26 September 1958. JN Collection. Also available in Subimal Dutt Papers, NMML.

359. In January 1949.

some extent, the development of Sikkim with help from India. All this is no doubt true. But we must give credit for this closer relationship that has grown up between Bhutan and India to our Political Officer at Gangtok, Shri Apa Pant, who represents us also in Bhutan. I think also that Shri Rustomji³⁶⁰, the Dewan of Sikkim, has helped in this growing friendship.

5. I found that both Shri Apa Pant and Shri Rustomji were on terms of what might be called intimate friendship with the Maharaja and the Prime Minister of Bhutan. Both of them were respected and apparently trusted. Shri Apa Pant, ever since he occupied his present post, has progressively identified himself with the problems and peoples of these regions, which include Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet. He has travelled about a good deal in both Bhutan and Tibet and taken some trouble to study not only the political conditions but also the religious background which affects these people so powerfully. Shri Rustomji speaks Tibetan with great fluency and is, therefore, quite at home with the common people not only in Sikkim but also in Bhutan and presumably in Tibet. He has identified himself so much with Sikkim, in dress and other ways, that he is practically accepted as belonging to Sikkim by the people there. Even in his conversation, "we" normally refers to "we Sikkimese". This in itself indicates the measure of success which he has achieved in dealing with his tasks as Dewan of Sikkim.

6. In the course of this journey, I have been reminded again and again of the great importance of our officers knowing the language of the region. This of course applies to every part of the world. It is impossible to get to know a people or have any understanding of their background or culture or thinking without knowing their language. Important as this is in, let us say, countries of Europe and America or in most countries of Asia, it becomes doubly important in places like Bhutan and Tibet where the other normal contacts are largely absent. There is no press here, no newspapers and contacts usually are limited to rigid formal conversations with officials. A person who does not know Tibetan will necessarily live remote from the people.

7. Most of our officers would naturally prefer to choose as a foreign language some well-known European language or possibly Persian or Arabic. They would hesitate to take up Tibetan as that might limit their wider utility in other countries. Nevertheless, I think it is most important that any officer serving in these areas should make an attempt to learn Tibetan. Even if he does not become fluent in it, a little knowledge will be of great use.

8. Bhutan is in some ways quite unique among the countries of the world. It is lying on the borders of India and it is very difficult of access. Possibly no

360. N.K. Rustomji.

other country in the world is quite so inaccessible as Bhutan is even now. Communications are primitive; there are no roads, except I think for a few miles near the Assam border. To reach Bhutan is thus difficult; to move about within Bhutan is equally difficult. Tours by the Maharaja or the officials are therefore arduous, time-consuming, without covering too much ground. The normal facilities of States, such as postal system and telegraphs, are lacking, though I believe some letters can be sent once a week to India. There is hardly any internal postal system. Wireless sets are practically the only means of obtaining information by the Government. Private people here probably communicate with each other in the same way as they did 2,000 years or more ago.

9. Education is still limited to a few new schools and what may be given in the monasteries. The health service is also very limited and consists of small very ill-equipped hospitals in a few places. Even these are looked at with some reservation by the people. A small hospital in Paro, which we visited today, was in charge of a Sikkimese educated, I think, in England. He felt very frustrated with conditions here, both professionally and otherwise as he had hardly any cultural contacts. The radio, of course, is available in some of the senior officials' houses and this brings world news. Since I left Gangtok ten days ago, I have not seen a newspaper of any kind and I have had to rely on AIR news broadcasts every morning and evening.

10. As a result of all this, life moves slowly here and one feels more cut off from the rest of the world than perhaps anywhere else. And yet things are slowly on the move and there is no doubt that the young Maharaja and his charming wife³⁶¹ as well as the Prime Minister, Jigme Dorji, are anxious to develop this country. Small beginnings are evident as well as proposals for development schemes.

11. It is difficult for me to judge of the condition of the common people here. I visited yesterday the house of a middle-class farmer. I was told that that was a fair average. I was surprised to find that the house was a large and roomy one. He had eleven acres of land, three horses, numerous cattle and pigs and poultry. If this is anywhere near the average, it is a fairly high one, certainly far better than vast numbers of our peasantry in India. I was told that the average holding was seldom less than five acres and went up to fifteen. Generally speaking, the system of peasant proprietorship holds and the Maharaja has given up his lands to the peasantry. There are still, however, a few big landlords, chiefly the step-mother of the Maharaja. Because of her special position, it has been difficult to deal with her in this matter. But the Maharaja is

361. Ashi Kesang Choden Wangchuk.

anxious to do something about it and, I believe, has already taken some steps to that end.

12. I am told that there are no beggars and practically no unemployment. Wages of casual labour vary from about Rs 1/8/- to Rs 5/- a day. In fact, it is not easy to get casual labour. The population is sparse and is said to be about 700,000 in the whole country. Probably the greater part of it is concentrated in the south. The Nepali element is largely in the south. During the past fifty or sixty years, there was considerable incursion from Nepal. But now this has been restricted. Complaints used to come to us about the ill-treatment of these Nepalese in Bhutan. Probably this is much less now than it used to be and an attempt is being made to absorb them in the rest of the population. The Maharaja has complete autocratic powers. He has, however, some kind of a Cabinet, nominated by him and has now constituted a General Assembly. I am not sure how this General Assembly has come into being. Probably it consists largely of headmen of villages. This is a purely advisory body.

13. Visiting some odd shops today, I noticed many simple articles from India which were priced rather high. What surprised me, however, was the very high price of the Bhutan textiles, which are very beautifully woven and attractive.

14. Generally speaking, one has the impression of a more or less contented people or, at any rate, of people who are not actively discontented. The basic necessities of life are provided for them, even though they may not have many of the accessories which have become necessities for us elsewhere. The people appear well-built and tough. The women seem to participate in the life of the community freely. One odd feature is that women have short cropped hair. Only in case of a misfortune, such as the death of the first born, do they allow their hair to grow long. The Maharaja and the Maharani appear to be popular and respected. Buddhism of the Tibetan Lamaist variety flourishes, except in the Nepalese who are Hindus. There are practically no other religions represented here, such as Christianity or Islam. I should think that the people are intelligent and given the chance will be able to take advantage of it.

15. In my talks with the Maharaja or his Councillors, two or three questions stood out. Everyone said that they were very happy with the friendly relations with India at present. But what would happen afterwards when other people are in control of India's destiny? What of Kerala? Would Communism spread in India? Apart from Communism, would succeeding governments of India adopt a more aggressive policy towards Bhutan? And then those who were concerned for Tibet. What was likely to happen there under the Communist regime? Would the spirit of the Tibetans be crushed? Would the Chinese send large numbers to colonise Tibet and thus change the whole texture of the

population there? What should Bhutan's policy be towards these events in Tibet? If the Khampa rebels in Tibet were driven by the Chinese into Bhutan, what should they do about it? And further if Chinese forces followed these Khampas into Bhutan how were they to meet this menace?

16. I tried to answer these questions as best I could. So far as India's policy towards Bhutan is concerned, I told them that this was not a policy connected with a particular individual like myself, although individuals made a difference at times. Our Government was a complicated apparatus and a fixed policy could not be changed, more especially in foreign affairs, whatever change in government might take place. That policy took shape after passing through many stages. To begin with, it will have to be in keeping with our broad general outlook on foreign and internal affairs. Secondly, the Ministry or Department concerned, which was a continuing affair and not just representing an individual's views, would formulate that policy. The Cabinet would then consider it and finally Parliament had to give its sanction to it. All this could not easily be reversed and indeed there was absolutely no reason why any succeeding government should even think of reversing it. The basic point to be considered was whether that policy was good for the two countries concerned, namely, Bhutan and India. If it was in the national interest of both to maintain that policy that would certainly endure. I was convinced that our present policy was to our mutual advantage and hence I had no fear that it would undergo any marked change in future, whatever other changes might take place.

17. As regards Tibet, I told them that in understanding the present position, one must not lay too much stress on Communism, important as that aspect was. What we saw now was a strong Chinese State emerging and following the policy of all previous strong Chinese States which tended towards expansion. Indeed, that was a tendency of all powerful military States. That tendency continues in various forms, sometimes political, sometimes economic, whether it was China or the Soviet Union or the United States of America. It was checked to some extent by other factors and by the mutual rivalry and hostility of other States. Thus we were experiencing today a revival of Chinese expansionism under cover of Communism. I had no doubt that this expansionism would have come if by any chance the Kuomintang had become a strong and unified State.

18. This expansion did not, however, lessen in any way the difficulties or the problems that faced us in Tibet or elsewhere. I could not advise Tibetans as to what they should do. It was inevitable for us to recognise Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. That was politically and historically justified, even though it was always tempered by Tibetan autonomy. Therefore, we had while recognising Chinese sovereignty urged the fullest autonomy to Tibet. This was in effect

laid down in the Chinese Treaty with Tibet.³⁶² But whether it would be acted upon or not I could not say. That would depend a great deal on the Tibetans themselves. It was clear that we in India could have followed no other policy in this matter. We cannot, therefore, encourage any anti-Chinese activities from Indian soil. That would do little good to the Tibetan people and get us into difficulties. We had explained this to the Tibetans.

19. It was clear to me that there was much discontent in Tibet against the Chinese occupation. In fact, Tibet was an occupied country and no one could doubt that this was done against the will of the Tibetans who were unhappy at the change. It must be remembered, however, that Tibet had long continued to be an exceedingly backward country in political and economic matters. I was not competent to judge about the religious aspect. So long as Tibet was sealed from the outside world, this backward economy could continue. But the moment the urges and forces of the outside world entered, new ferments were created and changes would inevitably take place. To expect the old order to continue was not justified. I would have liked the Tibetans themselves to bring about changes peacefully and without too great upsets. To some extent that door had been closed and the more aggressive and brutal methods of Chinese Communism held the reins in their hands. Premier Chou En-lai had told me twenty months ago that it was absurd for anyone to imagine that Tibet could be converted to Communism; it was too backward for that.³⁶³ The Chinese with all their desire for reforms did not wish to interfere too much with Tibetan ways of life. In fact, they are checking some over-enthusiastic young people in Tibet who wanted the pace to be faster. They (the Chinese) realised that Tibet was not Chinese; it was not a province of China; but it was part of the Chinese State. Therefore, it should have autonomy. But if the people of Tibet rebelled and created trouble, then inevitably such rebellion would be crushed.

20. Although I could not venture to give advice to the Tibetans, I would say to them that violent rebellions would lead them nowhere. It was far better to offer peaceful resistance which would be more effective. As the Chinese Government had promised autonomy to them, they could insist on this autonomy but not challenge the sovereignty of China. To try to get help from abroad was

362. The 17-point agreement between China and Tibet signed at Peking on 23 May 1951 legalised the stationing of Chinese troops in Tibet. Peking promised not to interfere in the internal administration in Tibet or with the position of the Dalai Lama as Tibet's spiritual ruler.

363. Nehru had talks with Chou En-lai in India in November-December 1956 and January 1957. See SWJN/SS/36/pp. 583-619, 623-638.

a policy doomed to failure. No outside country could help them. They may get a little money or a few ancient arms which would do little good.

21. These were my broad observations on this subject. I knew that they were not very helpful in dealing with a difficult situation which might change from day to day. Ultimately, this situation would be affected by many factors, including world developments. Essentially, however, it would depend on the toughness, power of endurance and capacity for adaptation of the Tibetans.

22. As for the Khampas coming into Bhutan, I said that if that happened across the Indian border, we would certainly stop them and in no event would we permit Chinese troops pursuing such Khampas to enter into Indian territory. All I could suggest was that this policy might be followed by the Bhutan Government also. How far Bhutan would be in a position to follow that policy would depend on its relations with India. That is to say, if Bhutan was an isolated small country with little military strength, then of course the Chinese forces may pay little attention to it. But if it was realised that in matters of defence, Bhutan and India stuck together and that in fact the Bhutan-Tibetan frontier might well be considered from that point of view the Indian frontier, then China would hesitate to cross that frontier. All this led to the fact of Bhutanese defence being inter-linked with Indian defence being well-understood not only by our two countries but by the outside world also.

23. In my private talks with the Maharaja, I talked about these matters referred to above and told him further that in the world of today, no man can prophesy what might happen ten, fifteen or twenty years later. We could only observe some trends and forces at work and indicate possibilities. The real revolutionary element in the world was the terrific pace of technological development which destroyed distances and increased the destructive power of weapons enormously. Such a world, in my opinion, cannot continue to remain at the edge of a precipice for long. Either it would topple over into the abyss or some new order will emerge. Probably the next ten or fifteen or at the most twenty years might well see a decision or a movement towards a decision in either of these directions. If during that period, we escape the disaster of a world war, the possibility of such a war will become less and less and a new and more stable world organisation will gradually take shape. Even now I thought that a world war would probably not take place because of the realisation by everyone concerned of its terrible consequences. But there was always a risk that some false move or even an accident might hurl us into such a war. All we could do was to encourage a tendency to peace and a climate which would prevent such accidents from happening. Meanwhile, we had to work in our respective countries to strengthen ourselves in various ways, to unify our people and to raise their standards of living. As for the example of Kerala in India, I did

not think that we need be frightened about it, though there were some dangers inherent in the situation. It was possible that some other State in India might have a Communist majority. It was equally possible that in Kerala itself, the Communists might lose their present majority. The main thing was the Central Government in India. I saw no chance in the foreseeable future of this Government being a Communist-controlled one. There were, of course, many fissiparous tendencies in India which we had to combat and which pulled in different directions. Anyhow, it did little good to worry ourselves about the future. We had to deal with the problems of today and in so far as we saw of these problems, we guaranteed the future.

24. I referred more particularly to the Maharaja and later to his Prime Minister to the problem of Bhutan's relations with India. In my speech at a public meeting here,³⁶⁴ I had said that we wanted Bhutan to continue to be free and to exercise no pressures upon it. I was speaking in Hindi and I had used the word *Swatantra*. This was naturally translated later in press messages, etc., as independence. I referred to this matter in my talks with the Maharaja. I pointed out to him that while it was our firm opinion that Bhutan must be internally independent and that we, much less any other country, should exercise no pressures on it, it was obvious that Bhutan could not be independent in the external or international sense of the word. In fact, even many of the so-called independent countries were not really independent. They were client States of the great colossi, USA and the Soviet Union. In the final analysis, even America and the Soviet Union had to depend on certain alliances and the like. But whatever the position of the major countries might be, a large number of small countries of Asia, Europe and America could hardly be called independent except in a relative sense. For Bhutan to claim independence in the formal international sense would have no reality and would bring troubles and complications and new burdens upon it. Thus, if it sought admission in the United Nations and tried to establish diplomatic missions in other countries, it might tickle the vanity of some people but this was a burden it could not bear and the complications that would ensue would drag Bhutan into all kinds of difficult situations. Therefore, it must be clearly understood that Bhutan's independence was of an internal variety only.

25. The two countries which bordered Bhutan were India and China. Both from the political and the economic points of view, Bhutan had to make a choice between the two. It had indeed made that choice long ago in favour of

364. At Paro on 23 September 1958. See item 103.

India. Our Treaty of 1949³⁶⁵ laid down that Bhutan would abide by the advice of India in foreign affairs (or words to that effect). We had pointed out previously that this necessarily included defence. The Government of Bhutan had not clearly accepted this position though it had not negated it either. In fact, however, there was no getting away from it. Defence and foreign affairs were intimately related. Apart from that, it would be foolish of Bhutan not to accept this position because that would make it very helpless, apart from India's interests also being endangered. When India talked about the defence of Bhutan, it did not mean that Indian armed forces were to sit on the Bhutan-Tibet frontier or anywhere else in Bhutan. We had no intention of sending any such forces. But the point was that the world should know that any incursion across the Bhutan-Tibet frontier was an incursion against India and would involve a conflict with India. That fact alone was an adequate guarantee that no such incursion would take place unless the power concerned was prepared to have a war with India. I did not think that China or any other country wanted to do this or was likely to do it if this fact was well known. This was not a question of likes and dislikes but of the world position and the consequences of any step taken which might lead to a major conflict.

26. I made this point about defence and foreign affairs very clear to the Maharaja and asked him specifically if he agreed with what I said. He said that he completely agreed. Subsequently, I spoke to the Prime Minister of Bhutan on the same lines and he also agreed.

27. I mentioned to the Maharaja that previously we had suggested that an Indian Agent or Adviser might be located in Bhutan. I mentioned this fact to him during our interview in Delhi when he came there last.³⁶⁶ He had hesitated to give a reply then and had said that he would consult his Council. I told the Maharaja now that I had come to the conclusion that he was quite right in not agreeing to our representative being stationed in Bhutan. Such a representative could not have been of much use either to Bhutan or to India in present circumstances. I would prefer, therefore, for present arrangements to continue, that is, for our Political Officer at Gangtok to represent us in Bhutan also as he had done till now. We would welcome of course frequent contacts and consultations about foreign affairs or internal affairs within the existing arrangements.

365. The Government of India and Bhutan signed in Darjeeling on 8 August 1949 a treaty of "perpetual peace and friendship" between the two countries. Bhutan agreed to be guided by India in its external affairs, while India agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of Bhutan.

366. For Nehru's record of his talks with the Maharaja of Bhutan in New Delhi on 30 January 1954, see SWJN/SS/24/pp. 593-595.

28. I referred to the presence of the Bhutanese Trade Agent at Lhasa. I said this was a difficult question for me to deal with and I would leave it to the discretion of the Bhutanese Government as they undoubtedly had a number of special trade matters to deal with in Lhasa. The point, however, was that the Chinese Government should be made to realise fully that Bhutan's foreign affairs would be dealt with in consultation with and on the advice of the Government of India. If the Bhutan Government felt that their Agent in Lhasa was no longer required by them for their special purposes, they could withdraw that Agent without fuss. If, however, they felt that he should continue for some time more, this could be done.

29. The Maharaja's Council of Advisers wanted to know what we were doing in India in regard to development schemes, as also what we would advise them to do here. I spoke to them at some length in as simple a language as I could command, remembering the background in Bhutan. I told them that one of the first necessities was an improvement in communications, both internally in Bhutan and with India. They all appeared to be anxious to do this. Indeed, the Maharaja is keen on it. Then I spoke to them about mineral surveys in Bhutan which were very necessary and for which we could let them have our geologists and others. Thirdly, I spoke about agriculture and demonstration farms and terraced cultivation and selected seeds being used, etc., etc. Agriculture was their mainstay and should be encouraged in every way.

30. I spoke necessarily about education which was the basis of improvement and development. This had two aspects: the starting of schools in Bhutan and possibly later a college; and sending young boys and girls to India for specialised study. Further I spoke about small industries and the utilisation of the great deal of water power that was available all over Bhutan. I urged them to encourage the finely woven textiles that they were producing and not to fall a prey to our cheap mill patterns. There were many other subjects they could tackle in the shape of small industries and cottage industries and then there was animal husbandry. I emphasised that while they should advance on many fronts, they should not try to upset the existing patterns. One of the things they could do and were thinking of doing was the fruit canning industry. Cottage match making was also something which they could take up easily.

31. I have mentioned roads and communications above. I think it is of the highest importance from the political and economic points of view for us to link up India with Bhutan by a proper road or roads. This will be a more effective link between Bhutan and India than all the treaties and settlements that we might make. It will, of course, be very helpful to Bhutan, but it will also help India. It will be a major piece of evidence to the world as to which way Bhutan looks and its close and developing contacts with India. Therefore,

we should undertake this road-making at the earliest possible moment. I believe that some three such roads have been surveyed—one from West Bengal to Bhutan and the other two from Assam to Bhutan. The one from West Bengal is probably the most important from the point of view of Bhutan. This goes from Jainti to Buxa Duar and then on to Sinchu La across the Bhutan border. From there it will proceed to Paro Dz. This will involve our building a road in Indian territory for about 26 to 30 miles. I am told this is a rather difficult mountainous terrain. I do hope that immediate attention will be paid to this matter. Nothing would please the Bhutanese more and be more advantageous to our relations with Bhutan as well as to the development of our economy there. The other roads from Assam are probably simpler and might well also be considered. I understand they have been surveyed. To begin with, jeepable roads can be made.

32. The Bhutanese are anxious to build roads in their territory in continuation of these Indian roads. They will require Indian engineering skill and they will also require some road-making machines. Being under the impression that we will not be able to supply these road-making machines, and also realising that we were facing grave foreign exchange difficulties, they suggested that perhaps they might get help through the Colombo Plan for these road-making machines. I did not like this at all and I told them so. If they got entangled with the Colombo Plan, various difficulties would arise. There will be the question of their international status and then the foreign country helping them would want to send their men to Bhutan which was not desirable at all. I told them that we shall try to help them. Probably we have such machines ourselves which we can lend them or we might even find the foreign exchange necessary to get a few such machines for them. The amount cannot be large. I should like this matter of road-making to be investigated immediately by our External Affairs Ministry, the CPWD and the States concerned. Primarily this will be the West Bengal Government.

33. No mention was made to me by the Maharaja or any other person about financial help to Bhutan. Evidently they were rather shy about it. I said to the Maharaja, however, that we would gladly help them financially as well as with technical personnel. In reply he said that he would welcome such help for the roads.

34. I told the Maharaja that I entirely appreciated his general policy of keeping foreigners outside Bhutan. Indeed, I thought that even Indians should not be allowed to come in freely for trade or like matters. Certainly experts and others should be welcomed.

35. I was surprised to learn from the Maharaja that, in some way or other, Mount Kailash near Manasarovar in Tibet, belonged to Bhutan. For a long time past, some Bhutanese had settled there and a few of these families still pay

their taxes to the Bhutan Government. Some apparently pay taxes both to Bhutan and Tibet Governments. There are one or two monasteries too which apparently appertain to Bhutan. I was asked what they should do about it. I had no adequate answer except to allow matters where they are and watch developments. I asked them, however, to have a note prepared giving the facts such as they know them so that we might examine them. Our Political Officer might take some interest in this matter and tell us what the position is. In this connection I was reminded of the two or three villages in western Tibet which belong to the Jammu and Kashmir Government. I do not know what the position is there now except that probably we have just tried to forget them.

36. This visit to Bhutan and the long treks across mountain valleys and over high passes has been a great and pleasurable experience for me. The Himalayas always produce a sense of exhilaration in me. Our journeys have been through magnificent mountain scenery. But, above all, it is the people's affection here that has touched me. I was perfectly frank in my talks with the Maharaja and others and did not seek any advantage from them. In response to my frankness, they were also frank and friendly and even affectionate. I believe that this is not only the right approach but also the approach which produces worthwhile results.

37. I am giving a copy of this note to our Political Officer in Sikkim, Shri Apa Pant, and requesting him to correct my facts, if necessary, and for any comments he might like to make.

105. To the Maharaja of Bhutan³⁶⁷

Ha Dzong

27th September, 1958

My dear Maharaja,

Our first day's journey back is over. As we climbed up the hill above Paro, I looked back repeatedly on the beautiful scene which had become so familiar to us during the last five days and all the memories of these five days came back to me. These memories will remain in my mind for a long time. Indeed, I do not think I shall ever forget them. I was interested in Bhutan previously, as one is interested in many things. But now Bhutan has become a living part of my mind and heart.

367. JN Collection.

I spoke to you about various problems affecting Bhutan and India. I hope that what I said was in line with your own thinking on this subject. If there are any doubts in your mind, please do not hesitate to write to me. I want our contacts to be completely frank as only then we can be of help to each other. Even apart from this matter, I hope you will write to me informally and on a personal level whenever you feel like it. I shall welcome your letters.

All of us are passing through difficult times wherever we may live in the world. We cannot escape them either in India or in Bhutan. That is inevitable in a rapidly changing world. We should face these problems with good heart and not worry about the possibility of any untoward event happening in the future. If we do what we conceive to be our duty by ourselves and our people, that is as much anyone can do. On my part, I think that the future is not going to be dark and that we shall get over all our present difficulties, though we shall have to work hard to that end. Bhutan is, in a sense, very favourably situated in the heart of the Himalayas. That itself is some assurance about the future, provided always that we work for the advancement of the people and carry them with us. As I said to you, it would be unfortunate if any step was taken which might result in too rapid changes in Bhutan, thereby upsetting people's lives here. I do not think there is much fear of that. But change will inevitably have to come though I hope it will come in an ordered way.

I have assured you that India's chief interest in Bhutan is to help in its development, but only to the extent desired by your Government and people. We are entirely against thrusting anything on Bhutan or doing anything in regard to it which might not be approved by Your Highness's Government. We are firmly convinced that Bhutan should maintain her full freedom without interference from outside. We shall follow that policy.

I need not tell you again how deeply we have appreciated your affection and hospitality. That affection between us and between other countries is the real bond which I hope will tie us in the future.

I hope that Your Highness and your wife will visit us in Delhi early next year. Both of you will be very welcome whenever you find it convenient to come there.

With all good wishes to you and Bhutan,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

106. The Position of Bhutan vis-à-vis India³⁶⁸

In my long note on Bhutan,³⁶⁹ I referred to my talks with the Maharaja of Bhutan and Shri Jigme Dorji, the Prime Minister. I thought that those talks had made the position of Bhutan in regard to India quite clear to them and they had willingly accepted it. I found later that there was still some lingering apprehension in their minds on the question of defence. I, therefore, had another talk with Shri Jigme Dorji which, I am glad to say, succeeded in removing these apprehensions, or so he told me.

2. In India, we as a successor or continuing State inherited British policy in regard to our frontier countries. To this of course was added the grave problems resulting from partition and the creation of Pakistan as an independent State. Naturally, we did not wish to pursue the old British policy, nor indeed could we do so in the circumstances and yet a certain trace of the old outlook continued and perhaps we are not wholly rid of it even now.

3. The old British policy throughout the 19th century and for some decades of the 20th century was definitely one of advancing our frontiers, either directly or by having spheres of influence. This was the case in Tibet where we enjoyed certain extra-territorial rights. With the coming of independence and quite apart from the new regime in China coming into Tibet, that old British policy was out of date so far as we were concerned. Yet, there was a tendency to hold on to it wherever we could. This was not possible in Tibet and we gracefully withdrew. Though we are yet criticised for doing so, obviously there was no alternative. But apart from the pressure of circumstances, we could not pursue that old British policy without coming into conflict with our basic ideas on this subject.

4. In reading old reports about Bhutan, I find references made in them of our giving forceful directives to the Bhutan Government. In other words, we were asked to compel them to fall in with our wishes in some matter or other. As a matter of fact, no occasion for this arose. But even the reluctance of the Bhutan Government to accept our ideas on defence was strongly disapproved by us. How we could have profited by issuing directives and orders to the Bhutan Government is not clear to me. Anyhow, that approach was not a right one.

5. I find also that when our Political Officer in Gangtok, Shri Kapur,³⁷⁰ paid a visit to Bhutan, he insisted on some ceremonial which he thought was

368. Note written at Charithang, Bhutan, 28 September 1958. JN Collection. Also available in Subimal Dutt Papers, NMML.

369. Dated 26 September 1958. See item 104.

370. B.K. Kapur was Political Officer in Sikkim from March 1952 to February 1955.

necessary in order to vindicate the paramountcy of the Government of India. These matters were small ones but they became significant in the eyes of the Bhutanese who felt that the new Government of India did not appear to be very different from the old British Government. This again is not the right approach.

6. The visit of the Foreign Secretary, Shri R.K. Nehru,³⁷¹ to Bhutan apparently did not lead to any such incidents. But the old apprehensions in the minds of the Bhutanese remained. Shri Apa Pant has helped greatly in easing the situation. But the Bhutanese Government could not be sure that in this matter he spoke the mind of the Government of India fully. My visit, therefore, was of importance so that I could speak to them frankly and remove such apprehensions as might exist in their minds.

7. I made it clear to them that when we talked of defence, it seemed to us inevitable as an important part of foreign policy. But this did not mean our interfering with their defence or of controlling it or of sending any forces to Bhutan. In no event can we do so. But we did wish to make it perfectly clear to all concerned that the defence of Bhutan was important even as defence of India and any aggression on Bhutan was in effect for us aggression on India. If this fact was well understood, this was all that we wanted. Any person committing aggression on Bhutan must realise that this inevitably involved hostility to India with its necessary consequences, whatever they might be.

8. Broadly speaking, we should be clear in our minds that our policy is certainly not one of any kind of territorial expansion. We do not wish to add an inch to India's territory or to impose our will on any of our neighbours. We want their friendship and cooperation. India as it is today, subject to what I say below, will be protected by us, but beyond its borders we will not go. One exception of course is Goa which we consider as part of India. The problems in connection with Pakistan of course stand on a different footing. There too we want no upsetting in Pakistan and no territorial acquisition from Pakistan except in regard to some disputed points.

371. R.K. Nehru was Foreign Secretary from September 1952 to October 1955.

107. Further Reflections on Visit to Bhutan³⁷²

I am on my way back now and tomorrow we shall reach Yatung and the day after Gangtok. This visit to Bhutan has been a unique experience for all of us who participated in it. It has of course been a physical experience but also a mental and emotional one. Physically I think it has done all of us much good and the doctor accompanying us has had little to do. His oxygen cylinders of which he carried many were never used, even though we negotiated many high passes and trekked usually at over 12,000 ft.

2. It is interesting to note how much fitter and more acclimatised all of us are now, on our return journey, compared to our outward journey. On my first day's journey from Gangtok to Yatung, I was very tired. The second day, though the distance was shorter, still I was fairly tired and I had a slight heaviness in the head, probably because of the altitude. Fairly quickly, my body acclimatized itself to these higher altitudes and became a little tougher. There was of course some tiredness at the end of the long day but this was quite normal. Today, on our return journey, we have been on the move for nine hours of which an hour and a half was spent in resting and refreshments. We have crossed two passes of 14,500 ft. We had to face inclement weather, rain, etc., during this journey. Most of it was done on horse back, a part riding a yak and some three or four miles on foot, chiefly down hill. Altogether today's journey was about twenty-two miles. In spite of all this, I only feel pleasantly tired, and there is no sense of special fatigue. This might be said about the other members of the party also.

3. The Bhutan Government made very special arrangements for this visit of ours. In fact, they went all out to make it successful and as comfortable for us as was possible in the circumstances. The bridle road was improved throughout and some parts of it were newly made. Hundreds or perhaps thousands of big trees were cut down which came in the way of the bridle road. Bridges were repaired. At our various stopping places en route, special huts were constructed which were fairly comfortable. Elaborate arrangements for food were made and I am told that a daily courier brought fresh vegetables from Kalimpong. Previously many eatables and other things had been procured and stored. Arrangements for our transport, both ourselves and our luggage, were not only efficient but on almost an extravagant scale. As a result, our caravan became a very long one, hundreds of horses and mules carrying

372. Note written at Charithang, Bhutan, 28 September 1958. JN Collection. Also available in Subimal Dutt Papers, NMML.

members of the party and luggage. Even so porters carried luggage also. All this must have involved the Bhutan Government a very heavy expenditure. No one sitting in Delhi can imagine the amount of organisation required for such a visit. Even a small party requires considerable organisation. When it comes to a very large party consisting of VIPs, etc., the burden of organisation is very great indeed, apart from expenditure. The Prime Minister of Bhutan, Shri Jigme Dorji, was chiefly responsible for this but many others helped him.

4. The Bhutan Government had taken special precautions about security. Their militia was spread out at various places en route and some accompanied us throughout. Our camps were fully guarded. It must be remembered that it is very difficult for an odd individual or even a small group to come here unawares. Apart from the check-posts at the borders, there are check-posts elsewhere too and the routes one can travel by are strictly limited. It would be very difficult indeed and hardly possible for anyone to come in secretly from outside and to undertake this long journey in the higher altitudes without some official help.

5. I had felt in Delhi that our sending special security men to accompany me was unnecessary. That feeling has been confirmed by experience. Shri Dutt is of course of help in many ways. He is a good officer, quiet and does not throw his weight about. Whatever he does, he does it quietly. Shri Kartar Singh has also been very helpful. He knows my ways and can, therefore, make arrangements which suit me. But the other six persons who are attached always appear to be extra and surplus. They neither fitted in with our party nor the Bhutanese party. Of course they did some odd bits of work and I have no complaint against them as individuals. But I have no doubt that they were quite unnecessary from the security point of view. Indeed, they were a bit of a burden on our party as every additional person is in these mountain trips. Each person requires a horse, luggage carriers and accommodation and all that which is not an easy matter. I should imagine that of all the places in India and the outside world, Bhutan is the most secure from the point of view of any VIP security. Some of the reasons I have mentioned above—the difficulty of any odd person coming from outside in these vast mountain spaces and narrow passes. Someone mentioned in Delhi that the Khampas, some of whom had come down from Tibet, might be a turbulent element. So far as I was concerned, this was of course not so and there are very few Khampas about in this part of Bhutan. Such as were here were friendly. In any event it was the Bhutan Government that could deal with them adequately and not outsiders who know nothing about the terrain or the people here. I would, therefore, suggest for future guidance that such surplus security men should not accompany me or any VIP in these regions. The right arrangement would have been to have one

extra person or at the most two to help Shri Dutt and Shri Kartar Singh.

6. My visit to these regions has given me a more intimate understanding of Bhutan which I could never have by reading about it or even by meeting people in Delhi. I like the Bhutanese people. They are tough and keen on their freedom. They look to India inevitably but always at the back of their mind there is an apprehension lest even outsiders from India might come in and interfere with their affairs. They are much concerned about events in Tibet. The Khampas, it should be remembered, are in a way allied to the Bhutanese people. Quite a number of the Bhutanese probably came from the Khampa regions of Tibet long ago. People here are ardent Buddhists. Their language is Tibetan and they look to the Dalai Lama. They are naturally unhappy at the Chinese domination of Tibet. Of course they can do nothing about it and do not want to get entangled in these troubles there. Their immediate problem is lest large numbers of Khampas might be driven by Chinese forces in Tibet into Bhutan. This may or may not happen. Anyhow, they do not want any such large intrusion and will try to stop it at their borders. They have further a vague fear that Chinese forces might pursue Khampas into Bhutanese territory. This of course would be aggression and would raise bigger problems not only in Bhutan but for us in India also.

7. My visit to these regions has also given me a very brief glimpse of a tiny corner of Tibet. That also has brought an element of reality to my thinking. I have met our officers stationed in Tibet at Yatung. Our Consul-General at Lhasa, Shri Chibber, came to Yatung and accompanied us during our Bhutan visit. Our Agents at Gyantse³⁷³ and Yatung³⁷⁴ also met me at Yatung. The only Agent I did not meet was the one who looks after the Gartok region in Western Tibet.³⁷⁵

8. It is not easy for me to judge these officers after a short acquaintance. But on the whole they struck me as good. They have not only difficult tasks to face but also difficult conditions of life. I have suggested in a previous note³⁷⁶ that we should take immediate steps to build up suitable accommodation at Lhasa and Gyantse where we have suitable land already in our possession. I did not mention Gartok then. Our Agent there has no place to stay. He has to travel a great deal in perhaps the most inhospitable regions of Western Tibet and at high altitudes. I think we should try to give him a suitable residence. All

373. R.S. Kapoor.

374. K.C. Johorey.

375. Laxman Singh Jangpangi was the Indian Trade Agent for the Gartok region. The trade agency was an itinerating mission.

376. See item 331.

this should be done as soon as possible and certainly before our present treaty with China expires in 1962.³⁷⁷

9. About Shri Apa Pant, I need not say much. He is a person of high class and he is specially fitted to these surroundings and has made himself respected and liked. Shri Rustomji, the Dewan of Sikkim, has no official responsibility outside Sikkim. But his close relations with the high-ups in Bhutan have also been of great help to us. All over these regions he was completely at home because of his good knowledge of Tibet. In Sikkim he is very popular and is looked upon almost as a Sikkimese. I understand that he will be leaving his present post in March next and reverting to Assam. It will be difficult to replace him.

10. I might mention here a matter which is not strictly relevant. Sikkim has made considerable progress in its developmental programmes and the Government of India has helped it generously. But the main reason for this progress has been that the governmental machinery in Sikkim does not suffer from numerous rules, regulations, checks, etc., which normally various parts of India have to put up with. There is devolution of authority and if a thing is decided, it can be done quickly. Some similar problems arise in NEFA. But there we have to go through all the processes of a complicated Government machine, and therefore long delays occur. I am more convinced than ever about the necessity of devolution of authority.

108. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³⁷⁸

October 12, 1958

[Nan dear,]³⁷⁹

I returned from Bhutan just ten days ago today. This visit to Bhutan, and incidentally to a little corner of Tibet, was an exhilarating experience. I confess that I was not quite sure in my mind as to how I would be able to stand it. This was not only because of the heights involved, but also the long and tiring treks. On the first day, I did not feel too well. Possibly, this was due to the altitude or, perhaps, to my getting very tired after a long trek; partly also, it might have been due to my unsuccessful attempt at sleeping in a sleeping bag, which was

377. The Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between India and the Tibet Region of China, signed in Peking on 29 April 1954, was due to expire on 29 April 1962.

378. JN Collection.

379. High Commissioner of India to the UK.

a novel experience for me. But, from the next day, I improved and acclimatized myself. It was tough work, with six, seven, eight or even nine hours of trekking at high altitudes. But it was thoroughly enjoyable or, at any rate, I enjoyed it, and so did Indu.³⁸⁰

The Maharaja and Maharani of Bhutan are a delightful couple. We have met them, of course, in India previously, and the more I saw them, the more I liked them. The country is not of this world as we know it. Imagine a place with no roads or wheeled carriages. The State is back several hundred years. Indeed, we might have been living in the middle ages, except for the fact that we had a radio with us, and we could send wireless messages. No newspapers, of course, and no letters. I discovered how easy it was to do without newspapers and letters, and how much time one saved.

The people there are likeable. They are naturally fairly tough, as mountaineers are, and freedom-loving. They are ardent Buddhists, looking up to the Dalai Lama. Women keep short-cropped hair. To keep long hair is a sign of mourning. Thus, if a woman loses her first-born, she lets her hair grow.

During our trek on the high mountain altitudes, we collected many Alpine flowers—edelweiss, gentians and primulas. It was cold, of course, but not as cold as I had expected. We had on the whole good weather, though twice we were caught in heavy rain.

The road which we have built up to Nathu La, the pass which leads to Tibet, is a very fine piece of engineering. It ends at the top of the pass. On the other side, that is Tibet, there was only a bridle-path.

The little glimpse of Tibet we had at Yatung upset all my previous notions. I had imagined that Tibet was a high plateau without trees. This part of Tibet was mountainous and full of forests. The Tibetans were curious about us and wanted to welcome us with effusion, but they were a little afraid of the Chinese and so restrained themselves. You will be interested to know that the Chinese in Tibet keep Peking Time. We were invited to dinner by the General at Yatung at 8 p.m. Peking Time. Converted to Yatung time, it was 5.30 p.m., and so we had a rather early dinner. This sticking to Peking Time in Tibet struck me as being rather significant in many ways.

We had taken with us a doctor and oxygen cylinders and all kinds of medicines and drugs. We did not use them. But, on my return to Sikkim, I caught a cold and got a very bad throat which persisted for many days after my return to Delhi. Here we had to face almost immediately the big

380. Indu is Indira Gandhi.

Bank Conferences.³⁸¹ Also, Ed Murrow of the Columbia Broadcasting Corporation³⁸² had organised an inter-continental television. I participated in it from here, the other participants being Governor Dewey somewhere in New York³⁸³ and Aldous Huxley from Toulon³⁸⁴ in Italy. This turned out to be rather interesting and not quite so formidable as I had imagined. But it was tiring as it lasted for more than two hours. I suppose this will come out in television soon in America.

The big Bank Conferences here attracted all kinds of dignitaries and VIPs from various parts of the world, and we have been busy in entertaining them, apart from the business side. I had them for breakfast, for lunch, for dinner in small groups. At last, the Conferences are over, and nearly all of them have gone back, and we can rest a little.

Partly because of these Conferences, an exhibition³⁸⁵ was organised here. Preparation for this started very late and then came heavy rains to spoil it. In spite of all this and within two months or so, a very fine exhibition has sprung up here. It is entirely devoted to Indian manufactures and products, and I must say it is most impressive, especially our Science and Technological Section. The fact that we could do this in record time, has impressed the big guns of finance from abroad very greatly. They said this could not be organised like this anywhere else in the world at such speed. I have myself spent about four hours at the exhibition and seen only a very small part of it yet.

The big news of recent days, of course, is the coming of martial law in Pakistan. What this will lead to, I do not know. Having adopted martial law, there appears to be no alternative to it there in the foreseeable future. For the present, I think it has been well received by the people there because nearly everyone in Pakistan was fed up with the intrigues and corruption of the politicians. Also, under threat of very severe penalties, prices have come down. Obviously, however, this kind of thing does not last. As Napoleon said: you can do everything with bayonets except sit down on them.

Our normal troubles continue and, no doubt, will continue, sometimes becoming abnormal. Just when we were expecting the finest harvest all over

381. The reference is to the joint annual conference of the IMF and the World Bank held in New Delhi from 6 to 10 October 1958.

382. Nehru meant the Columbia Broadcasting System.

383. Governor Thomas E. Dewey actually participated from Portland, Maine. See item 6.

384. This seems to have been written in error since all other sources refer to Turin.

385. The India 1958 exhibition was inaugurated by Nehru on 8 October 1958. For his inaugural speech, see item 7.

India, very heavy rains have come down upon us and spoiled a good part of it. Still I hope that food production will be much better this year than last year.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

(i) Administration

(i) Citizenship and Visas

109. To V.V. Giri³⁸⁶

September 13, 1958

My dear Giri,³⁸⁷

Your letter of September 7 about W. Broome.³⁸⁸ I have known Broome for a long time.

Some time ago I came across some papers about him in which it was stated that he could not be appointed a High Court Judge because he was not an Indian national. It was further stated that owing to some legal quibble, he could not become an Indian national. I really did not understand this and I wrote as much to the Home Ministry.³⁸⁹

Since then all kinds of enquiries have been made from our legal advisers, etc. I understand that the final opinion is in favour of his being granted Indian nationality. He should therefore apply for this. After these formalities are over, there should be no difficulty in his appointment as High Court Judge provided his name is suggested to us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

386. File No. 34(9)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

387. Governor of Uttar Pradesh.

388. William Broome, ICS, the senior-most District Judge in Uttar Pradesh, had chosen to stay on in India after Independence and wanted Indian nationality. According to Giri, Broome was married to an Indian, the daughter of Sir Hari Singh Gour; he had four children, "all of whom have been brought up in the best Indian traditions"; and he planned to settle in India after retirement. But he could not acquire Indian citizenship owing to some technicality, and that also prevented his becoming a High Court judge. Giri asked Nehru to help Broome.

389. Note of 16 May 1958 to the Ministry of Home Affairs. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 316-317.

110. Visas to Medical Personnel³⁹⁰

Cardinal Gracias, the Archbishop of Bombay came to see me this morning and, among other subjects, spoke to me about our policy on the issue of visas. He gave me a note which I enclose.³⁹¹

2. I have felt previously that our policy in this matter is very restrictive, more specially where qualified medical personnel is concerned. As for specialists in dealing with leprosy, it is positively harmful to us to prevent them from coming to India when we have not got any adequate number of such persons in our country and the problem is such a difficult one.

3. Apart from the general question of visas raised by the Cardinal, he has mentioned the cases of three women who are said to be highly qualified for treating victims of leprosy.³⁹² Apparently, even the Bombay Government have asked for the services of one of them. I see no reason why there should be any difficulty in giving them visas.

4. Perhaps you will be good enough to have this matter looked into, and then forward it to the Home Ministry.

111. Foreign Missionaries³⁹³

I have an impression, which I think is based on a number of cases that have come up before me from time to time, that the policy laid down by the Cabinet, regarding admission of foreign missionaries, has been usually applied very

390. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, and Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 4 October 1958. JN Collection.

391. On behalf of the Catholic Bishops Conference of India, Valerian Cardinal Gracias called for a more liberal visa regime for foreign missionaries. He argued that, given shortages in India, they were needed in education as non-Christians sought education in Christian schools, in health care, certain kinds of welfare, and technical education.

392. The Mother General, Salesian Sisters of Mary Immaculate, Paris, had forwarded to Cardinal Gracias the applications of three Sisters, one each required for the Lepers Asylum, Kumbakonam; the Government Leprosy Hospital, Ahmedabad; and the Home of Mercy, Madras.

393. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 9 October 1958. File No. 7-6/P.V.II-59, MEA. Also available in File No. 68/62-FI, MHA, Subimal Dutt Papers, NMML, and JN Collection.

restrictively.³⁹⁴ It is obvious that any policy that might be laid down can be applied either liberally or restrictively.

As a matter of fact, I think that even this policy which was laid down by the Cabinet four years ago requires some revision in some places. It must be remembered that the modern practice in most advanced countries has done away with visas altogether and free entry is allowed as between a large number of countries. We need not go so far, but we should certainly apply our rules in as liberal a manner as possible.

In so far as doctors, nurses, educationists and other specialists are concerned, this policy should be applied with the greatest liberality. To say that they should not take the place of an Indian doctor or specialist seems to imply that we have an abundance of such people. As a matter of fact, we have not. It may be that in some odd case some Indian might be available. We can hardly go about searching for such odd cases in giving effect to our policy. There is a great dearth of nurses in the country, and there is a considerable lack of doctors, apart from the cities. Unfortunately, our doctors, young or old, do not like going to villages, tribal areas, etc. We are aiming at using hundreds of thousands of doctors and nurses in the future. How then can the question arise of our having a surplus?

The case of teachers is not quite the same. But, in effect, a religious institution would like a teacher after its own fashion.

I think, therefore, that in all such cases a very liberal view should be taken.³⁹⁵

394. Fateh Singh, Joint Secretary, MHA, explained on 8 October that they were seized of the matter of the three Sisters (see item 110) and that ordinarily there would be no difficulty in granting them visas. He added that the Cabinet had on 12 September 1954 approved restrictions on ordinary missionaries, but that medical and educational experts have not been refused. But Subimal Dutt on 9 October 1958 noted that the decision was being applied restrictively.

395. On 29 October 1958 Fateh Singh provided visa statistics since 1956 claiming the MHA had been maximally liberal with doctors and teachers. He saw no need to alter policy since i) foreign missionaries were in any case declining in number after foreign missions had grasped Government of India's policy; ii) foreign missionaries were funded very generously, and were busy in conversions; iii) their numbers had started declining in the border areas, and any policy relaxation now might make surveillance difficult.

(ii) President's State Visits

112. President's Security³⁹⁶

I have given further thought to this matter. It is not clear to me what purpose a Security Officer will serve if he accompanies the President.³⁹⁷ It is clear that he will be rather out of the picture in Japan itself. The most he can do is to have a talk with the Japanese Security people and then fade out.

2. I went to Japan last year.³⁹⁸ So far as I remember, no Security Officer accompanied me to Japan. I think that someone did go to Hong Kong because Hong Kong was supposed to be a danger spot for many reasons.

3. I have often travelled in foreign countries, but on no occasion have I carried about a Security Officer with me. I do not, therefore, understand why this present proposal should be made for a Security Officer accompanying the President. If it is considered very necessary, some officer can go up to Hong Kong, and to Rangoon.³⁹⁹

4. A full list of the President's party has been sent to Tokyo, giving their designations, etc. I would not like to add to it.

I have spoken to the Home Minister about this.

113. To Ananthasayanam Ayyangar⁴⁰⁰

September 15, 1958

Dear Mr Speaker,

I am venturing to write to you about a starred question for the Lok Sabha, No. 9958, an advance copy of which has reached me. This question refers to the proposed visit of our President to Japan and Burma and enquires why he is going there in a commercial plane and not a special chartered aircraft. The suggestion is that discourtesy is being shown to the President in this way.

396. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 1 September 1958. JN Collection.

397. President Rajendra Prasad visited Japan in late September 1958.

398. Nehru visited Japan in October 1957.

399. The President's planned visit to Rangoon on his way back from Japan was postponed owing to the transfer of power from U Nu to General Ne Win, Chief of Army Staff, on 27 September 1958.

400. JN Collection.

It grieves me that anyone should think that there is any element of discourtesy towards our President in any matter that we do. Both as the revered leader of the nation and our President, it is our duty and pleasure to give him every respect.

It would be unfortunate, I think, if this question has to be answered in the Lok Sabha and this is followed by supplementaries, etc. There is nothing to hide in it. But I do not want the President's name to be brought up in any such connection in the Lok Sabha.

I am giving you the facts below and should you so wish it, you can inform the Member of the Lok Sabha, Shri Ramakrishna Reddy,⁴⁰¹ who has sent notice of this question, of these facts.

The President normally travels in India by a Special Aircraft, the Viscount. This is a very good aircraft, but it cannot go very long distances without refuelling. In a journey to Japan the flight from Hong Kong to Tokyo is a very long flight and normally the Viscount would not undertake it without some stoppage for refuelling. The only places for stopping en route are Formosa and Okinawa. For obvious political reasons, we cannot use those stopping places. Apart from this, I would not like a new pilot or a new aircraft to go over this long route without previous experience.

Last year, when I was going to Japan, the same question arose and we ruled out the use of the Viscount aircraft for this purpose. I went by our Service line, the Air India International Constellation.

Thus it became clear to us that the President could only travel by the Constellation. He could either go by the Service line or we should charter a special Constellation from the Air India International. If we charter it, this would mean four journeys of that special Constellation from India to Japan, that is, going and coming. If the Constellation took the President there, it would have to come back empty as it could not stay there because it is badly needed for the Services. Also when it goes to fetch the President, it would go empty. The number of Constellations and Super-Constellations at our disposal for the Air India International services overseas are limited. To withdraw them from these services even for a few days would be difficult and would strain our services greatly. The pilots will have to fly again and again without much rest and without much time for conditioning the aircraft.

For all these reasons, apart from the heavy expenses involved, we came to the conclusion that it would not be wise to draw away a Constellation aircraft

401. K. V. Ramakrishna Reddy (1907-1995); Congressman from Andhra Pradesh; participated in the freedom movement; associated with Andhra Kisan Congress, Krishak Lok Party, Forward Bloc and other Leftist organisations; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-67.

from the Service lines by chartering such planes twice. The only alternative was for the President to travel by the Service line in a Constellation. These Constellations have a very good cabin separate from the rest of the aircraft. It may be compared to a special saloon attached to a Railway train. It is very comfortable and the aircraft is air-conditioned. This cabin is cut off from the rest of the passengers. In fact, whether the President went by a special aircraft or by the Service one, he would travel in this cabin separately from others.

I have ventured to give all the reasons why we came to this decision which of course was taken with full reference to the President. I trust you will agree that there has been no question at all of the slightest discourtesy to the President.⁴⁰²

In these circumstances, I would venture to submit to you that a question in the Lok Sabha would not be appropriate. But any Member desiring this information can certainly have it.⁴⁰³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

114. To Humayun Kabir⁴⁰⁴

October 23, 1958

My dear Humayun,⁴⁰⁵

As you probably know, the President is going to Indonesia on a State visit in December.⁴⁰⁶ I do not know the exact date, but probably he will go about the 5th of December and return about the 19th or the 20th. On his way to Indonesia, he may stop at Kuala Lumpur for a couple of days. He has been invited to do so.

402. Nehru used the same arguments in reply to Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Minister of Irrigation and Power, making the same complaints on 14 September 1958. Nehru sent a copy of his letter to Satya Narayan Sinha, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, also, in case of any other such complaints.

403. The President eventually travelled to Tokyo and back in a specially chartered Air-India Constellation airliner, *Rani of Bijapur*.

404. JN Collection.

405. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

406. The President visited Kuala Lumpur, 6-8 December, and Indonesia, 8-19 December 1958.

It is customary for a Minister to accompany the President on his State visits abroad. I should like you to go with the President on this occasion. I have mentioned this to the President also, and he said he would be glad to have you with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) Government Officials

115. Controversial Articles by Government Servants⁴⁰⁷

I have read these notes and the article by Shri Ramadhyani.⁴⁰⁸ I agree with the Home Minister⁴⁰⁹ that parts of this article deal with political and controversial matters which go beyond the prescribed limits.⁴¹⁰ Indeed, quite apart from the Government Servants' Conduct Rules, I think this kind of thing should not be indulged in by Government servants. I have no doubt that Shri Ramadhyani did not intentionally do anything contrary to the rules, but the fact remains that he erred in his judgement.

2. Apart from the major portions of the article, I would object even to the very first sentence in it where reference is made to the lands of the *Arabian Nights*. If I had used that sentence anywhere, some countries in Western Asia would have probably protested. Factually, it is not a correct statement, except in regard to Saudi Arabia.

407. Note to B.V. Keskar, Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, 4 September 1958. JN Collection.

408. Rangaswamy Kalkunte Ramadhyani (1908-1965), ICS, Controller of Rationing and Director of Civil Supplies, Delhi, 1944-46; Joint Secretary, Constituent Assembly, 1947, and Defence Ministry, 1947-52; Coal Commissioner, 1952-55; Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, 1955-57, and Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1957-61; Officer on Special Duty, Oil and Natural Gas Commission, 1961; Secretary to the President, 1961-62; Secretary, Ministry of Health, November 1962.

409. Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Home Minister.

410. Nehru is perhaps referring to Ramadhyani's article "India and Changing Face of Democracy" published in the Independence Day Supplement of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 15 August 1958. On 17 September 1958, Bhupesh Gupta, CPI MP from West Bengal, asked in the Rajya Sabha whether a Secretary to GOI should be permitted to publish such articles and what action the Government had taken.

3. But I am not discussing the facts or the merits of the article, but the propriety of writing it by a Government servant. I am quite clear in my mind that he should not have written this article, or rather, parts of it.

4. What has surprised me greatly is the fact that Shri Ramadhyani actually wrote to the leader of the Opposition in the Rajya Sabha⁴¹¹ in defence of his article. This is quite extraordinary, and it shows how Shri Ramadhyani lacks judgement in political affairs.

5. I think that the Cabinet Secretary⁴¹² should express our disapproval of this lapse to Shri Ramadhyani.⁴¹³

116. To Govind Ballabh Pant⁴¹⁴

September 5, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I sent you a letter from Shiva Rao⁴¹⁵ this morning, and I informed him of this. He came to see my Secretary today and was rather worried lest you pass on his letter to the Home Secretary⁴¹⁶ or other officials in your Ministry. In this letter Shiva Rao made certain remarks against senior officials and he thought this might annoy them and prevent them from making an objective approach to question.

So I pass on his fears to you. You can do as you think best.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

411. Bhupesh Gupta wanted to read out Ramadhyani's letter to him in the Rajya Sabha but the Chairman did not allow him. There was no officially recognised leader of the Opposition in the Rajya Sabha at the time, although Nehru described him as the leader of the Opposition.

412. Vishnu Sahay.

413. Govind Ballabh Pant informed the Rajya Sabha that a warning had been issued to Ramadhyani.

414. JN Collection.

415. Apparently the reference is to B. Shiva Rao, Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha.

416. B.N. Jha.

117. Undesirability of Ambassadors' Association with Political Periodicals⁴¹⁷

It appears that Shri Mathai⁴¹⁸ wrote to Shri Panikkar⁴¹⁹ suggesting that he might help *Link*⁴²⁰ in such ways as are open to him. I think it was unwise for Shri Mathai to write to him in this way, as it was unwise for Shri Panikkar to lend his name as an Adviser to the *Link*.⁴²¹ Serving Ambassadors should not be connected in any way with political newspapers or periodicals. Perhaps they might advise on literary or cultural matters. But even so, it would be undesirable for a serving Ambassador to have his name associated in this way with a periodical.

The answers to the question should be as follows:

- (a) Yes. The poem was, it is understood, published in 1949 and had no relation to any event in any other country.
- (b) The Ambassador informs us that he is not aware that his poem has been included in any text books. His permission was not taken for this purpose.
- (c) As stated above, the poem was published in 1949 before the Chinese Revolution. It was not meant to praise any country or glorify any particular way of life.
- (d) Yes.⁴²²
- (e) It is not desirable for serving Ambassadors to be associated with political periodicals. They may deal with literary or cultural matters in newspapers and periodicals. We are informed by the Ambassador that he is in no way actively associated with the periodical, *Link*.

I think you might suggest to Shri Panikkar to withdraw his name from the printed list of Advisers to *Link*.

417. Note to B.N. Chakravarty, Special Secretary, MEA, 8 September 1958. JN Collection.

418. M.O. Mathai, Special Assistant to Nehru.

419. K.M. Panikkar, Ambassador of India in France.

420. A weekly started in 1958 by Edatata Narayanan and Aruna Asaf Ali and published from New Delhi. Narayanan was the editor.

421. On 31 August, B.N. Chakravarty asked Panikkar for answers to a Parliament question regarding i) Panikkar's poem 'Inquilab' (revolution) in some textbook; and ii) his being Adviser to *Link*. Panikkar replied on 3 September that he had agreed to being an Adviser "but without any kind of further commitment" after Mathai had asked him in June to help *Link*. Panikkar denied he was actively associated with *Link*.

422. (d) and (e) related to Panikkar's appearing on the panel of advisers of *Link*.

Question to be answered by Deputy Minister.⁴²³ I shall not be in Delhi when this question is answered. In case of supplementaries, it might be said that the practice in various countries in regard to serving Ambassadors being associated with newspapers differs. In some countries this is allowed. In any event, we think that it would be better for our serving Ambassadors not to be associated in this way with a political periodical and we have advised accordingly.

118. Judging the Conduct of Officers⁴²⁴

I have read through these papers including the notes by FS and Deputy Minister. Also the previous papers. I had seen some of these papers previously and agreed to Gyanendra Narain being given notice of discharge.

In view of the Deputy Minister's note, I have considered this matter again and rather more carefully.

The question of Narain having been previously associated with the Communist Party presumably in some vague kind of way does not influence my judgement much. I do not think we should bring up such an event in a young man's early career against him. At the most it should put us on enquiry as to what he has done subsequently.

The other matter about contacts with foreigners is a more serious one. The serious part of it is the manner it was done. In such matters obviously one can seldom have what might be called definite proof. One has to take risks in judging and one has to come to conclusions which might not be justified from the points of view of a law court. At the same time, one has to be careful not to look at everything from the suspicious point of view of a policeman. In the balance I would probably have had some doubt as to whether on this account alone we should dispense with his services, although my broad inclination might well be to do so, because in the External Affairs Ministry one has to be more careful than in other Ministries.

But his affair with the girl to which reference is made creates a bad impression on me altogether. I would forgive a temporary liaison even, but this is something more than that and all the circumstances, for which there is adequate proof, indicate that he behaved exceedingly badly. To say, as he himself says, that he had been swept off his balance, is hardly an adequate excuse for a person holding a responsible post. The way he flaunted with this girl and carried her along with him even to Colombo with the Press team is inexcusable.

423. Lakshmi N. Menon.

424. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 10 September 1958. JN Collection.

I realise that he is an efficient officer and has good reports so far as his domain of publicity work is concerned. However, considering all the factors of this case, my reaction is definitely against him. I do not wish to do him injury in so far as his future life is concerned.

What the Foreign Secretary has suggested is in effect that he should continue till the end of the present period of his contract. This means for another two years and more. I think that this is a very fair decision, rather lenient to him. I would accept it and inform him of it. These two and a half years is a long enough period for him to adapt himself gradually to a change and also for us to judge him even more.

I therefore agree with the proposal made by the Foreign Secretary.

119. To Zakir Husain⁴²⁵

October 23, 1958

My dear Zakir Husain,⁴²⁶

I see from a letter you have written to the President that you are recommending Col Bhatnagar⁴²⁷ for a Padma Shri. His name was recommended previously by Diwakar.⁴²⁸ Bhatnagar is, I believe, an excellent person and his case will, no doubt, be considered by the Committee for the purpose.

But I might point out to you that our approach to this question of awards seldom includes Government servants unless they have done something unusual or extraordinary. There are plenty of good people in Government service, but we do not consider their names.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

425. JN Collection.

426. Governor of Bihar.

427. Lieutenant Colonel C.S. Bhatnagar.

428. R.R. Diwakar was the Governor of Bihar, 1952-57.

120. Acceptance of Cash Gifts by Officers⁴²⁹

I have read a number of these papers, including the Summary and some notes. I have a vague recollection of our High Commissioner⁴³⁰ in London speaking to me about this case when I was in London last.⁴³¹ She mentioned that Shri Trivedi⁴³² was most distressed at some charges that had been made. For her part, she said that she had found Shri Trivedi an excellent officer and a man of integrity.

2. As far as I can make out, the two charges made against Shri Trivedi are about his sister having accepted presents of Rs 5,000/- in cash and a saree worth Rs 220/- on the occasion of her marriage. I would not attach any importance to the present of a saree from a friend on the occasion of marriage. The only question that remains is that of the cash present of Rs 5,000/-. Here again, Shri Trivedi stoutly denies all knowledge of this and further says that his sister also denies it. Also he endeavours to show that the circumstances were against this gift being made.

3. As the Law Minister⁴³³ has pointed out, the fact of a sister accepting a gift would not by itself involve Shri Trivedi unless this was within his knowledge at the time and practically with his approval. Shri Trivedi denies this, of course, completely, and I find no evidence to indicate that he knew of this at the time, much less approved of it. The fact of the entry in the ledger does not prove this at all. If that is so, then we can hardly hold Shri Trivedi to blame except perhaps that he had some relations with a businessman. Apparently, he comes from a business family, and there is nothing surprising at his having relations with a businessman.

4. Thus we are driven to the conclusion that either there was no such gift of Rs 5,000/- to the sister or that she received this sum and now denies it or perhaps has forgotten about it, which is unlikely. Probably the presumption

429. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary and B.N. Chakravarty, Special Secretary, MEA, 27 October 1958. JN Collection.

430. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

431. Nehru visited London in July 1957.

432. Vishnuprasad Chunilal Trivedi (b. 1916); diplomat; Counsellor, High Commission, London, November 1955-February 1959; Deputy High Commissioner for India in East Pakistan, May 1959-October 1960, Acting High Commissioner, Karachi, October 1961-November 1964; Ambassador to Switzerland and concurrently accredited to the Vatican and the 18-nation Committee on Disarmament, 1965-67; Ambassador to Austria; Governor of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for India, 1968-72; Chairman, Board of Governors, IAEA, 1970-71.

433. Asoke Kumar Sen.

is that she received it. But I do not see how we can connect this with Shri Trivedi.

5. I have put down my reactions on looking at a number of these papers. I have not gone through all the papers and, therefore, I am not perhaps entitled to give a final opinion. In any event, I agree with SG's note and the joint recommendation of SG, FS and SS⁴³⁴ contained in the Summary.

121. To Govind Ballabh Pant⁴³⁵

October 28, 1958

My dear Pantji,

Dr Kothari⁴³⁶ came to see me today about some matters. In the course of his talk, he mentioned the case of one K.P. Padmanabhan Nambiar.⁴³⁷ The Defence Science Organisation had intended to employ him as his qualifications were very good. But the Home Ministry, on the basis of a report from Intelligence, said that he would be a security risk. He was, therefore, not employed by the Defence Science Organisation. It appears, however, that he was subsequently employed by the Bharat Electronics, which is also under Defence, though a separate organisation.

I do not personally know anything about this man. But I am not satisfied as to the procedure we adopt in such cases. According to the paper enclosed, it is said that Nambiar had been a correspondent of a Communist periodical in Kerala and he had also been in correspondence with some leading Communists of the country. The nature of the correspondence is not stated. In a place like Kerala, where there are apparently plenty of people connected with the

434. Their joint recommendation was to convey Government's displeasure to V.C. Trivedi and defer his promotion to Grade IV of the Indian Foreign Service for one year.

435. JN Collection.

436. D.S. Kothari, Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence.

437. K.P.P. Nambiar (b. 1929); technocrat; Joint Head of Crystal Division of Bharat Electronics, 1958-59; Chief Application Engineer, Transition Electronic Ltd, UK, 1959-62; taught at IIT, New Delhi, 1963-64; Manager, Projects, Component Division, Philips India Ltd, Bombay, 1964-67; worked with Tata Electric Co, Bombay, and National Radio & Electronics Co. Ltd between 1967 and 1973; set up the Kerala State Electronics Development Corporation Ltd; Chairman and Managing Director, Keltron Component Complex Ltd; served as member of the Science Advisory Committee to the Union Cabinet; Managing Director of Indian Telephone Industries Ltd, Bangalore, and Secretary, Department of Electronics, GOI; founded Technopark in Trivandrum; awarded Padma Bhushan, 2006.

Communist Party, correspondence with them need not necessarily be made a bar. I think that we should proceed with some care in such matters. We cannot lose some of our best scientists because of some vague Police report.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

(iv) Corruption and Accountability

122. To Harekrushna Mahtab⁴³⁸

September 10, 1958

My dear Mahtab,⁴³⁹

I am sending you a representation that I have received from a large number of villagers from Orissa, who used to live in the old Ranpur State.⁴⁴⁰ This representation seems to have a good deal of substance in it. It concerns your Minister, Rajmata Basanta Manjari Devi,⁴⁴¹ who is in charge of your Relief and Rehabilitation. It seems to me improper for her to transfer 1,000 acres of land to A.D.S. Bedi, son of the then Political Agent in Orissa. Subsequently Bedi transferred the land to the Utkar Agricultural Plantation Ltd., of which the Rajmata was the Managing Director. All this appears to me not at all proper and it deserves enquiry.

Further it is stated that this company started cutting down trees on the land and thereupon the villagers submitted an appeal to the Government. This appeal has been pending in the Revenue Department for some time and it is alleged that the Rajmata comes in the way of its proper decision. This kind of charge must always be enquired into fully as it involves a Minister.

It now appears that as Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation she has arranged for the transfer of the land to the State Government for the rehabilitation of displaced persons. In this way she or her company will get a large sum of money from the State Government by way of compensation while at the same

438. JN Collection.

439. Chief Minister of Orissa.

440. Ranpur, adjacent to Puri District in Orissa, a small category 'C' princely state; merged with Orissa State after Independence.

441. (1900-1961); Member, Orissa Legislative Assembly, 1952-61; Deputy Minister, Health, 1952-57; Health Minister, 1957-59.

time the villagers who depend so much on this land will be deprived of their livelihood.

All this is very disturbing. It would have been so in any event, but a Minister coming into the picture makes it much worse. Will you please enquire into this matter yourself and let me know what the facts are?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

123. To B. Gopala Reddi⁴⁴²

September, 11, 1958

My dear Gopala Reddi,⁴⁴³

I should like you to find out what has happened to the cases of the firms mentioned below. These cases were referred, I think, to the Income-tax Tribunal. Many of them were major cases. Before, however, these cases were decided, the Income-tax Tribunal itself ceased to function.

What happened subsequently to these cases and what is the position now? The firms involved in these cases are:

- (1) Bangur & Bros.
- (2) Shriram Jhabarmal.
- (3) Surajmal Nagarmal.
- (4) Mcleod & Company.
- (5) G.D. Loyalka.

All of these are from Calcutta.

You might ask A.K. Roy⁴⁴⁴ about them.

I should also like to know what has happened to the Inquiry about the Mundhra affair. Have you received the report yet?⁴⁴⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

442. JN Collection.

443. Union Minister of State for Finance.

444. Revenue Secretary in the Ministry of Finance.

445. Referring to the Board of Enquiry under Vivian Bose, a retired Judge of the Supreme Court, set up on 5 May 1958 to enquire into government officials being involved in Life Insurance Corporation of India buying shares in Mundhra companies. Vivian Bose submitted his report on 21 September 1958. For Nehru's comments on the report, see item 130.

124. To Mofida Ahmed⁴⁴⁶

September 15, 1958

Dear Mafida Ahmed,⁴⁴⁷

You gave me a letter today in which you complained about the sub-letting of MPs flats and bungalows to others. This practice is very improper and indeed is not only a breach of decorum but a breach of our rules on the subject. It would be bad for anyone to do it; it is worse for MPs, who should set an example, to indulge in it. I am asking the Secretary of the Housing Committee of Parliament as well as the Secretary of the Congress Party to take effective steps in this matter.⁴⁴⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

125. To U. Srinivasa Malliah⁴⁴⁹

September 15, 1958

My dear Malliah,⁴⁵⁰

I enclose a copy of a letter from Begum Mafida Ahmed, MP.

I think that this practice of sub-letting of their flats and bungalows by MPs is highly reprehensible. It is bringing us into disrepute and we must take urgent and immediate steps to put an end to it. This is especially your responsibility, as you are the Secretary of the Housing Committee. I am writing to the Chief Whip and Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Satya Narayan Sinha, about this and also to the Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament.⁴⁵¹

446. File No. 45(8)/57-65-PMS.

447. Mofida Ahmed (1921-2008); Congress woman from Assam; Joint Secretary, Red Cross Society, Jorhat, 1946-49; Joint Secretary, Tezpur District Mahila Samiti, 1951-53; Convener of the Women's Department of the Congress at Golaghat, 1953-56; elected to the Lok Sabha, 1957. (Spellings of her name vary in different sources.)

448. See item 126.

449. File No. 45(8)/57-65-PMS.

450. Member of the Lok Sabha from Udipi, Mysore, and Deputy Chief Whip of the Congress Party in the House.

451. Enclosing a copy of the letter from Mofida Ahmed, Nehru wrote to Ram Subhag Singh, Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament: "I attach importance to this business and we must try our utmost to put an end to misbehaviour."

I am leaving tomorrow morning for Bhutan. On my return I want to take this matter up and if necessary, request the Speaker⁴⁵² of the Lok Sabha and Chairman⁴⁵³ of the Rajya Sabha to help us in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

126. To B.P. Chaliha⁴⁵⁴

October 8, 1958

My dear Chaliha,⁴⁵⁵

On my return from my Bhutan tour, I received your two letters of September 29th, in which you deal with certain objections raised by Audit.⁴⁵⁶

In one of these, you refer to the conveyance allowance, etc., of Ministers as well as the charge made for mileage covered. You have sent me the Assam Act of 1958. The Act certainly justifies what you have said. But you add that you have reduced the salary of the Chief Minister by Rs 500/- per month and that you have decided to bring down the rate of mileage further.

The reduction of the Chief Minister's salary presumably means that he is now receiving Rs 500/- only, that is, less than the Deputy Ministers. This does you credit as a Chief Minister, but I wonder if it is fair to lay down a rule which other Chief Ministers might not be able to follow.

The objection raised about cars has not been quite adequately met, unless of course the rate of mileage charge has been reduced very greatly. The whole point is that the same thing cannot be charged for twice over.

As for your other letter, I think that we should be particularly careful not to mix up, as far as possible, Congress functions with Governmental functions.⁴⁵⁷

452. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

453. Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan.

454. JN Collection.

455. Chief Minister of Assam.

456. On 8 June 1957, Nehru had written to Bisnuram Medhi, the then Chief Minister of Assam, about some irregularities in expenditures by the Assam Government pointed out by Asok K. Chanda, the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India. See SWJN/SS/38/pp. 319-322.

457. On 28 June 1958, Nehru had written to B.P. Chaliha, the Chief Minister of Assam, about cases relating to the Congress Session at Gauhati in January 1958. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 424-425. Chaliha replied on 29 September 1958 that treating Cabinet Ministers and Chief Ministers and their families as State guests was both a courtesy and a general convention.

This applies especially to treating Ministers and their families attending a Congress Session as State guests.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

127. To V.T. Krishnamachari⁴⁵⁸

9th October 1958

My dear V.T.,⁴⁵⁹

I am sending you some papers sent to me by the Bharat Sadhu Samaj.⁴⁶⁰ I do not know how far we can rely upon this Samaj for the kind of work they suggest. I am inclined to think that it may not be advisable to help the Samaj in setting up central offices, etc., for the purpose of organising Sadhus and the like.

But the fact remains that something has to be done to the large number of people who call themselves Sadhus and are in fact a very bad lot. Also large funds are being misused by Mahants and their *Maths*. I therefore think that we should give some concentrated thought to this matter. We may proceed cautiously, but something must be done. Gulzarilal Nanda is deeply interested in this matter and his advice would be useful.

The Bharat Sadhu Samaj might be helpful but I think it would not a good thing for the Sadhu Samaj to become an agent of Government in this matter or to be helped financially for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

458. File No. 17(190)/56-59-PMS.

459. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

460. An all-India organisation of sadhus, established in 1956 with the help of Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister for Planning and Labour and Employment.

128. To Govind Ballabh Pant⁴⁶¹

October 22, 1958

My dear Pantji,⁴⁶²

I have read all the papers that you gave me this evening about the proposed contract for the fertiliser plant and the ammonia plant separately. From the report of Vishnu Sahay,⁴⁶³ Wanchoo⁴⁶⁴ and Bhoothalingam,⁴⁶⁵ it appears that in so far as the consideration of tenders was concerned, the procedures adopted were correct. The acceptance of the Sindri⁴⁶⁶ offer for the entire plant, except the ammonia plant, left us to deal with the tenders for the ammonia plant only. Presumably, Sindri could not take this up.

2. Of the four foreign firms tendering for the ammonia plant, two have been excluded because of their high cost. Thus two remained—the firms of Uhde and Werkspoor.⁴⁶⁷ Presumably both these firms are of repute and technically competent to do this work. Of the two, Werkspoor's tender was the higher one. Therefore, we were left only with Uhde's tender and it follows that this tender should be accepted. The selection of Werkspoor could hardly be justified because it involved an extra expenditure of over 37 lakhs. I presume there is no other choice or alternative. Hence I suppose we should accept Uhde's offer unless we think that there is something basically wrong about it which requires a further enquiry and a reconsideration. That would also involve delay.

3. I am inclined to think, therefore, that Uhde's tender should be accepted.

4. But I am not at all happy in regard to many things connected with this matter. Vishnu Sahay, Wanchoo and Bhoothalingam have said that they have only studied the specifications for tender and the procedures followed during the examination of tenders and found that these were correct and did not favour or prejudice any of the tenders. That is a firm finding which I think we should accept. But they have also said that they have not enquired into the allegations

461. JN Collection.

462. Union Home Minister.

463. Cabinet Secretary.

464. N.N. Wanchoo, Secretary (Expenditure) in the Ministry of Finance.

465. S. Bhoothalingam, Secretary, Ministry of Steel, Mines & Fuel.

466. Sindri Fertilisers and Chemicals Limited, established in December 1951, the first public sector company wholly owned by the Government of India.

467. A German and a Dutch firm respectively.

made that the previous Managing Director,⁴⁶⁸ after retirement, had business associations with Dr Imhaussen⁴⁶⁹ and the German tenderer. While it is true that the truth or otherwise of these allegations would have no direct effect on our consideration of this tender now, I do not think that we ought to leave matters vague in regard to these allegations. While we may accept Uhde's tender, we should have further enquiries made into the allegations.

5. In paragraph 12 of the report of Vishnu Sahay and others, it is said that the offers of two consultant firms were considered by Hindustan Steel, namely, Bochako, a German firm, and Charles Owen Brown, an American firm. Brown's quotation was the higher of the two and on this ground alone the choice of Bochako might be justified. The Company gave another reason for it to the effect that Dr Ruhl and Dr Naumann were in Bochako's employ and had considerable experience in this kind of work. That may be so. But the further statement that Dr Imhaussen, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Bochako was also considered an experienced expert in these matters appears to have no great justification. In fact, Dr Imhaussen does not come out well in these various transactions. However, the Board of Directors of the Hindustan Steel considered the matter fully taking the advice of the Chief Industrial Adviser, and then decided in favour of Bochako. We must accept that decision.

6. While all this appears to be fairly correct, the other charges or allegations made remain vague and unanswered. It is alleged that after the Sindri contract was granted to Montecatini,⁴⁷⁰ S.N. Mazumdar, in his capacity as the Managing Director of the Hindustan Steel plant, Rourkela, appointed Dr Imhaussen's firm known as Bochumer Chemie as consultants for the Rourkela Fertiliser Plant. It is further stated that this firm, when the appointment was made, had hardly any experience in design and construction of synthetic ammonia plants. This appointment would normally require some explanation.

7. A further fact which adds to this need for explanation and justification is S.N. Mazumdar's connection with Harshadray & Co.⁴⁷¹ Indeed, it is alleged that Mazumdar, even before he retired, had an understanding with Harshadray & Co. that he would join them as their Consultant and he actually did so after retirement. Meanwhile, Harshadray gets an agency from Uhde for assisting them in getting a contract from the Rourkela Fertiliser Plant. Obviously S.N.

468. The reference is to S.N. Mazumdar, a former Managing Director of Hindustan Steel Limited.

469. Karl-Heinz Imhausen (d. 1983), a German industrialist.

470. An Italian fertiliser company.

471. Harshadray Pvt. Ltd was established in 1953 as an export-import firm. One Mrs P.N. Kapadia was its legal representative and business owner.

Mazumdar would appear to be personally interested, because of his contemplated and later actual connection with Harshadray, to get contract for Uhde. In fact Mazumdar and Kapadia are said to have gone to Europe for this purpose.

8. It is further alleged that several officers of the Ministry of Steel, Mines & Fuel had worked as subordinates of Mazumdar when he was Secretary of that Ministry and were thus likely to be friendly to him and to help him in getting this contract for Uhde.

9. Recently, on the 1st July 1958, Mazumdar and Harshadray formed a new company, together with Imhaussen. This company is apparently called Industrial Consulting Bureau Private Limited.

10. All this appears to me to be very unsatisfactory and deserving of full enquiry, more especially in regard to S.N. Mazumdar.

11. So far as Dr Imhaussen is concerned, he was naturally interested in getting the contract and would try to get help from any source he could. The combination of Mazumdar-Imhaussen, however, does raise suspicions in my mind as to the manner this kind of thing is done.

12. I think there is something in the statement that a firm of consulting engineers should not have financial interest in a firm which is going to get a contract or a commission from a contract, more especially when that consultant firm has itself drawn up specifications. In the present case, both Imhaussen who was a member of the consultant firm, and Mazumdar who was then Managing-Director of the Hindustan Steel Plant, Rourkela, were presumably concerned with the drawing of these specifications. As both were then or later interested in a particular firm being given the contract, there is the obvious danger of the specifications being made to fit in with the needs of that particular firm.

13. It is also alleged that Harshadray & Co. (with which Mazumdar has been associated) switched from one foreign firm to another. They were bent on being associated with a particular foreign firm which ultimately got the contract. Surely this does not speak well of Harshadray & Co. or Mr Mazumdar.

14. It is alleged that Harshadray & Co. have got many contracts in the Ministry of Steel and other Ministries and they get confidential information from officers in those Ministries. I suppose the main purpose of some big Industrial firms employing senior retired officers of Government is to maintain these contacts with Ministries and departments of Government. They are often paid high salaries by these firms, not because of their innate ability, but because they are useful to them for these contacts.

15. I think that we should be very careful in dealing with any firm which has employed a senior retired officer of Government. I do not wish to rule this out altogether, but every such case must be examined not only with care, but

with a degree of suspicion. Normally such firms should not be encouraged by us by giving contracts, etc.

16. I should like to discourage in every feasible way the retired senior officers of Government going over to private firms which deal with Government. This is a bad practice. If the firms know that this will be to their disadvantage, they will probably not be so anxious to employ them.

17. A considerable part of the contract is now going to be given [to] Sindri, which is right. Even if it costs a little more, it is far better for our own concern to take it up. Not only does money remain in India, but Sindri will get greater experience and in future might be able to do it on a bigger scale. All this indicates how important it is for us to build up our own basic and machine-building industries so as to avoid getting entangled with foreign firms as far as possible. It is not the foreign firms that I object to, and we should use them where necessary, but these numerous intermediaries making money at various stages, as usually happens in dealings with private firms, increase the cost of the undertaking and at the same time bring about the possibility of corruption.

18. The remaining contract, that is, for the ammonia plant only, might, in the circumstances, be given to Uhde. The decision will of course have to be taken by the directors of Hindustan Steel. All we can say is that we have no objection to this being done.

19. But, as I have stated above, a further enquiry is necessary in regard to the part played by S.N. Mazumdar in all this business, as also Dr Imhaussen. This is not only necessary to be clear about the past, but so that we can guide ourselves by this knowledge for the future. Meanwhile, we should be careful in any further dealings with Harshadray or S.N. Mazumdar.

20. I am returning all the papers that you gave me.

21. I enclose an extra copy of this letter, in case you wish to give it to Swaran Singh.⁴⁷²

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

129. Corruption in the Construction of Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal⁴⁷³

Early this year, my attention was drawn to the criticism of our Estimates Committee in regard to the way work had been done at the Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal in Andhra Pradesh.⁴⁷⁴ I enquired about this matter from your Ministry, and I was told that one of your expert engineers had been deputed to make a study on the spot.

2. In June last, a copy of the report of this expert engineer⁴⁷⁵ was sent to me from your Ministry. I wrote immediately to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh about it and said that I presumed he had seen the report; if not it would be sent soon.⁴⁷⁶

3. A month later, at the end of July, I again wrote to the Chief Minister and enquired from him what had been done about this report.⁴⁷⁷

4. On arrival here in Hyderabad, I enquired about it again. I was greatly surprised to learn that this report had not been sent to him yet in spite of his attempts to get it and in spite of my having requested that the report should be sent to him. He was apparently told that the report was under examination by the Irrigation & Power Ministry.

5. I must say that this is rather extraordinary. A report of this kind should have been sent to the Andhra Pradesh Government the moment it was received and even before our Ministry had examined it, because it concerned the Andhra people more than anybody else. In any event I see no reason why this should have been delayed six months or so. Nor do I know what your Ministry is doing about it.

6. Will you kindly enquire and let me know, and further have the report sent immediately to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh?⁴⁷⁸

473. Note to Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Union Minister of Irrigation and Power, Hyderabad, 24 October 1958. JN Collection.

474. In March 1958, a Member of Parliament from Andhra Pradesh had drawn Nehru's attention to allegations of corruption, embezzlement of funds and bad quality of work in the construction of the Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal in Andhra Pradesh. See SWJN/SS/41/pp. 483-484

475. Ripudaman Singh, Chief Engineer, Central Water and Power Commission.

476. See SWJN/SS/42/p. 371.

477. See SWJN/SS/43/p. 294.

478. N. Sanjiva Reddy.

130. Report of the Vivian Bose Board of Enquiry⁴⁷⁹

Thank you for sending me your note on the report of the Vivian Bose Committee.⁴⁸⁰ I am sending copies of this note⁴⁸¹ to the Home Minister and the Finance Minister.

I have not myself read this report as a whole yet, though I have looked into some parts of it. I have found it difficult to read it. I have seldom come across a report which is so badly written, quite apart from the contents of it. It is surprising that a retired Judge of the Supreme Court should have written such a report. It is further surprising that two senior members of our Service should have subscribed to it.⁴⁸²

479. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, 28 October 1958. JN Collection.

480. Following the Chagla Commission Report on the Mundhra scandal [see SWJN/SS/41/pp. 415-416], the Vivian Bose Board of Enquiry was set up on 5 May 1958 to investigate charges against H.M. Patel, Principal Finance Secretary to the Government of India, G.R. Kamat, Chairman, and L.S. Vaidyanathan, Managing Director, of the Life Insurance Corporation of India; it reported on 21 September 1958 that these officials had abused their powers and caused loss to the LIC.

481. Asserting his seniority, N.R. Pillai on 28 October trenchantly criticised the Committee's report as "prolix", weighed down by legal jargon, and sensational in style; he accused Vaidyanathan of sycophancy, claimed that the good faith of both Patel and Kamat "cannot be impugned," and recommended that, departing from practice, the report be published along with an explanation by Government of the disciplinary action taken.

482. Sukumar Sen, Chief Election Commissioner, and W.R.S. Sathianathan, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, who were members of the Committee.

131. Objection to the Government's Association with the Raja of Faridkot⁴⁸³

I well remember that Shri G.D. Birla⁴⁸⁴ had asked my personal advice about accepting the Ethiopian Government's invitation to start a textile mill there.⁴⁸⁵ I had replied to him that I saw no objection to this. I think that some Ministries had been consulted about it.

2. I asked you to enquire into this matter because of the report I had had that the Raja of Faridkot was concerned with it.⁴⁸⁶ The Raja is a thoroughly unscrupulous and irresponsible person, and I would not like Government to be associated with him in any way or to recommend him for any such purpose. There is no objection on our part to Shri G.D. Birla or other Indian industrialists taking up this project.

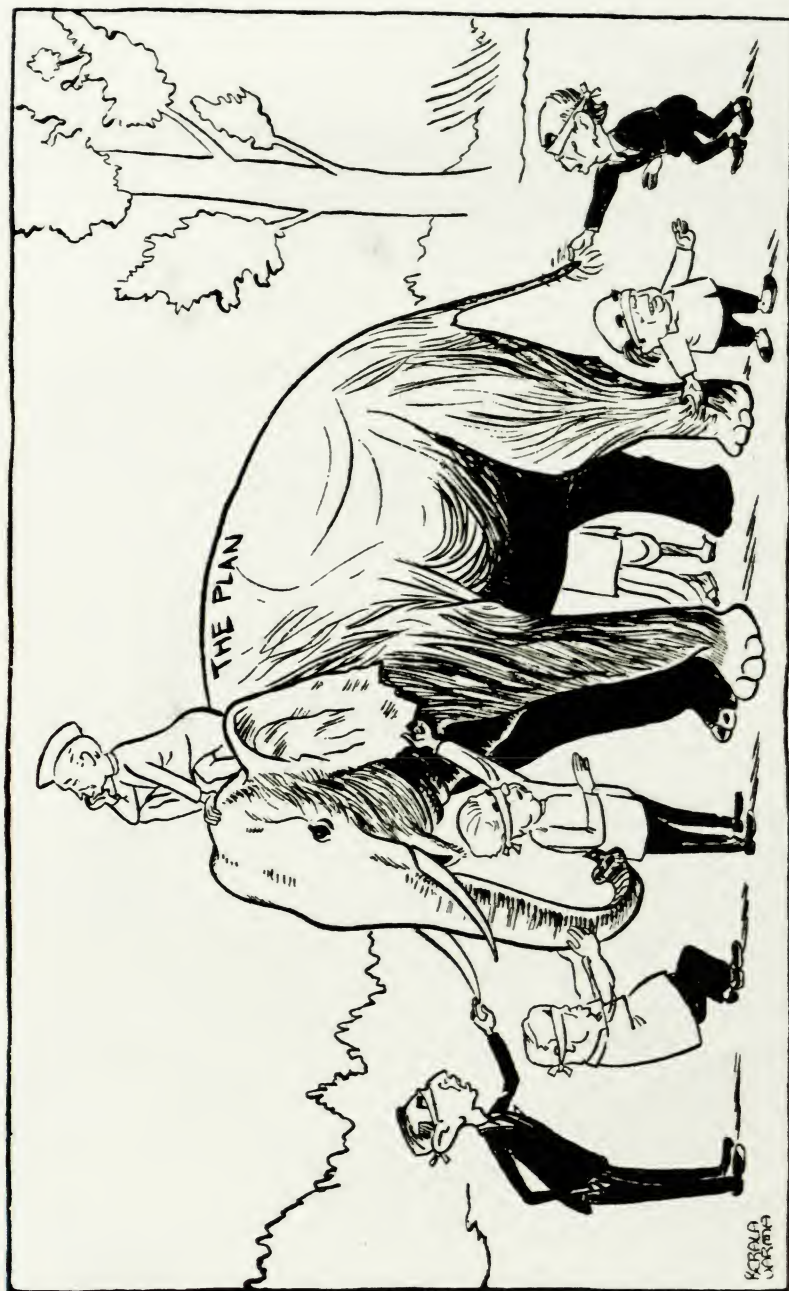
483. Note to Vishnu Sahay, Cabinet Secretary, 28 October 1958. JN Collection.

484. Ghanshyamdas (G.D.) Birla (1894-1983); leading Indian industrialist, newspaper baron and philanthropist; President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, 1924, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, 1929; Member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1926-30; delegate, International Labour Conference, Geneva, 1927; representative of Indian business community at the Second Round Table Conference, London, 1931; close associate and financier of Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai in the 1920s and of Mahatma Gandhi, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajaji and Rajendra Prasad from the 1930s; awarded Padma Vibhushan, 1957; founded and maintained a large number of educational and other public institutions; author of *In the Shadow of the Mahatma: A Personal Memoir* (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1953).

485. On 28 October, Vishnu Sahay informed Nehru that in G.D. Birla's proposal for a textile mill in Ethiopia, the share capital would be jointly contributed by the Ethiopian Government and Indian nationals, with some machinery from India.

486. Vishnu Sahay noted that Raja Harindar Singh Brar Bans Bahadur of Faridkot had given out that the Ethiopian government had rejected his terms for setting up a large estate there. But, apparently, the Raja had "wanted to be treated as a Highness with a Bodyguard of his own and with special personal rights. These the Ethiopian Government did not accept."

The Plan As You Like It



Pandit Pant said that some of the speeches in the Plan debate stressed only one or the other aspect of the Plan.

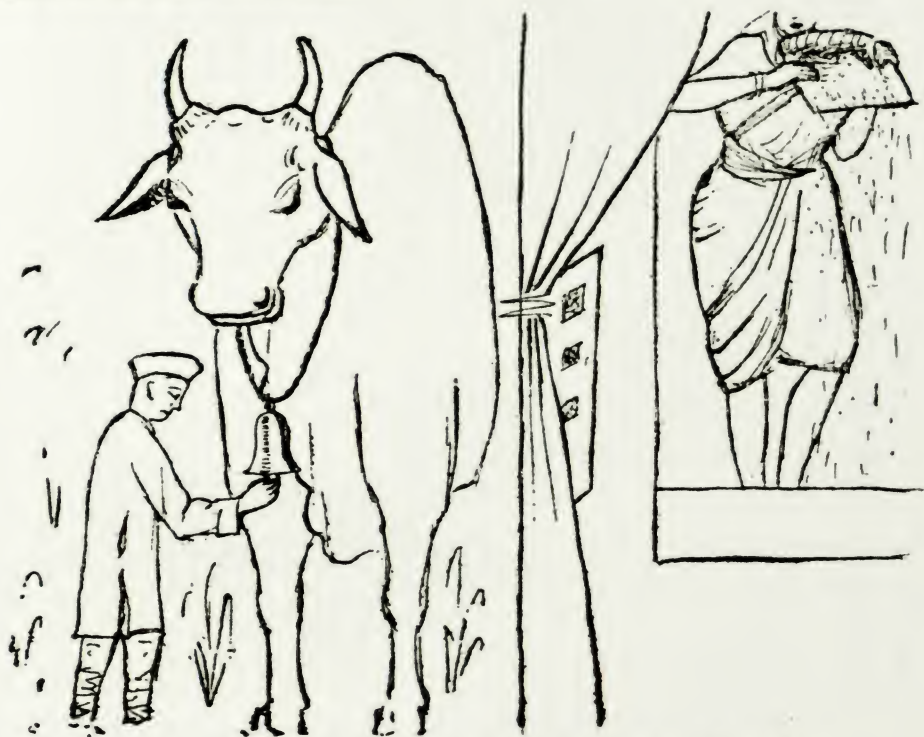
FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 28 SEPTEMBER 1958

Thro' The Looking Glass



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 19 OCTOBER 1958

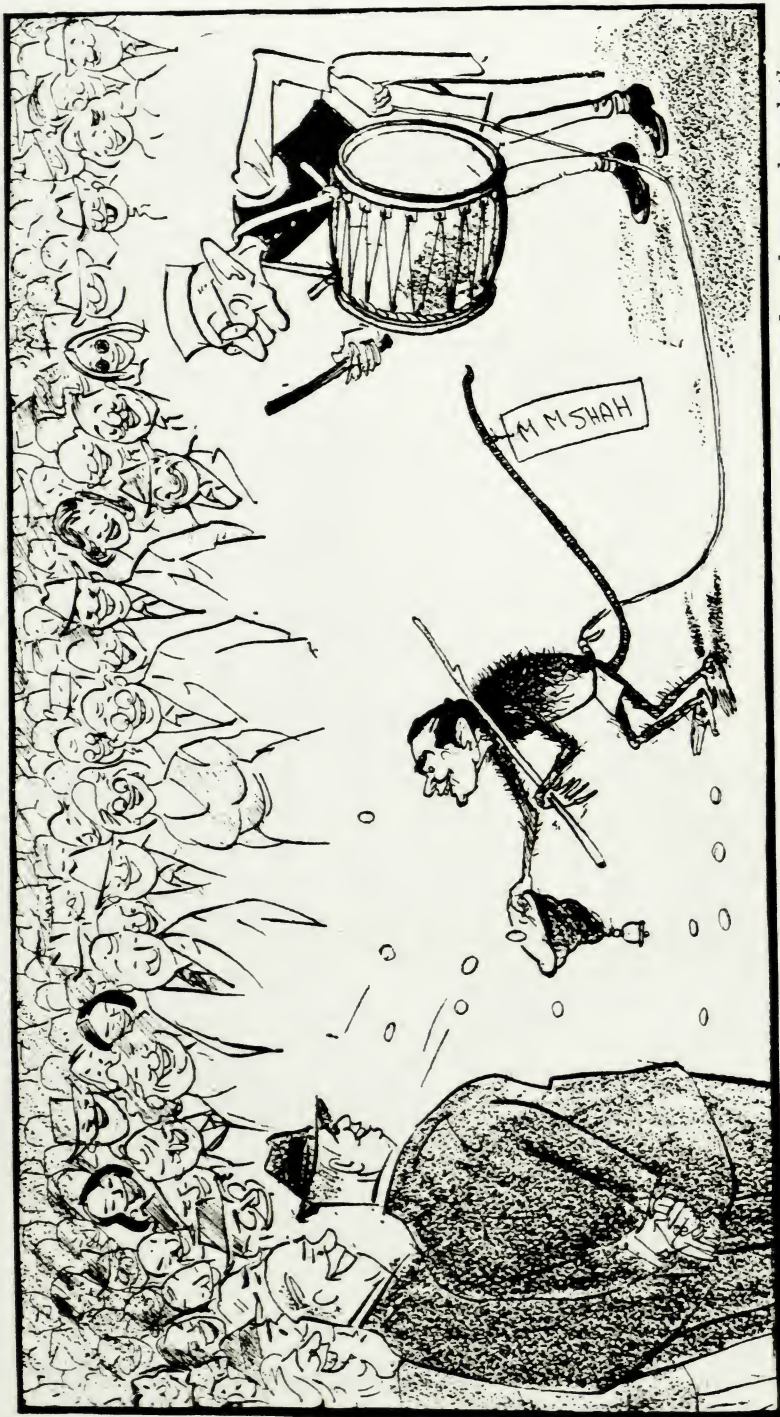
At the Agriculture Pavilion [INDIA 1958 Exhibition]



"Took it to be one of the Birla Mandirs?"

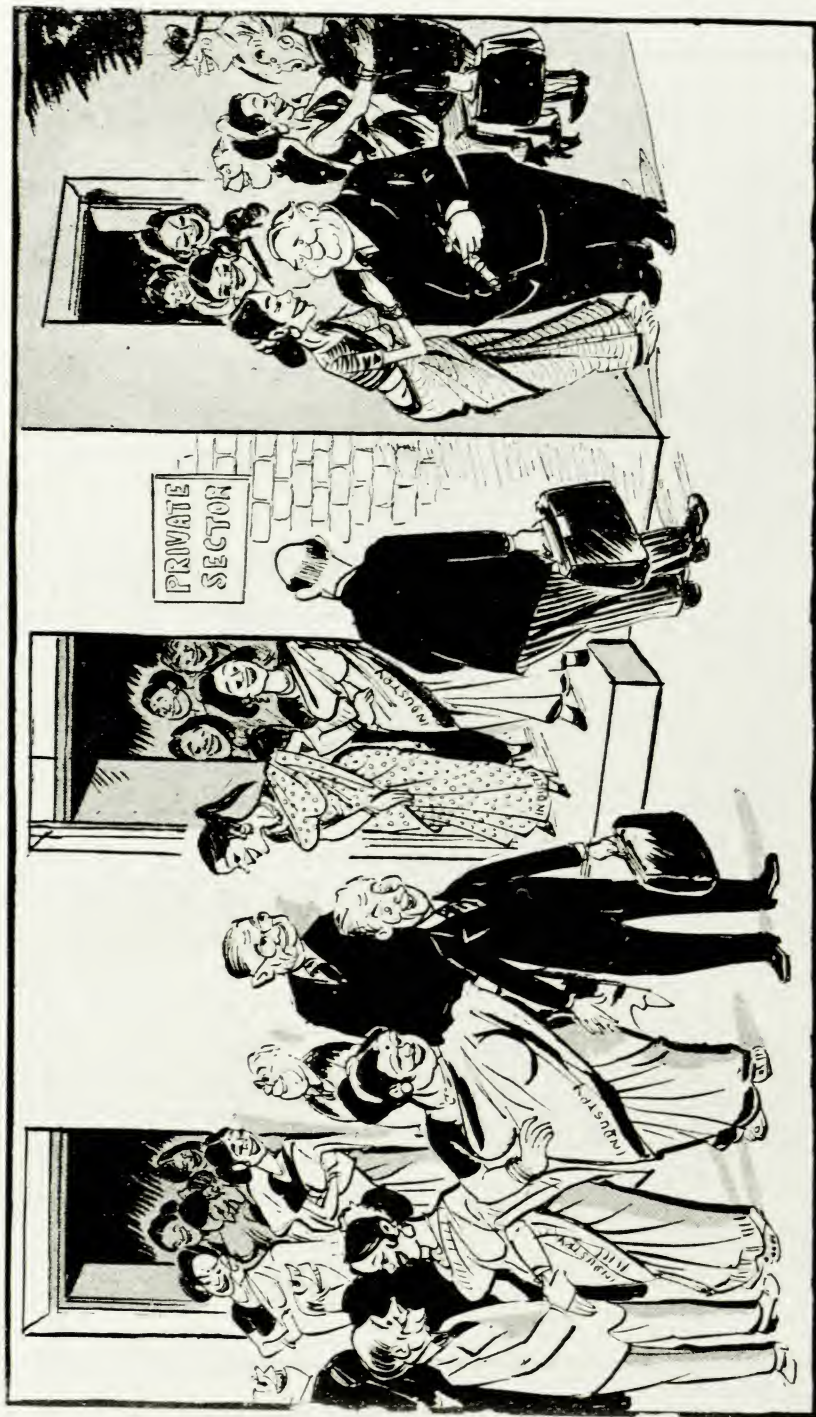
[Sketch by VIGNES]

Command Performance



Mr. M. M. Shah, Minister for Industry, going abroad to join the Finance Minister is reported to have enlarged the scope of the latter's mission to secure foreign aid.

Lovers' Lane



Several unofficial receptions were held in Delhi in honour of the delegates to the World Bank-Fund-IFC Conference.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 12 OCTOBER 1958

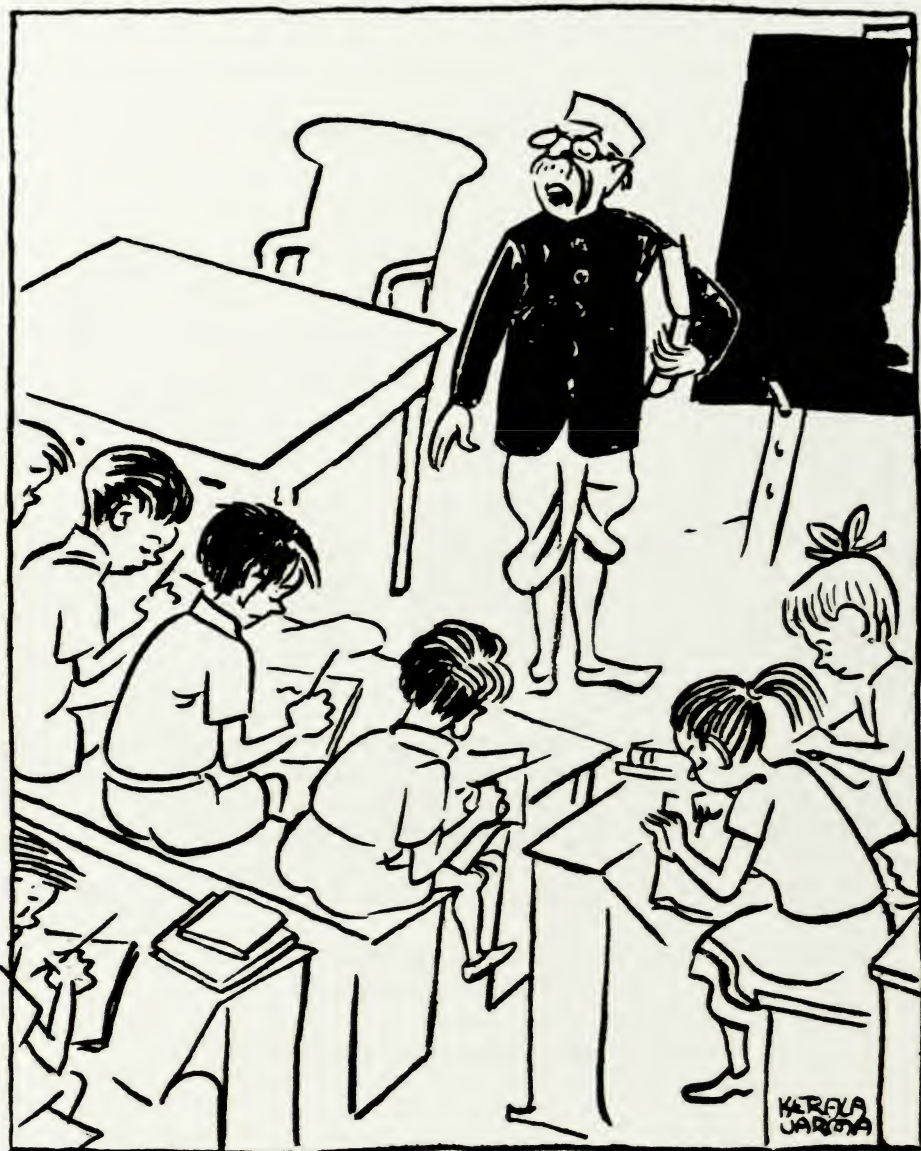
Matter Of Humanity



Pundit Nehru asked the World Bank Conference to "feel the human element" in underdeveloped countries when formulating monetary and financial policies.

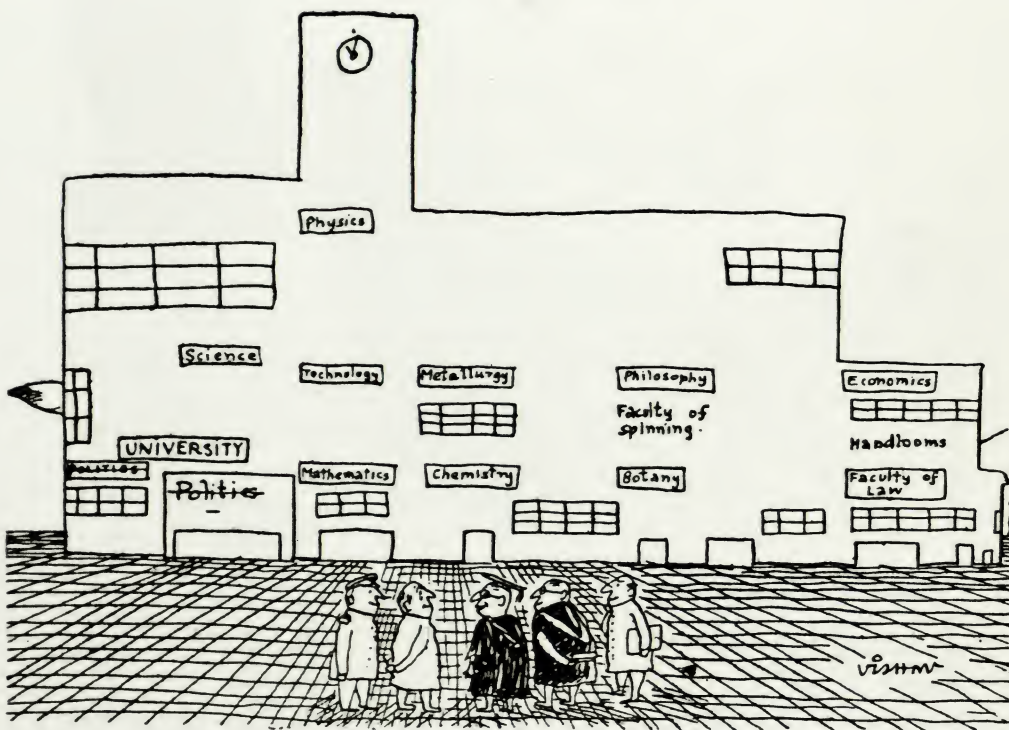
FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 12 OCTOBER 1958

[The Cost of Rains]



"If one inch of rain cost 7 lives, 13 houses and 34 heads of cattle, find out the cost of..."

[Politics in Universities]



"As there is plenty of politics in admissions here, we have abolished that faculty."

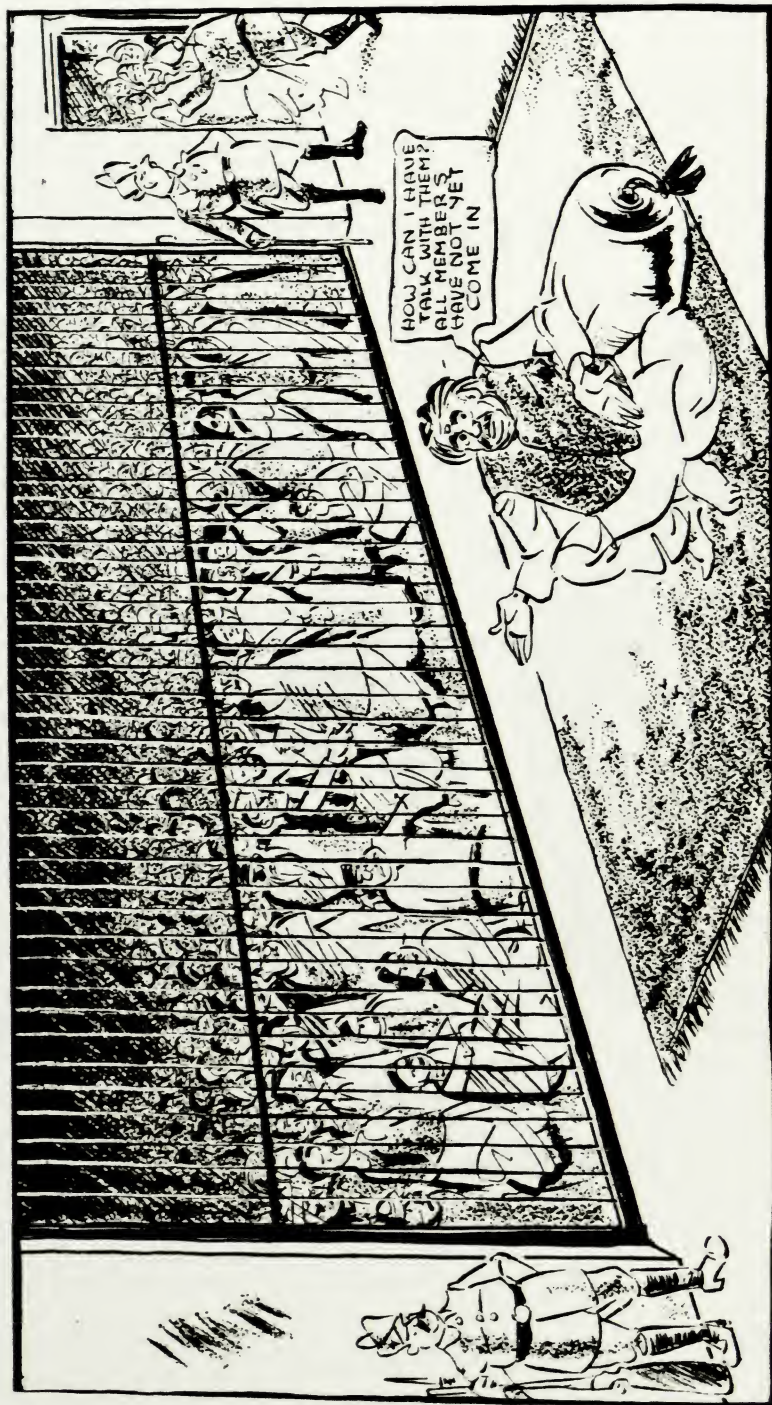
FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 5 OCTOBER 1958

[Enchantment from the Right]



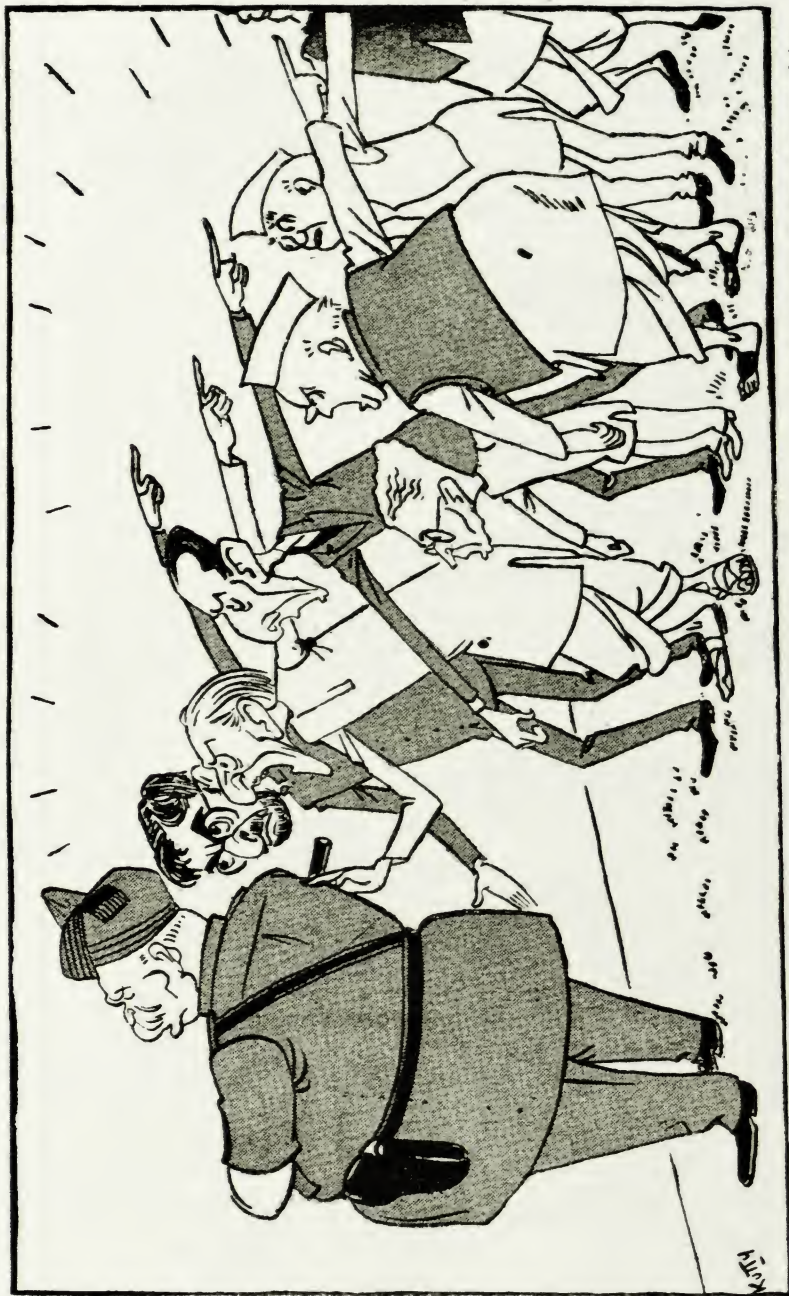
FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 5 OCTOBER 1958

Lack Of Quorum



Mr. Sampurnanand said the time is not yet ripe for holding discussions with the Opposition parties in U.P.

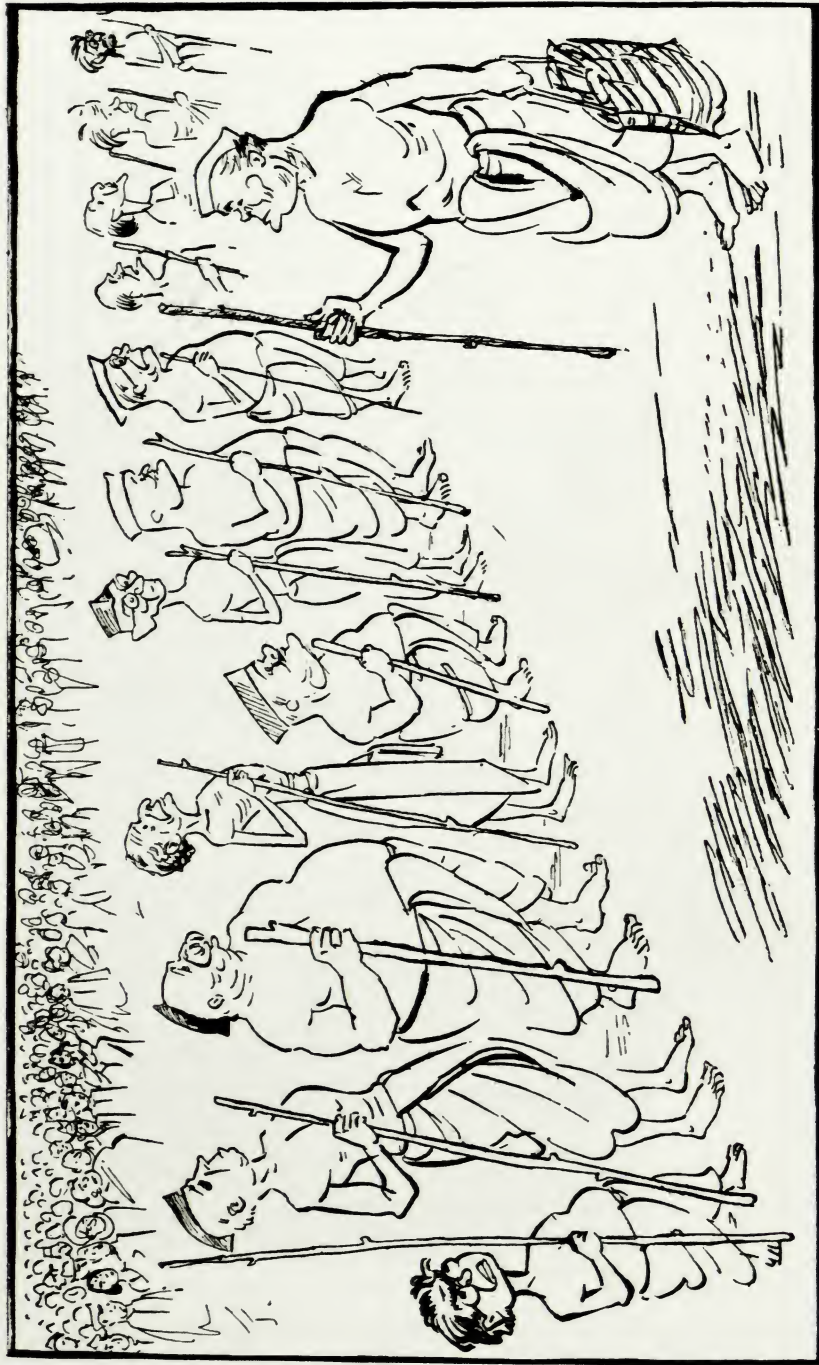
The Neutralized Police



The Govt., it appeared, was not in favour of an immediate debate in Parliament on the situation in Kerala pressed for by some of the Opposition Groups.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 28 SEPTEMBER 1958

The Hour Finds The Man



Mr. Jayaprakash Narain said that the falling standard of politics in the country will lead to dictatorship.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 28 SEPTEMBER 1958

Likes Are Dislikes

NEWSPAPERS SHOULD BE BANNED.
AFTER HE HAS READ
THEM.



HE IS NOT INTERESTED IN POLITICS
THAT IS, NOT
PUBLICLY



HE IS AGAINST COMMUNISM.
STILL WOULD LIKE TO
PAIR WITH YUGOSLAVIA.



PARTY SYSTEM SHOULD BE
SCRAPPED.
BUT PARTIES
SHOULD BE CALLED
TO DISCUSS SARNO-
DAYA.



Mr. Jayaprakash Narain has been speaking of ways to change from parliamentary democracy which he considers unsuitable for the country.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 5 OCTOBER 1958

ALL ROADS LEAD TO SALVATION



It was reported from Rajasthan that some persons who posed as 'sadhus' by day turned out to be dacoits by night.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 21 SEPTEMBER 1958

[Fast Unto Death]



[Pasternak and the Nobel Prize]

PASTERNAK IS GIVEN
NOBEL PRIZE.
RUSSIA HAS SOMETHING
TO OFFER TOO.



[Nehru's Successor]

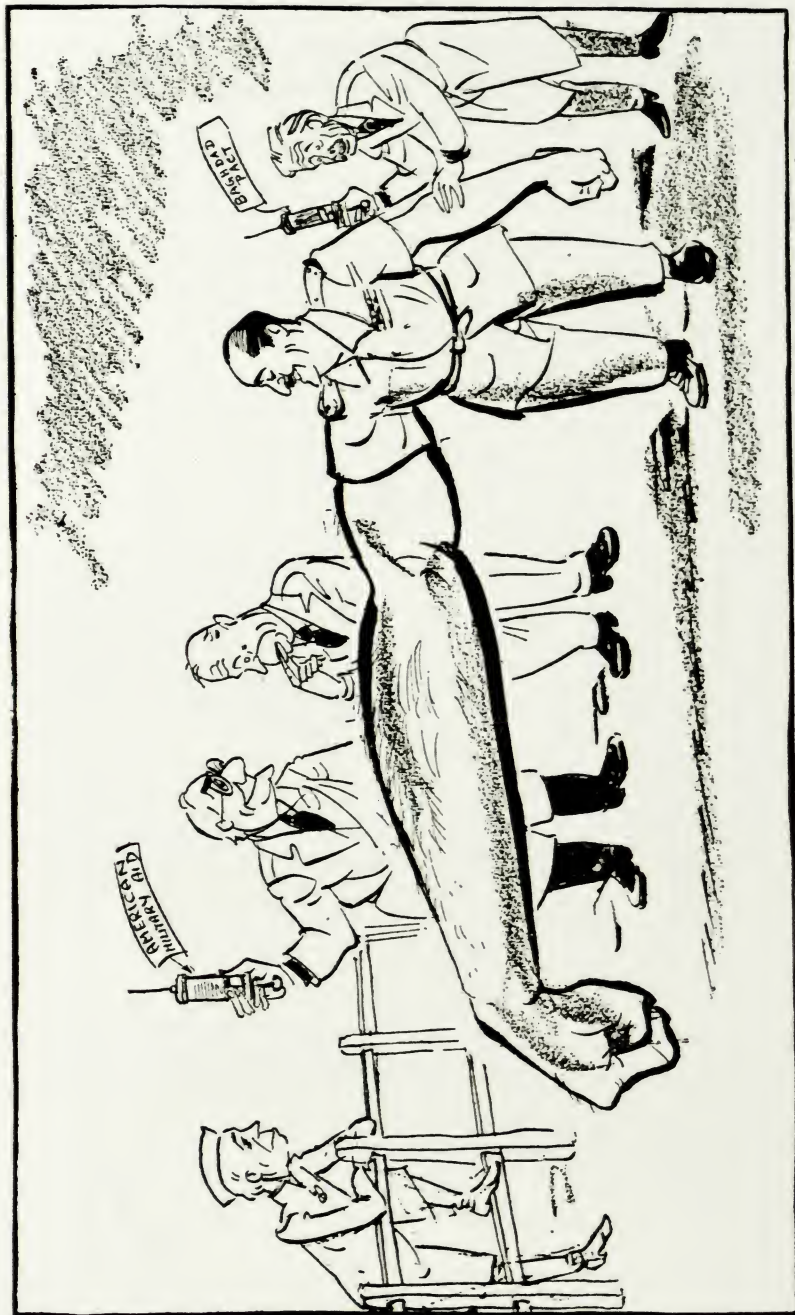


NOT YET DEAD



India and Pakistan have come to a settlement in regard to most of the border disputes in the eastern region.

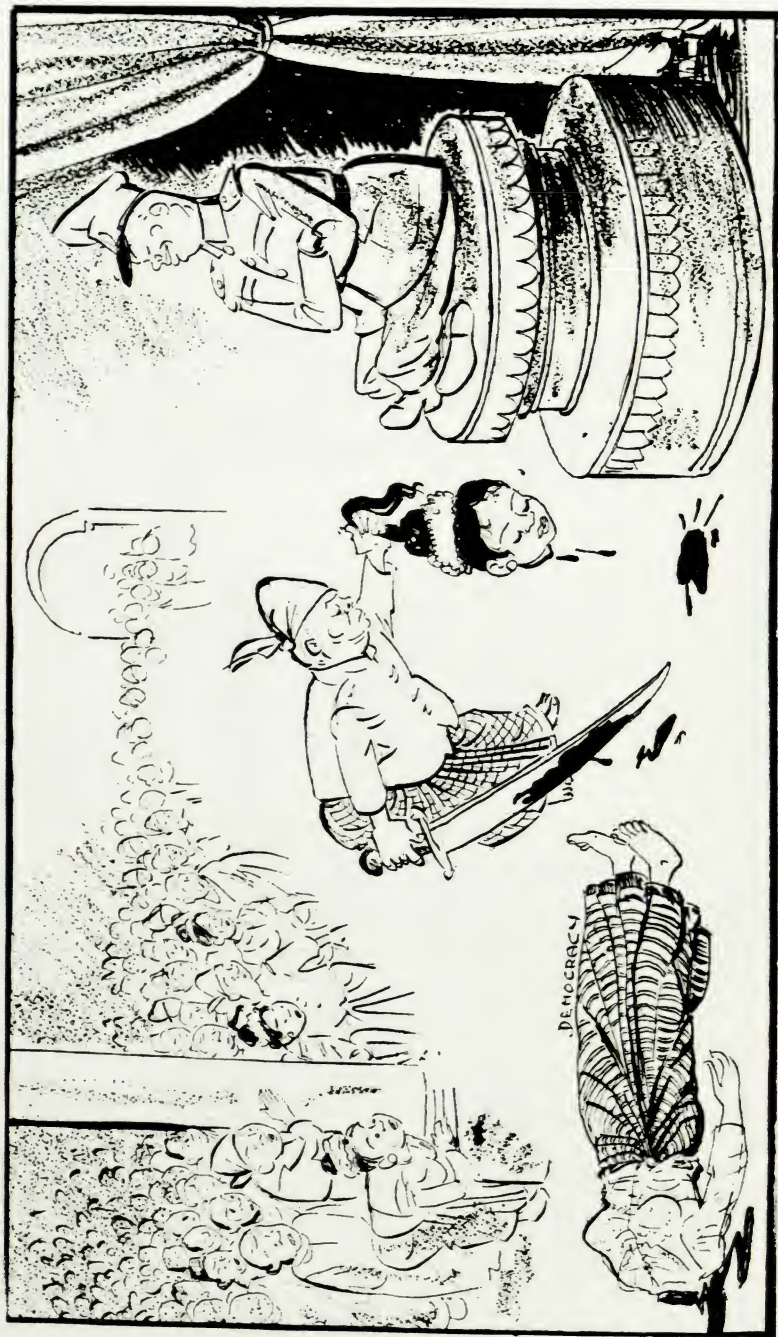
Freakish Arm



Recent events in Pakistan are a sequel to the country's membership of military pacts and its receiving arms aid.—Report.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 9 NOVEMBER 1958

Hope For The Best



The army has taken over control in Burma and a non-political interim Govt. of military officers and civilians is to be formed.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 5 OCTOBER 1958



WITH TASHI NAMGYAL, MAHARAJA OF SIKKIM, GANGTOK, 16 SEPTEMBER 1958



PARO, 24 SEPTEMBER 1958



BHUTAN VISIT



FAREWELL DINNER BY THE MAHARAJA OF BHUTAN, SEPTEMBER 1958

132. To Morarji Desai⁴⁸⁷

October 29, 1958

My dear Morarji,⁴⁸⁸

Thank you for your letter of 28th October about Mumbadevi Temple⁴⁸⁹ Trust. I am not interested in this business. I merely forwarded Dange's⁴⁹⁰ complaint. When Dange comes here, perhaps Gopala Reddi might inform him of the facts.

This, however, raises another question which has been troubling me for some time. Many of these huge temple trusts are mismanaged, some of them are misused, some are used entirely for private purposes by the Mahants of *Maths*, etc. I do not know what the laws are about them in various States. In Madras they have, I believe, some laws to control these Trust funds and to utilise them for public purposes, such as education. In one case that I can think of, Tirupati Temple, large sums of money, several lakhs a year, are provided for educational purposes and a number of educational institutions have been established.

I think that something of this kind should be done elsewhere. I have in mind especially the Nathdwara temple⁴⁹¹ in Rajasthan. The Mahant⁴⁹² of this temple is a notorious evil liver. His father was even worse. And yet these people command large sums of money. Cannot we do something about it?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

487. JN Collection.

488. Union Finance Minister and former Chief Minister of Bombay.

489. The Mumbadevi Temple in Bombay.

490. S.A. Dange, CPI Member of the Lok Sabha from Bombay City (Central).

491. Located at Nathdwara, 48 kilometres from Udaipur, this 17th Century temple dedicated to Lord Krishna is one of the most famous temples of India.

492. The post of Mahant, or chief priest, known as Goswami, was hereditary.

(v) All India Institute of Medical Sciences

133. To B.B. Dikshit⁴⁹³

October 21, 1958

Dear Dr Dikshit,⁴⁹⁴

Some time ago, when I was in Bhutan, a letter came to me from Dr Atchamamba.⁴⁹⁵ Owing to my heavy preoccupations after my return, I could not deal with it. This letter is marked personal and confidential, and perhaps it is not proper for me to send it to you. Nevertheless, I have decided to do so, because I think it is right that you should know the kind of complaint I have received. I am, therefore, enclosing this letter in original. I am rather surprised at what it says. I should be glad to have the facts or an explanation from you. The enclosed letter might be returned to me.⁴⁹⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

134. To B.B. Dikshit⁴⁹⁷

28th October 1958

Dear Dr Dikshit,

On my return yesterday to Delhi I received your letter of the 24th October.

On reading your letter and its enclosures, I am more intrigued than ever about not only the matter you have written about, but the way things are done at the Institute. I do not wish to discuss this now, but obviously something will

493. File No. 2(280)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

494. Balachandra B. Dikshit, Director, AIIMS, New Delhi, 1956-64.

495. K. Atchamamba, a gynaecologist from Andhra Pradesh and Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Vijayawada, 1957-62. Her letter was regarding some dispute between two senior doctors of the Department of Orthopaedic Surgery of the AIIMS.

496. Nehru, acknowledging Atchamamba's letter, wrote to her the same day: "The account you give, is surprising. It raises questions not only of discipline, but of the entire way in which work is done there. I am enquiring into the matter."

497. File No. 2(280)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

have to be done to prevent this utter lack of harmony in the Institute and what appears to be the prevalence of an element of intrigue against one another.⁴⁹⁸

From your letter it appears and that Dr Jivraj Mehta⁴⁹⁹ has been requested to consider this present dispute and the question of Dr Sankaran's⁵⁰⁰ case specially.⁵⁰¹ It would seem to me that in a dispute of this kind it would be far better for someone who is not a member of the Institute Managing Committee to be asked to enquire. It would be rather embarrassing to Dr Jivraj Mehta, as it would be to the others concerned, for him to enquire into this. By virtue of his position, Dr Jivraj Mehta should be above and unconnected with such inquiries.

I am, therefore, suggesting to the Health Minister to look into this matter and take necessary steps.⁵⁰²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

498. In a long note of 26 October marked 'Secret and Strictly Personal', M.O. Mathai, Special Assistant to Nehru, described factionalism at the AIIMS: Dr Dikshit and Dr Pandit sought to curry favour with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Dr Jivraj Mehta; Mehta had brought in Dikshit and sought to run the Institute from Bombay; Dikshit encouraged indiscipline against professors; and the Institute could be saved only by removing Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Dikshit. Dr Pandit was perhaps Dr C.G. Pandit, Director, Indian Council of Medical Research.

499. Minister in the Government of Bombay and Member of the Governing Body of the AIIMS.

500. Balu Sankaran (b. 1926); orthopaedic surgeon; trained in orthopaedic surgery at New York Orthopaedic Hospital, Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center, 1951-55; Assistant Professor, AIIMS, 1956-63, and Associate Professor, 1963-67; Professor, Maulana Azad Medical College, New Delhi, 1967-70; Director, Central Institute of Orthopaedics, New Delhi, 1970-78; Director General of Health Services, GOI, 1978-81; Director, WHO, at Geneva, 1981-87; Chairman, Rehabilitation Council of India, 1992-94; set up the Artificial Limbs Manufacturing Corporation of India at Kanpur, 1972; Professor Emeritus, St Stephens Hospital, Delhi; awarded Padma Vibhushan, 2007.

501. Dr P.K. Duraiswami, Head, Department of Surgery, AIIMS, alleged that Jivraj Mehta was keen to confirm Sankaran at the AIIMS in spite of adverse comments from the head of the department, that is, Duraiswami himself. Mathai claimed that Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Jivraj Mehta, Dikshit and Pandit were persecuting Duraiswami, perhaps jealous that he had treated Rajiv Gandhi for a fracture.

502. See item 135.

135. To D.P. Karmarkar⁵⁰³

28th October 1958

My dear Karmarkar,⁵⁰⁴

Some little time ago I learnt of some more trouble in the All India Institute of Medical Sciences and some conflict that had arisen between Dr Duraiswami⁵⁰⁵ and his Assistant, Dr Sankaran. In this Dr Dikshit was also mixed up because he wrote to some people outside India on the subject.⁵⁰⁶ The whole thing seemed to me most unfortunate and improper. Thereupon I wrote to Dr Dikshit and sent him a letter I had received from Dr K. Atchamamba, MP. Yesterday I received a reply from Dr Dikshit.

It appears from this reply that Dr Sankaran's case has been referred to Dr Jivraj Mehta for consideration. I do not think that it would be right in such a case for a member of the Managing Committee of the Institute to be charged with this inquiry. That would be rather embarrassing to him as well as to the others concerned. I have, therefore, written to Dr Dikshit accordingly and suggested that someone else should undertake this enquiry. I have further told him that I am referring this matter to the Health Minister.

I am sending you Dr Atchamamba's letter to me, letter to Dr Dikshit and his reply. Also my second letter to Dr Dikshit.

There are a number of matters in this case which disturb me. I do not wish to go into them here and now. I gather that Dr Duraiswami rather accidentally met DeForest Smith⁵⁰⁷ at Honolulu and casually mentioned the case of Sankaran to him because DeForest Smith had recommended Sankaran previously.

503. File No. 2(280)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

504. Union Minister of State for Health.

505. P.K. Duraiswami (1912-1974); orthopaedic surgeon; worked in hospitals in Madras, 1940-43; served in the military as specialist in surgery, 1943-45; Department of Orthopaedic Surgery, Liverpool, 1949-51; Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1951-53; Professor, AIIMS, 1954-60, and Head, Department of Surgery, 1956-59; appointed Director, Central Institute of Orthopaedics, New Delhi, February 1960; Director-General, Health Services, GOI, 1968-70; appointed Advisor to the Ministry of Health and Family Planning, GOI, July 1970.

506. To judge from the note by Dr P.K. Duraiswami, Dr Sankaran had been repeatedly insubordinate and Dr Dikshit had referred the case in question to foreign specialists without even securing proper details.

507. Alan DeForest Smith (b. 1881); orthopaedic surgeon from the US; performed, jointly with William von Lackum, the first anterior spinal surgery in the US, 1924; Surgeon-in-Chief and Director, New York Orthopaedic Hospital, 1940-56.

The references that Dr Dikshit made to various people also seemed to me rather odd. One can understand a proper statement of a case agreed to by the parties concerned being sent for opinion to experts without mentioning names. Apart from this, the major question is one of discipline. Dr Sankaran apparently continues to disobey specific instructions of the head of the department. I gather that he at one time acknowledged his mistake and gave a pledge that he will not do so again. In spite of this he did so. Obviously, no institute can function in this way.

However, I do not want to go into all these matters now. But I think that you should write to Dr Dikshit telling him that as this argument and dispute has arisen, you agree that there should be an inquiry. It would, however, be obviously better for the inquiry not to be conducted by a member of the Managing Committee of the Institute and therefore someone outside the Institute should be appointed to enquire into this matter. You may tell him that you will give thought to this appointment and communicate it to him later.

In effect, this would be a directive from the Health Ministry, though it need not be stated to be as such. The point is that the resolution of the Institute in regard to this inquiry should not be acted upon at present. They should change it themselves or later Government can supersede it.

As to who should conduct this inquiry, we can consider this matter a little later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vi) Other Matters

136. Leave of Absence for Governors⁵⁰⁸

I have consulted the Home Minister.⁵⁰⁹

2. Our Ambassador in Nepal⁵¹⁰ should have written to us first before he invited the Governor of Bihar.⁵¹¹ He does not seem to realise that it is rather an extraordinary thing for a Governor to go out of his charge and even more so to go out of the country. I think this should be pointed out to our Ambassador.

508. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 5 September 1958. JN Collection.

509. Govind Ballabh Pant.

510. Bhagwan Sahay.

511. Zakir Husain.

3. As a matter of principle, we do not approve of Governors leaving the country. If they leave the country they cannot obviously function as Governors and thus it involves some other appointments for the period of their absence.

4. It is true that Nepal being a very near neighbour, especially to Bihar, the practical consequences of going to Nepal are not likely to be harmful. If the Governor goes there, the visit will of course be an entirely private one; nevertheless, he will continue as Governor of Bihar. That is, if any urgent paper has to be signed, he will be able to sign it as Governor.

5. As matters have gone far and the Governor of Bihar has actually asked for the President's permission, we think that this permission might be accorded to the Governor for a brief visit of two or three days to Kathmandu subject to the Governor feeling that he can conveniently go away for that period. But he will continue to be Governor even when he goes to Kathmandu and if necessity arises papers will have to be sent to him there for signature.

6. The visit, however, should be a private one.

7. You may inform the Secretary to the President⁵¹² on the lines of this note. I am sending you two extra copies of this note so that you might send a copy to the Secretary to the President and one to our Ambassador.

137. To Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar⁵¹³

September 6, 1958

My dear Maharaja Sahib,⁵¹⁴

You will remember telling me about your wish to go abroad for two months from about the middle of November. I told you then that it was rather unusual for Governors to go abroad during their term of office. However, I said that I would discuss this matter with the President and the Home Minister. I have now done so.⁵¹⁵

512. A.V. Pai.

513. File No. 1(3)/58, President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

514. Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar (1919-1974); the 25th and last Maharaja of Mysore, 1940-50; was a noted scholar, musicologist and philanthropist; Rajpramukh of Mysore State, 1950-56; Governor of Mysore, 1956-64; Governor of Madras, 1964-66.

515. The Governor of Mysore, Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar, required leave for going abroad and also for reasons of health. Nehru mentioned this matter to the President and he had no objection. However, on 2 September, Nehru wrote to G.B. Pant, asking for his opinion in the matter. Nehru also wrote to Pant: "I do not like the idea of Governors leaving their posts. But in this particular case, I think we should agree to the Maharaja's request. Otherwise he would feel very frustrated." The rest of Nehru's letter to Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar is based on Pant's reply of 5 September.

This question of leave to Governors was examined in 1951 and it was decided by the Cabinet that the President, acting under Article 160 of the Constitution, may grant leave of absence whenever a Governor is unable to discharge his functions as a Governor. Ordinarily Governors are not entitled to any leave, but for health reasons, this might be considered necessary.

Having regard to all the circumstances, we shall be agreeable to your taking two months' leave, as suggested. Alternative arrangements will have to be made for the period of your absence on leave.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

138. Prime Minister's National Relief Fund⁵¹⁶

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) A statement showing yearly contributions received and payments made out of the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund since its inception in November, 1947 upto 30th June, 1958 is laid on the Table of the House.

(b) Normally moneys from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund are disbursed to Governors and/or Chief Ministers of States. In certain cases, grants have been given to well known social service organisations such as the United Council for Relief and Welfare, of which the President of the Republic is the Chairman. In the early stages of the Fund, most of the moneys were utilised for providing relief to displaced persons from Pakistan. In recent years, the Fund has been mainly utilised to provide relief in areas affected by natural calamities such as floods, drought, earthquake, etc. Governors and/or Chief Ministers of States use their discretion in regard to actual provision of relief from funds placed at their disposal by the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund.

(c) There are no fixed rules and regulations governing allocations out of the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. Disbursements are made at the discretion of the Prime Minister.

(d) The Prime Minister's Relief Fund does not attract the legal or constitutional responsibilities of the Comptroller and Auditor General or the Accountant General Central Revenues. The audit of the Prime Minister's National

516. Reply to a question in the Lok Sabha, 9 September 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XX, cols 5461-5462.

Relief Fund is conducted regularly every year by Messrs S. Vaidyanath Aiyer & Co., New Delhi, a firm of Chartered Accountants on the approved list of the Government of India. This firm was recommended by the Union Ministry of Finance.

(e) No irregularities have been pointed out in the administration of the Fund by the auditors since the inception of the Fund. It might be mentioned in this connection that no one except the Prime Minister himself is authorised to operate on the account of the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund.

139. Sending Delegations Abroad⁵¹⁷

I am alarmed at the large number of delegations going out from India involving not only heavy expenditure, but more especially foreign exchange. I realise that these delegations do good work. But we have to balance all this with our present need for strict economy. I do not wish to come in the way of Ministers who are certain that a delegation should be sent. But I have a feeling that sending of delegations has become almost an automatic occurrence.

2. I take it that in this delegation, the two non-official members will meet their own expenses.⁵¹⁸ There is no reason whatever why we should pay their expenses. Even so, I find that they are being given a considerable sum in foreign exchange. Why they should require so much money is not clear to me, as their travelling expenses will be paid in Indian money. I do think that this is extravagant.

3. Another matter that seems odd to me is that this should come up for the Cabinet so late. Why should these matters be delayed and allow us no time for consideration, and why should monies be paid out before a decision is taken?

4. I want to leave this to the discretion of the Food & Agriculture Minister⁵¹⁹ himself and not his Ministry. But I would like him to appreciate what I have said in this note.

517. Note for the Cabinet, 10 September 1958, JN Collection.

518. The reference is to the Indian delegation to the International Sugar Conference convened by the UN in Geneva from 22 September to 24 October 1958.

519. Ajit Prasad Jain.

140. Cabinet Approval for Sending Delegations Abroad⁵²⁰

I have just written a note on a paper meant for the Cabinet for a delegation to go to the UN Sugar Conference to be held in Geneva in September 1958. I attach a copy of that note.

2. This, as well as many other cases, has led me to think that absolutely no restraint is being exercised over delegations going abroad and money is lavished upon them. I am much disturbed by this. I should like you to write to all the Ministries and Departments concerned pointing out that, in spite of all our directions and advice, innumerable delegations are sent abroad at the slightest provocation, and very considerable sums of money are spent on them, including large amounts of foreign exchange. It seems to me that this kind of thing has become a routine affair and no careful attention is given to it. I think that we shall have to be much more strict in future, and I would like the cooperation of the Ministries concerned in this matter.

3. In particular, it is not right at all for decisions to be taken about delegations to be sent without prior approval of the Cabinet.⁵²¹

141. Gold Jewellery for the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund⁵²²

I have no basic objection to taking gold in this way. In fact, we should like to collect as much gold as possible, and probably, later on, we shall have a scheme to this effect. But much depends on the form of the gold, that is, if it is a trinket, the actual value of the gold may not be much, although the trinket may have some value. There would be no point in our accepting such small trinkets. But, if the piece of jewellery is mostly gold, then it could be used by us as gold.

2. You might explain this to him. If he brings the gold, this should be sent to the Finance Ministry or wherever they keep gold. Presumably, they would be prepared to give the equivalent cash for the Prime Minister's Fund. They

520. Note to Vishnu Sahay, Cabinet Secretary, 10 September 1958. JN Collection.

521. At a Cabinet meeting of 15 September 1958, Nehru observed the need for maximum economy in foreign trips, that only the absolutely necessary ones be allowed, and that they must invariably secure prior Cabinet approval.

522. Note, 12 September 1958. JN Collection.

will not buy jewellery, but they can give it just for the gold in it at any price they like. The price need not be the present noted Indian price.

3. You will please convey to Shri Mohan my appreciation of his gift.

142. Inland Letters with Inscription in Hindi⁵²³

The Prime Minister drew the attention of the Cabinet to the practice followed by the postal authorities in insisting on the printing of the Hindi equivalent of the words "Inland Letter and no enclosures allowed" on the Inland Letter form. He said that in a recent case, the addressee of an inland letter had been asked to pay a sum of ten naye paise merely because the letter did not bear the Hindi equivalent of the inscription referred to above. The Prime Minister said that this was a most extraordinary practice and suggested that the Minister of Transport & Communications might look into this matter and issue suitable instructions. The Cabinet agreed.

143. To Padampat Singhania⁵²⁴

7 October 1958

Dear Padampatji,⁵²⁵

I have your letter of the 27th September.

There is a special committee attached to the Defence Ministry which considers the question of tableau for the Republic Day Parade. In dealing with this matter, they have to keep many facts in view. But one thing is clear. They cannot treat that Parade as an occasion for the advertisement of any commercial organisation, however desirable that might be. If once that principle was ignored, they would get into considerable difficulties. Whether the tableaux you have suggested infringes [sic] that rule, I do not know.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

523. Minutes of the meeting of the Cabinet, 15 September 1958. JN Collection.

524. JN Collection.

525. A leading industrialist of Kanpur; was a member of the Constituent Assembly.

144. To the Maharaja of Datia⁵²⁶

9th October, 1958

My dear Maharaja Sahib,⁵²⁷

Your letter of the 16th September came here when I was away in Bhutan.

You know that our Home Ministry deals with matters connected with the old States. When your wife came to see me, I conveyed what she had said to me to the Home Minister [sic]. I am forwarding your letter also to him for his consideration.

You and your wife have of course my good wishes and sympathy. But you will appreciate that individuals have to economise so that the great effort we are making for the advancement of India might prosper.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

145. To Rajendra Prasad⁵²⁸

October 16, 1958

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th October.⁵²⁹

We have been very much concerned at the large number of delegations going to foreign countries. Repeatedly we have drawn attention of all the Ministries to this matter. I suppose that has had some effect, but that effect has not been very considerable. The practice previously was for these proposals for delegations to be circulated among members of the Cabinet. In order to put a further check on this, we have now laid down that each case should be put up before the Cabinet itself. It was because of this that you saw a large number of such cases included in the Cabinet agenda. According to previous practice, they would not have been put up before the Cabinet, but just circulated, and probably they would not have come to your notice.

526. JN Collection.

527. Maharaja Lokendra Balbhadra Singh Ju Dev Bahadur (1907-1978); Maharaja of Datia from 1951.

528. File No. 133/58, President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

529. President Rajendra Prasad had asked whether so many foreign trips, mostly by officials and sometimes by ministers, were necessary at all.

At the last Cabinet meeting, every case was considered separately and, ultimately, passed, except for some reduction in the number of people. To some extent, this growth in delegations abroad is perhaps inevitable. A large number of them have been connected with finance or trade matters. Some have gone to international conferences and the like, and quite a number of them are delegations under the Colombo Plan or the TCM scheme.

We are very much alive to this subject and are trying to reduce this number as far as possible.⁵³⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

146. Reorientation in the Police Approach to People⁵³¹

You are really ceasing to be cadets as such and going out into the wider world for which you have received this training. I shall address you a few words in English and a few words in Hindi. I am glad to learn that all of you from whatever part of India you come can understand Hindi.

Now, I have come here gladly on this occasion at this passing out parade for a variety of reasons, among them the chief one being that the police force in India, at present more especially, has to discharge very arduous responsibilities. It is the difficulty in the way of the work that they have to deal day to day with the public, often with anti-social elements, and, therefore, they are constantly under the eye of the public. Now, for two major reasons, they have to function in a particular way, if they have to succeed. Previously, before independence came to India, they had to function efficiently but there was no particular need for them to have that full cooperation of the people as now. Now it not only applies to the police force but to all the various aspects of our

530. On 28 October, Nehru turned down a proposal to send a delegation abroad to attend a conference on local government. He wrote to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA: "I do not think that this can be considered essential. Also, I do not think the problems of local Government in India are at all comparable to the problems in the other Commonwealth countries. If our officers toured in India and looked into this matter more closely, they would profit more than by going abroad."

531. Speech at the passing out parade of officer trainees of the 1957 batch of the Indian Police Service, Central Police Training College, Mount Abu, 18 October 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Nehru first spoke in English and then in Hindi.

administrative apparatus that nothing important can be done in India or in any democratic state without the closest cooperation of the administration with the people. In fact, the people are really doing it, helped by the administration, because that is the nature of a democratic state, which cannot function in the old way when there was no democracy. This has to be remembered because sometimes it is overlooked.

Things changed in many ways when independence came to India. That change was not apparent because there was a continuity, because many things appeared to go on as they had been going on previously. There was no break as such but there was an enormous break all the same, under the surface of things which seemed to be much the same. The whole relationship with the public changed. The whole relationship of every executive officer, wherever he might be, with the public changed, the whole relationship of the police with the public changed, even though people may not have realised it. It is in the measure that they did not realise it fully that they encountered difficulties. Now, the first thing to remember is that in a democratic state the police are different in a sense from the police in a state that is not democratic. The police are citizens as much as others of the democratic state. The police have to function, of course, in the maintenance of law and order, for the protection of those who need protection, and all that. But they can only successfully do this in a democratic state if they are in tune with the people and if they get their cooperation. It is well to remember that as a broad principle but even in practice it is important, because the success of a police officer lies greatly, wherever he may be stationed or whatever he may be doing, in the measure he can get the cooperation of the people of the place, whether it is in the detection of crime or in the normal and abnormal order. It makes all the difference in the world whether the public react to it in a friendly way or are reluctant to help.

I have had a great deal to do in my life with crowds and I know something of the psychology of crowds. A crowd has an individuality of its own. And that individuality can be changed from friendliness to hostility with great rapidity. And a hostile crowd can also be made a friendly crowd if properly tackled. It is obvious that if you have to deal with a crowd, the best course and in fact the only course is to make it a friendly crowd. If it tends to be a hostile crowd because of something that has happened, even then try to make it friendly, try to divert its attention from something that has excited it, and seek its cooperation in the friendly way. You may not always succeed; there are difficult circumstances. But even the attempt of that friendly approach to a crowd or to a group pays always in the end. That is to say, the approach of an officer, whatever he may be, of civil or military, police or any other, in any situation dealing with crowds or groups or individuals, must always be a friendly

approach. Thereby you draw out the best in that group or that crowd and can deal with recalcitrant elements more easily, otherwise the anti-social elements get the sympathy of the crowd and then you have to deal with a much bigger problem.

I have spoken to you about this broad approach because you are going out to shoulder very responsible duties. You are young. And suddenly at the height of your youth you may be faced with heavy responsibilities. I hope, I am sure, you have learnt a great deal during the course of your training how to face some of the problems that you may have to deal with. But there will be many new problems and they will try sometimes your temper, even very much, and sometimes you may be in doubt as to how to deal with the problem. But if you have a certain basic matter in your mind, if you remember what I have just said to you about the basic approach in a democratic state, about the basic approach of friendliness to the people you seek to serve and not trying to be bosses, ordering them about, but rather seeking their cooperation, you will find that many of your problems are easier to solve. Many people increase their own difficulties by a wrong approach. It is their basic approach that counts.

Secondly, it is of the highest importance that a police officer who is in charge of such heavy responsibilities should have the respect of the people he serves. They should have faith in his integrity, not only in his friendliness, but in his integrity. A police officer is often faced with great temptations. He must overcome them. An officer has to overcome them even more than the constable under him. That officer has to set always an example and if he fails there is greater harm done to the state and to the reputation of the police force than if an ordinary constable fails. It is, therefore, much important that the police officer should maintain the highest integrity and have the reputation for that integrity.

Now, having spoken so much in English I shall proceed in Hindi.⁵³²

आप लोग यहाँ से दो-चार रोज़ में जाके, हिन्दुस्तान के अलग-अलग हिस्सों में जायेंगे। अक्सर आप जायेंगे अपने State में नहीं, राज्य में नहीं, दूसरे, ये अच्छी बात है। मैंने सुना है कि फायदा ये है कि कम से कम पचास फीसदी लोग, हर पुलिस के अफसर, हर स्टेट में और राज्य के हों और भारत के हिस्सों से आयें। ये बात, ये कायदा अच्छा है। क्योंकि हमारे सामने देश में एक सबसे बड़ा सवाल यह है कि भारत के सब रहने वालों में एकता हो। एकता कैसी? एकता है, हम एक बड़ा देश हैं, महान देश है हमारा, नक्शे पर एक हैं। हमारी लोकसभा एक है दिल्ली में, Parliament एक है, और बहुत सारी बातें। एक हैं, ठीक है। लेकिन जो असली मजबूत एकता होती है वो दिल

532. After this Nehru spoke in Hindi.

की होती है, कायदे-कानून की नहीं। कायदे-कानून तो उसको एक जामा पहना देते हैं। दिल की एकता जितनी बढ़ती है उतना ही देश मजबूत होता है। और हमें ये मानना है कि हम अभी तक इस मामले में कमजोर हैं और अलग-अलग भारत के हिस्से कुछ अपने को अलग समझते हैं और अक्सर बहस हो जाती है, कभी भाषा, जवान के मामले में, कभी कुछ और, यहाँ तक कि कभी-कभी एक-एक state में लोग खींचते हैं।

ये राजस्थान में हम आजकल हैं और राजस्थान बना एक राज्य, एक state, नये भारत का, और बहुत कुछ उसमें एकता बढ़ी है। लेकिन अभी तक देखने में आता है कि पुराने विचार, पुराने खेंच चलते जाते हैं, ये बातें हमें दुर्बल करती हैं, कमजोर करती हैं। राजस्थान की मिसाल मैंने आपको दी। राजस्थान दो बातों के लिए हमारे इतिहास में प्रसिद्ध है, एक तो यहाँ की सैकड़ों कहानियाँ हैं, हिम्मत की, बहादुरी की। आप जानते हैं राजस्थान सारे भारत में और भारत के बाहर भी मशहूर है हमारे पुराने इतिहास में हिम्मत और बहादुरी के लिये। दूसरे राजस्थान मशहूर है आपस में लड़ने के लिये। दोनों बातों में प्रसिद्ध है। पुराने इतिहास का मैं कह रहा हूँ। और सारी वीरता और बहादुरी नष्ट हो जाती थी, जाया हो जाती थी, आपस के नाइतिफाकी और आपस के लड़ने से, पुराने जमाने में। इससे हमें सबक सीखना है, इससे कोई ज्यादा हानिकारक और नुकसानदायक बात और नहीं है कि हम आपस में मिलकर न चल सकें, चाहे हमें कभी-कभी अपनी राय को दबाना क्यों न हो।

तो जब मैं भारत की एकता कहता हूँ तो मेरा मतलब होता है दिल की एकता, कि हम अपने-अपने गाँव, जिला व प्रान्त को मेरा मतलब नहीं कि भूल जायँ, लेकिन हमेशा सारे भारत को हम अपना देश समझें, न कि राजस्थान, या उत्तर प्रदेश या बम्बई या मद्रास, जो कुछ हो। बम्बई, मद्रास, राजस्थान, उत्तर प्रदेश, पंजाब, बंगाल और सब ही आगे बढ़ेंगे जब सारा भारत बढ़ता है, अलग-अलग कोई नहीं बढ़ेगा। हमें स्वराज मिला तो सारे भारत को मिला, अलग-अलग हिस्सों को नहीं। हम आगे बढ़ते हैं तो सारा भारत बढ़ता है। सब प्रान्त, प्रदेश पीछे हटते हैं तो सब गिरते हैं।

कल शाम को कुछ नाच हमने देखे और उसमें आपमें से बहुतों ने भी हिस्सा लिया, और एक मशहूर पंजाब का नाच है, उसको करके आपने दिखाया। खैर, वो तो बहुत अच्छा था और करके आपने किया। मुझे ख़ासतौर से खुशी हुई ये सुनकर कि उन नाचने वालों में बहुत सारे लोग पंजाब के बाहर के थे, यहाँ तक कि दक्षिण के भी थे। ये इस तरह से अपने नाचने-गाने में एक दूसरे को समझना, पूर्व, पश्चिम, उत्तर, दक्षिण। भारत के लोग एक दूसरे को समझें और एक दूसरे के नाच-गान में हिस्सा लें। इससे ज्यादा एक दूसरे को वो पहचानेंगे और जिस तरह की एकता दिल की मैं कहता हूँ, वो पैदा करेंगे। तो मुझे उसको देखकर ये विचार आये और ख़ासतौर से इस बात की खुशी हुई, और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जैसे दक्षिण के कुछ लोगों ने आकर ये पंजाब का भांगड़ा नृत्य सीखा और हमारे उत्तर के लोग कुछ दक्षिण के नाच-गाने सीखेंगे, इस तरह से एक दूसरे की पहचान बढ़ाएंगे।

अब आप लोग जाएंगे, इधर-उधर फैलेंगे हिन्दुस्तान में, और हल्के-हल्के काम करेंगे और काम करना सीखेंगे। आप हमेशा, मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जो दो-चार बातें मैंने आपसे इस समय कहीं, याद रहें। क्योंकि हमारे देश में बहुत सारी ताकतें हैं, शक्तियाँ हैं जो कि मिलती हैं और हममें एकता

मजबूत करती हैं। कुछ ऐसी हैं जो हमें दुर्बल करती हैं, और हममें फूट पैदा करती हैं। कुछ हमारे रिवाज़ हैं, समाज के रिवाज़ हैं जो कि हमें दुर्बल उन्होंने किया। जैसे जाति भेद और ऐसे रिवाज़ हैं जो काफी हमें कमजोर किया और करते जाते हैं। ख़ैर, वो अब कम होती जाती हैं। एक करने की बातों में हमारे देश में बड़ी भारी एक चीज़ है वो हमारी फौज है। सारे भारत के लोग आते हैं और फौज में रह कर हमारी एक किसी कदर भारतीय अधिक बनते हैं, एकता उनमें फैलती है। इसी तरह से पुलिस को भी होना चाहिए, जोकि एक हथियार है लोगों को एक करने के लिए।

ख़ैर, अब आप लोग, जो आपने किया यहाँ, काम किया, उसके लिए मुबारकवाद और अब आप जायें और भारत की सेवा अच्छी तरह से करें।

जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins]

In a few days' time, you will go to different parts of the country. In many cases you will go to States other than your home State. This is a good thing. I have been told that it is of advantage to have at least 50 per cent of the police officers in every State from other parts of the country. This is a good system because the biggest problem before India today is to maintain unity among the people. What kind of unity? There is unity and India is a big country and a great country and it is one country on the map. We have the Lok Sabha in Delhi and a Parliament, and there are other things like that. That is all right. But the real unity is that of the heart, not of rules and regulations. Laws merely serve as an outfit of that unity. The greater the emotional integration among the people, the stronger the nation becomes. We must accept that even to this day we are lacking in this matter. People living in different parts of the country consider themselves separate entities, and there are often quarrels over language and other issues. Even within each State people pull in different directions.

Rajasthan is one of the States of new India and there is now greater unity among the people of the State. But even to this day, the old ideas and taboos and customs are continuing. They tend to weaken the country. I have given you the example of Rajasthan. Rajasthan has been famous in Indian history for two things. The bravery and the tales of courage of the people of Rajasthan are famous in India and outside too. The other thing which Rajasthan is famous for is the infighting among its people. I am talking about old history. Internal disunity and internecine feuds used to mar the qualities of bravery of the people of Rajasthan. We must learn a lesson from this for there is nothing more harmful than the inability to live together in amity even if it means suppressing one's own views sometimes.

So when I talk of Indian unity, I mean emotional integration. I do not say that you should forget your village, district or State. But we must think of the

whole of India as our country, not merely Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Punjab or some other State. Each one of these States can progress only if India as a whole progresses; no State can progress in isolation. India as a whole has got freedom, not its parts separately. So also progress has to come to the whole country for all the States hang together.

We saw a dance programme last evening in which many of you participated. You danced the Bhangra which is a famous dance of Punjab. It was very well done and I was particularly happy to hear that many of those who danced were from outside Punjab, even from the South. This kind of interaction among people gives them an opportunity to understand one another. It is important that people from different parts of the country—North, East, South, West—should take part in the cultural activities of each other. This will help them understand each other better. This will lead to the kind of emotional integration that I talk about. These thoughts came to my mind as I watched that performance and it pleased me greatly, and I hope that in the same way as some people from the South have learned the Bhangra dance, the people from the North will also learn some South Indian music and dance. This will help them in understanding one another better.

You will soon go to different parts of India and gradually get better trained in course of time on your jobs. I hope that you will always bear in mind some of the things that I have told you today. There are many forces in India which make for unity and cohesion. There are others which weaken us and create disunity. There are certain social customs and traditions, like the caste system, which have weakened us in the past and continue to do so. Well, they are gradually disappearing. One of the things which make for great unity is our armed forces in which people from all over India work together. To some extent, they acquire a greater degree of Indianness by being in the armed forces. This produces unity among them. The same thing should happen in the police force which should serve as a tool to unite the people.

Well, I congratulate you on your work here. Now I hope you go out and serve the country well.

Jai Hind.

[Translation ends]

147. To Raj Bahadur⁵³³

October 21, 1958

My dear Raj Bahadur,⁵³⁴

Some months ago, the Comptroller & Auditor-General⁵³⁵ came to me and said that it was extraordinary how many of the Ministers of the UP Government had gone to Badrinath⁵³⁶ for some kind of an inspection or on Government business. It was not clear why Badrinath should attract so many inspections or what particular Government business there was there. He said that the presumption was that they had gone there either for religious purposes or for just a holiday visit. They had every right to do so, but it was not fair to treat it as an official visit and to charge for it.

I am mentioning this as, the other day, I heard that you had also gone to Badrinath and took a number of people with you. I do not know for what particular purpose you went there. In view, however of what the Auditor-General told me, I thought of writing to you. We do not want any criticisms made of Ministers' conduct.⁵³⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

533. JN Collection.

534. Minister of State for Transport and Communications.

535. Asok Kumar Chanda.

536. A major Hindu pilgrimage centre in what was then Uttar Pradesh, now Uttarakhand.

537. The same day Nehru also drew the attention of B.N. Datar, Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, to the Comptroller & Auditor-General's complaint to him regarding the UP Government Ministers, and wrote: "The other day I heard that you had also been to Badrinath and immediately the criticism of the Auditor-General came to my mind. I do not know for what purpose you went there."

148. To S. Radhakrishnan⁵³⁸

October 22, 1958

My dear Radhakrishnan,⁵³⁹

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd and the Press cutting that you have sent me.⁵⁴⁰ When you had first mentioned this matter to me, you said something about the Investment Committee of the LIC. On enquiry, I found that that list did not contain C.C. Desai's name. The notification of the Government of India which you have now sent apparently is of a larger body—the members of the Life Insurance Corporation. I think it would have been better to leave out one or two names from that list.⁵⁴¹

I shall bear in mind what you have written.⁵⁴²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

538. JN Collection.

539. Vice-President of India.

540. A news item in *The Times of India* (New Delhi) of 27 August on an official announcement of the appointment of 15 persons to the Life Insurance Corporation (LIC) Board, including C.C. Desai, till recently the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan.541. The same day Nehru wrote to G.B. Pant: "I spoke to you this evening about the Investment Committee of the LIC. That Committee did not contain C.C. Desai's name. But I find that a larger body, that is, the members of the LIC does contain his name.... I think it would have been wiser not to include his name in this list of members." Nehru also enclosed the press cutting from *The Times of India*.

542. In his letter Radhakrishnan had written: "We have to be extremely careful in these difficult days and foster faith among the people in the integrity of our administration. You are so good and kind and people take advantage of your great qualities. I have no doubt that you will impress on the AICC the need for extreme vigilance. When you speak about the socialist pattern of society they say 'yes' to you and go their own way. Policy statements made by some of our Ministers do not seem to support our ideals."

149. To K. Raghuramaiah⁵⁴³

October 23, 1958

My dear Raghuramaiah,⁵⁴⁴

A lady saw me in my office today and gave me a letter. This letter gave a fairly long account, in which it was stated that she was married to you on the 25th May, 1955, in Madras but that, at your request, this marriage was kept secret. Then a long account followed of what had happened ever since then in Delhi and elsewhere, including her accompanying you to the United States when you went there for the UN Assembly. I need not repeat all that she has written in detail. But I am disturbed by it. I am just going to Hyderabad. On my return, I should like you to see me about this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

543. JN Collection.

544. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Guntur, Andhra Pradesh, and Deputy Minister of Defence.

150. UK Trust for Nizam's Grandsons⁵⁴⁵

The more I think of this matter, the more I feel that we should not be entangled in it.⁵⁴⁶ That, I believe, is also the view of the Home Minister.⁵⁴⁷

2. You put forward certain suggestions and suggest that we should consult the Nizam about them. But far more depends upon the Pakistan Government than on the Nizam. For us to enter into discussions with the Nizam will lead us nowhere and might embarrass us later. I think, therefore, that we should allow matters to rest where they are for the present. I am sure that the Pakistan Government will not agree to your proposals.

151. To Rajendra Prasad⁵⁴⁸

October 27, 1958

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have your letter of the 26th October about a lady who sent you a letter along with a large number of photographs. She came to me also and gave me copies of the same photographs as well as a long letter. I knew nothing about this matter. On enquiry, I find that she has been distributing these photographs and letters rather widely.

I wrote to Raghuramaiah on this subject. I find he is lying ill in Guntur, and I do not know when he will come back. I shall speak to him when he returns.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

545. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, Hyderabad, 25 October 1958. JN Collection.

546. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, High Commissioner of India to the UK, had written to M.J. Desai on 18 July 1958 that some time previously Ikramullah, the High Commissioner of Pakistan to the UK, had informed her that the Nizam of Hyderabad had certain funds in the UK, and he (Ikramullah) proposed creating a trust in Britain in the name of the Nizam's grandsons.

547. G.B. Pant noted on 21 October that according to C.B. Taraporvala, the Nizam's Financial Adviser, Ikramullah was altogether opposed to these funds being transferred to India or even to the Nizam's consulting the Government of India in this connection; therefore, Government should not pursue the matter further. Pant wondered "if any agreement reached with the Pakistan Govt will be worth the paper on which it is written."

548. JN Collection.

III. DEVELOPMENT

(a) Economy

152. Functioning of the Manpower Directorate¹

We have talked a great deal about encouraging our scientists and technical men. We send them abroad for training. We have now got some kind of a pool, and all that. But the implementation of these decisions appears to be still far off. Repeatedly, people come to me, who are competent and who have had training abroad, and they knock about from Ministry to Ministry.

2. What exactly does the Man Power² Directorate³ do and who is in charge of it? Is it just someone sitting at a table taking down names for his register, or does he make any other effort? I am told that the officer in charge of the Man Power Directorate said to a very competent applicant that it was not their duty to find employment for the people who are qualified. What then is his duty? If what he said is correct, then we should wind up the Man Power Directorate, or appoint some more active person to it.

3. Here is a case of Bal Krishna Datta. He appears to have been sent to Australia for practical training in farming under the Colombo Plan. After his training, he did some research work in Australia. He was apparently recalled to India by the Ministry of Food & Agriculture, and he came back in November last. He goes about from officer to officer of that Ministry without any result; each one expresses his inability to help.

4. It is possible to put his name down on the national register according to our rules, and give him some monthly allowance. But, surely, that is not good enough in this case. He was especially called back, and I am told that he is earning about rupees five hundred a month even here, but at a job in which he is not interested. He is selling some agricultural machinery on commission basis. What he wants, and what we want, is some kind of work in the field,

1. Note to Vishnu Sahay, Cabinet Secretary, 1 September 1958. JN Collection.

2. Nehru's spelling.

3. New bodies had been created for manpower planning: 1) Directorate of Manpower Coordination in the Home Ministry in 1956; 2) Manpower Committee of the Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister; and 3) Division of Technical Manpower in the Planning Commission. The Manpower Directorate of the Home Ministry was to assess manpower supply and demand, frame policy, and stimulate and coordinate training and employment programmes in the Central Ministries and States.

and not sit in an office or sell goods. Naturally, he is feeling frustrated. He has high educational qualifications. He secured a first-class first in BSc (Hons) in Zoology and Botany, and was awarded a gold medal. He has done a good deal of post-graduate research.

5. This is a typical example of how we function and how we should not function. I am greatly distressed at this kind of thing, as it shows up our Government in a pitiful light.

6. Will you please enquire into this matter? I am sending copies of this note to the Minister of Food & Agriculture⁴ and to the Deputy Chairman,⁵ Planning Commission.

153. To Eugene R. Black⁶

September 2, 1958

Dear Mr Black,⁷

We have all of us here been much gratified at the results of the recent Conference held in Washington under the auspices of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to consider foreign credits to meet our balance of payments situation.⁸ The meeting has been noteworthy for many reasons, for the friendliness of its approach to India's balance of payments problem, for its sympathetic appreciation of India's developmental needs, for the unanimity of views among all its participants and for the speed with which its deliberations were brought to a successful conclusion. To the countries which took part in the meeting and to the Bank, in particular, which has from the first taken a keen and friendly interest in India's economic development and has assisted in the execution of many of our projects, we owe a deep debt of gratitude for their generous and timely help. To no one, however, are we more

4. Ajit Prasad Jain.

5. V.T. Krishnamachari.

6. JN Collection.

7. President, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), also known as the World Bank.

8. Talks on India's financial problems were held in Washington from 25 to 27 August under the auspices of the IBRD with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and India's five leading creditor-nations, the UK, the USA, Canada, Japan and West Germany participating. The press reported that they had agreed on an aid plan of \$350,000,000 over the next seven months and to consider an additional \$600,000,000 by March 1961, that is, the end of India's Second Five Year Plan.

indebted than to you yourself, for, without your wise and vigorous guidance and the support you have ungrudgingly given to us, the results achieved would not have been possible. Allow me to express to you my warm and sincere thanks for the notable contribution you personally made to the successful outcome of the Washington Conference.

I understand that you are coming to Delhi in the third week of this month and intend to spend a brief holiday in Kashmir before the annual session of the Bank and the Fund begins.⁹ I regret I shall not be here at the time, as I am going on a fortnight's visit to Bhutan. I am much looking forward, however, to meeting you on my return to Delhi, and hope you will have a pleasant and restful time in Kashmir.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

154. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹⁰

5th September 1958

My dear Pantji,¹¹

I am forwarding a resolution to you about fertilisers, etc., passed by the Development Council for Heavy Chemicals.¹² I think that what this resolution says deserves consideration by us. It is painful to think how much money we have spent on import of foodgrains, how much on freight charges and how we could have built up innumerable industries in India with that money. Money is

9. The thirteenth joint annual session of the IBRD and the IMF was held in New Delhi from 6 to 10 October 1958. The joint session was inaugurated by Nehru. See item 320.

10. File No. 31(81)/58-PMS. Also available in A.P. Jain Papers, NMML, and JN Collection. Similar letters were also sent to A.P. Jain, V.T. Krishnamachari and Shriman Narayan, Member of the Planning Commission.

11. Union Home Minister.

12. This resolution by the Development Council for Heavy Chemicals asked the Planning Commission to consider higher Plan priority to nitrogenous fertiliser production to reduce the outflow of foreign exchange, and it presented statistics to make its point.

of course difficult to find but it appears to be a little easier to find it for consumption purposes than for investment purposes.¹³

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

155. To Keshava Deva Malaviya¹⁴

September 10, 1958

My dear Keshava,¹⁵

Your letter of September 10. I have read the two letters of Dr Ghosh.¹⁶ I have not read the various proposals he has made as to the duties of the members and directors of the Commission.

I agree with you that we should allow matters to rest where they are at present and not convert the Oil and Natural Gas Commission into a private limited company. Personally I think that such a Commission should normally have a technical head. However, for the present, we need make no change.

As for more powers being given to the ONGC,¹⁷ I am broadly in agreement, but this matter too should rest at present. You are going away for some time and I shall also be out of Delhi.

I am returning the papers to you.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. G.B. Pant replied on 9 September agreeing that fertiliser production schemes, nitrogenous and others, merited top priority. A.P. Jain replied on 6 September that "what I have been pressing over and over again for the last few years" had been appreciated; but he added: "The resolution appears to imply that we can cut down our imports of foodgrains and, from the savings so made, buy fertilisers. This is far from the fact. Most of our imports of wheat are under 'PL 480' for which we have to pay in local currency. Therefore, if fertiliser factories are to be set up or fertilisers have to be imported pending the setting up of factories, we shall have to find foreign exchange."
14. JN Collection.
15. Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil.
16. Austin Manindra Nath Ghosh, Technical Member, Oil and Natural Gas Commission, 1956-61.
17. In late 1955, an Oil and Natural Gas Directorate was formed as a subordinate office under the then Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research. In August 1956, the Directorate became a Commission with greater powers.

156. To B. Gopala Reddi¹⁸

September 14, 1958

My dear Gopala Reddi.¹⁹

Just before leaving Delhi, Morarji Desai wrote a letter to me dated 24th August, 1958.²⁰ In this he referred to a proposal of the Defence Ministry for authorising an expenditure of about Rs 6000-00 on the production of prototypes of Japanese three-wheeled trucks in the Ordnance Factories. I had a very brief talk with Morarji Bhai on this subject before he left. I was not fully acquainted with the facts and I wanted to enquire further.

Morarji Bhai's letter raises two or three points. I am writing to you about them, as I am leaving for Bhutan soon. Morarji Bhai will return before I return.²¹ I do not want to worry him while he is travelling about abroad. But this letter might be kept for him to see when he returns.

I wrote to Lal Bahadur Shastri²² to let me have some information about any arrangements arrived at with some German firm for the manufacture of the three-wheeled trucks²³ to which Morarji Bhai refers. I have not had Lal Bahadur's reply yet about this matter.

From his letter it appears that Morarji Bhai did not like the idea of my authorising the Defence Ministry to go ahead with the making of the prototypes without reference to Finance. While it is perfectly true that any major expenditure on a new project should have the approval of Finance, I do not think it is at all necessary for Finance or even for me as Prime Minister to have to give permission before any kind of an experiment of this type is made. We should always encourage experiments, and an experiment involving some small incidental expenditure is completely within the discretion of the Minister of the administrative Ministry concerned. It requires no permission. In such matters we cannot come in the way of the Minister concerned. For some time past the question of devolution of powers from the Finance Ministry to the administrative

18. JN Collection.

19. Union Minister of State for Finance.

20. Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister, left New Delhi on 26 August on a visit to the UK, the USA and Canada.

21. Nehru left for his Bhutan visit on 16 September and returned to New Delhi on 2 October.

22. Union Minister of Commerce & Industry.

23. See item 197 for Nehru's letter of 7 September 1958 to Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Ministries has been discussed.²⁴ Some steps have also been taken in that direction. It may be that we shall take even further steps because I am convinced that in a moving and dynamic economy we can never make adequate progress unless there is this devolution of authority and the various brakes and checks are removed. Possibly this may involve some risk or some unnecessary expenditure on a small scale. But that risk has to be taken, unless we want to live in a static condition.

It is essential for us to produce all manner of things which we do not produce now. Normally we go through elaborate processes of getting some foreign manufacturer to agree to do this for us or to help us to do it. Sometimes this is inevitable, though I think we can do much more ourselves than is usually thought of. But whatever arrangements we may arrive at with a foreign manufacturer should never be allowed to come in the way of our experimenting and even making the goods if we think it worthwhile. We cannot adopt a restrictive or obstructive policy in producing from our own resources and our own technical skill. This is bad from the point of view of economic policy; this is worse from the point of view of suppressing talent. We have quite a considerable number of very talented engineers and technically trained officers. We have also a good deal of plants of various kinds. What is necessary is to bring these two together and produce something. Naturally this will involve experiments sometimes involving some extra expenditure. But that is the only way to go ahead, and that is the way Japan went ahead. Whenever the Japanese got a machine, they built their own prototype and went ahead with it. We seem to be afraid of relying on ourselves and our own men and constantly look abroad.

In any event, it should be clearly understood that we have to encourage this kind of experimentation and thus make our own young technicians and engineers feel that we think highly of them and are prepared to give them opportunities. Where such an experiment involves relatively small sums of money, there is no question of anybody's sanction except the Minister concerned.

If as a result of the experiment, a larger scheme is evolved, that has to be given careful consideration from the point of view of expenditure as well as of broader policies. The fact that we might perhaps not be able to take up a bigger scheme should not deter us from experimenting. As a matter of fact, we can never know precisely what the bigger scheme will involve, unless we have

24. See, for instance, Nehru's note of 24 November 1957 to M.K. Vellodi, the then Cabinet Secretary, in SWJN/SS/40/p. 345.

prototypes and know that we can make it. Therefore, such experimentation should be encouraged.

As for broader policies, there should be no question at any time of our State manufacture coming in the way of some private firms, whether that is Indian or foreign. Even if we have an arrangement with a private or foreign firm, it is a good thing to introduce a competitive element into it by finding out what we can do ourselves. In the olden days there was a curious idea that Government should not compete with private firms. That idea was wrong at any time; but now when we talk of a socialist pattern, it is doubly wrong. Of course Government should compete and try to do better than a private firm. There is no virtue at all in a private firm doing a thing much more expensively than the State can do it.

I saw the other day three of these prototypes of three-wheeled trucks in the Defence Production Exhibition. I was told that they have been made in five weeks' time by our engineers, which is very creditable to them. The engine was, I understand, foreign, but it is not difficult to make it, I suppose, though this would take some time. In any event, something good had been done to produce these in rather a record time. We have to work out the economics of it. If our Ordnance Factories can produce these three-wheeled trucks cheaper than those we obtain from a foreign agency or a private agency, then obviously this is a desirable proposition. It will have to be looked into. Once we are satisfied about this, there is no reason whatever why we should not allow the Ordnance Factories to manufacture them, primarily for the use of Defence but even for other uses if that question arises. This need not come in the way of any arrangement with a foreign firm.

We have come to think too much of large-scale manufacture. That is necessary where the demand is great. Where the demand is limited, it may be desirable to have simpler methods which may well turn out to be cheaper.

What I have said above about these trucks applies to any other article of manufacture. I repeat that we should encourage experimentation in this and judge by the results obtained. The methods we have so far followed have the opposite effect on large numbers of our young engineers who are keen to do something worthwhile.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

157. To V.T. Krishnamachari²⁵

September 14, 1958

My dear V.T.,²⁶

I am going away to Bhutan, as you know, and I shall be away till early in October. I am sorry that I shall not be able to attend the Planning Commission meetings during this period.

While we are necessarily occupied with the food situation, which is so important, and with an appraisal of our resources, etc., I hope that we shall not forget the preparatory steps for the Third Five Year Plan. In particular, I am referring to the statistical part and perspective planning. Previously, I think we paid rather less attention to this than it deserved. And yet, it seems the essential basis for planning.

Fortunately, we have got going a little. But, even now, do we give much thought to the number of trained personnel like engineers, etc., that may be required five years or ten years hence? I do not know if realistic steps are being taken now to have those trained engineers and technicians then.

I am inclined to think that our Perspective Planning Division should be enlarged somewhat. At present, it consists chiefly of people who have come from the Indian Statistical Institute. They are doing good work. It has been suggested to me that it might be worthwhile to get some trained officers from various Ministries to join this Perspective Planning Division for two or three months at a time. That is, these officers could come on loan on short assignments for specialised study of some aspects for which they are particularly suited, even though they might not know much about other aspects.

This approach seems to me a good one. Without any additional expenditure, the Perspective Planning Division would get good help and expand its activities. At the same time, those officers will get a wider outlook and, after two or three months of this special work, they could return to their Ministries or institutions.

We have got going with our steel plants. But I am not sure at all that we are moving in regard to the heavy machine building project, which is one of the foundations of future advance. I should imagine that among the matters requiring high priority are: (1) heavy machine building project, (2) fertilisers and (3) heavy electricals; also, there is drugs.

25. File No. Plan/51/1/58, Planning Commission. Also available in File No. 17(190)/56-59-PMS and JN Collection.

26. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

There is another idea I should like to put to you. Can we not issue on behalf of the Planning Commission, small pamphlets on different aspects of planning? I am thinking of these pamphlets from the point of view more of our universities, colleges and other educational and technical institutions, although they would be useful for the general public also. I find that our students are deeply interested in this subject, provided it is put in an attractive way which they can understand. They have not got enough material to read. We have issued general surveys of planning. What I am suggesting now are small pamphlets dealing with broad aspects. I imagine that you have quite a number of bright young men in the Planning Commission. Why should not each one of them be asked to produce a brief pamphlet on a particular aspect with which he is acquainted? This should be published under his name. I think this kind of thing would be popular and would meet a definite need.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

158. Imported Stationery²⁷

After more than eleven years of independence, I find that your Ministry goes on supplying to my office, and presumably other offices, various articles of stationery manufactured outside India. Thus I have at present in my office room in the Secretariat seven pencils; all of them have been manufactured in Germany.

2. I should have thought that India produces the most excellent pencils, and even if they were second-rate, it is better for us to use them than to buy foreign pencils.

3. Some years ago, I raised this matter and was told vaguely that old stocks were being supplied. How old stocks could last ten years is a little difficult for me to understand. Nor do I understand why any imports of such articles are allowed here. Probably the imports have stopped now with the restrictions recently imposed.

4. But whether these articles are imported or not, no Government office should be supplied with foreign pencils or other articles of foreign stationery which can be obtained from Indian sources.

27. Note to K.C. Reddy, Union Minister of Works, Housing & Supply, 4 October 1958. JN Collection.

5. In any event, I shall be grateful if the Prime Minister's Secretariat and the External Affairs Ministry are not supplied with any foreign pencils in future. It hurts me to find this present policy being pursued. It indicates that we do not attach much value to our professions.²⁸

159. To V.T. Krishnamachari²⁹

October 5, 1958

My dear V.T.,

Ajit Prasad Jain has sent me a file dealing with a relatively small loan to the UP Government for the expansion of a Government Fruit Processing Factory at Ramgarh. The facts are stated in the papers, and possibly you know them.

I think that it will not be proper for the Planning Commission to overrule a Minister's word when given. Of course, if this involves serious consequences, this may have to be done. But, in a matter of this kind where the amount involved is relatively small and is obviously for a good and worthwhile purpose, it does seem undesirable for the Planning Commission to take up this rigid line.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

28. See also item 160 for Nehru's letter of 11 October 1958 to K.C. Reddy on this subject.
29. File No. 17(99)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

160. To K.C. Reddy³⁰

October 11, 1958

My dear Reddy,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th October 1958 about the imported stationery and especially pencils.³¹ I am surprised to learn that the Prime Minister's Secretariat at one time specially asked for imported pencils.³² If they did so, this was entirely against my wishes. I think you should tell every Ministry and Department that in future they will not get imported pencils. In fact pencils should not be imported at all, so that the question of getting them does not arise. Possibly in the case of some artistic materials or special drawing pencils, we may import them if we do not produce them at present. But otherwise there should be no imports.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

161. To N.V. Gadgil³³

15th October, 1958

My dear Gadgil,³⁴

I am writing to you in your capacity as the Chancellor of the Punjab University.

One of the important Divisions of our Planning Commission is the Perspective Planning Division. This Division deals principally with statistical matters and is closely connected on the one hand with the Indian Statistical Institute and on the other with the work of the Planning Commission here. The

30. JN Collection.

31. Regarding the import of stationery (see item 158) K. C. Reddy replied that Nehru had already been informed in 1955 that no pencils had been imported after 1953. All Central Ministries had also been strongly urged to use only Indian stationery, and expenditure on such purchases had risen from Rs 312.02 lakhs in 1954-55 to Rs 430.76 lakhs in 1957-58. He said that pencils were imported only for special needs like drawing, charts, and survey work.

32. Reddy explained that from July 1952 the Prime Minister's Secretariat had been demanding imported pencils because the local ones were of poor quality.

33. JN Collection.

34. Governor of Punjab.

type of work it does requires specialisation of a particular kind and there are not many people who have that training.

Professor Mahalanobis³⁵ wrote a few days ago to Dr A.C. Joshi,³⁶ Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, about Dr K.S. Gill,³⁷ Reader in Economics in that University. Mahalanobis said that K.S. Gill was a person who would be able to help in this Perspective Planning Division a great deal because of his specialised training and, therefore, he asked Dr Joshi to release him, in the first instance for a year. The Vice-Chancellor replied to him that he regretted that it was not possible for him to spare the services of Dr K.S. Gill at present as he was guiding the research of a number of post-graduate students and no alternative arrangement could be made immediately.

I quite realise that it is difficult for universities to release their good men. Nevertheless, I feel that in the present case perhaps this might be done in regard to Dr K.S. Gill without any harm to the post-graduate students or to the University. In fact, Mahalanobis made his original approach after finding out from the Head of the Department of Economics of the Punjab University and he was agreeable. We would gladly help in finding a suitable person to take Dr Gill's place and to guide the research work of the post-graduate students. The Indian Statistical Institute is prepared to send another competent person. Also every effort will be made to help the post-graduate students in other ways also. After all Delhi is not far from Chandigarh.

The question of payment raises no difficulty.

The matter is rather urgent as this Perspective Planning is now in full swing for the Third Five Year Plan and it would be a great help to this work if Dr K.S. Gill could come here within two or three weeks.

35. Member, Planning Commission, and Statistical Adviser to the Government of India.
36. Amar Chand Joshi (b. 1908), educationist; Professor of Botany, Banaras Hindu University (BHU), 1931-45; Professor, Government College, Hoshiarpur, Punjab, 1947-51; Principal, Government Training College for Teachers, Jullundur, 1951-53; Director of Public Instruction and Secretary to Punjab Government, 1953-57; Vice-Chancellor, Kurukshetra University, 1956-59; Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University, 1957-65, and thereafter Vice-Chancellor Emeritus; Advisor, Planning Commission, 1965-67; Vice-Chancellor, BHU, 1967-69.
37. Karam Singh Gill (d. 2004); economist and educationist; taught at Khalsa College, Amritsar, and Punjab University, Chandigarh, as Reader, 1955-59; Punjabi University, Patiala, as Professor, 1963-64, and Guru Nanak Dev University (GNDU), Amritsar; joined the Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission, 1959; consultant with the Organisation for European Cooperation and Development in Turkey, 1967-71, and later in Iraq; Secretary and Commissioner, Planning, Punjab Government, 1977-78; Vice-Chancellor, GNDU, 1978-81.

Mahalanobis is again writing to the Vice-Chancellor Dr Joshi. I would be grateful if you could also speak to the Vice-Chancellor on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

162. Cooperative Movement in India³⁸

I am asked to send a message of good wishes to the Delhi Cooperative Institute. I gladly do so because I believe very firmly in the Cooperative Movement.

But I have begun to feel that the Cooperative Movement in India is still very restricted in its scope and has to function under laws which discourage its growth. By cooperation is usually meant a credit cooperative. That is useful, no doubt, but only in a very limited sense. The idea of cooperation is something much more to me.

I do not particularly fancy large-scale cooperatives covering a wide area. I believe in village cooperatives, linked together for some common task. Also, I believe in the Cooperative Movement being non-official so that a spirit of initiative and self-reliance may grow in the people.

163. To V.T. Krishnamachari³⁹

October 22, 1958

My dear V.T.,

I am going away tomorrow to Hyderabad⁴⁰ and am likely to be away for a number of days. I would have liked to have a little talk with you before I left Delhi, but I fear there is no time today.

I have been thinking a great deal of the Third Plan, and I have, I think, mentioned this to you and written to you about it also.⁴¹ Today, Mahalanobis

38. Message, 20 October 1958, sent to Brahm Perakash, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha and President, Delhi Cooperative Institute Limited, on the occasion of the celebration of the Delhi Cooperative Week from 1 to 7 November 1958. JN Collection.

39. File No. 17(302)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

40. To attend the AICC Session held in Hyderabad from 24 to 26 October.

41. Nehru had written to V.T. Krishnamachari on 14 September 1958. See item 157.

came to see me about some other matters. He mentioned this also. I gather that he has had a talk with you on the subject.

It seems to me that it would be a good thing if the members of the Planning Commission could have a few informal talks about this matter. It is better to confine these to the members of the Commission plus the Secretary and the Additional Secretary, because a larger group would become rather formal. Perhaps, you can fix up some dates when I return from Hyderabad.

We cannot be precise about our resources at this stage. But we should have fairly clear ideas on the subject and the objectives aimed at. These would naturally have to be conditioned by our resources. There is always the conflict between our needs and our resources, and we have to find a middle way. I think it is important, however, that we should clarify our own thinking. Normally, we think about the projects which we have undertaken and which we might undertake in future. That, of course, is necessary. But, if we are to plan, we have to look ahead and give some logical priorities, and also the social needs which are so vital. The pressure of these needs becomes ever greater. We have also to profit by our experience of our Second Plan preparation and where we made some mistakes in doing this work. Obviously, we have to continue the present development plans plus the inevitable advances which have to follow. But other matters which are necessitated by social conditions and objectives, have also to be kept in view. Then the technical aspect has to be worked out.

We have two years before us. I take it that the idea is that we should get ready the preliminary Plan in about a year's time, and then have another year for full discussion, in Parliament and public, etc. The public discussion is important. After that, we finalise it.

In this approach, perspectives have to be kept in view as well as the technical aspect.

I find that a resolution has been sent to the AICC by Shyam Nandan Mishra⁴² asking for the appointment of some kind of a Committee of the AICC to consider objectives and perspectives. I do not know exactly how we shall deal with this resolution in Hyderabad. But it is likely that some Committee might be formed for this purpose. This Committee could confer with the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

42. Deputy Minister for Planning, 1954-62.

164. To Shriman Narayan⁴³

October 22, 1958

My dear Shriman,⁴⁴

I gather that Mahalanobis has written to you about the proposals for the improvement and coordination of statistics of production of foodgrains, on a country-wide basis. This matter has been pending for a long time. It arose out of a note given to me by a Russian expert, on which I had noted at length.⁴⁵ This was referred to the Food Ministry. They took a mighty long time over it. Their experts prepared a very lengthy note more or less disagreeing with the proposals made. I did not agree with that note at all, and the matter was again referred to the Food Ministry, and there we have been.

I think it is time that this should be considered by the Cabinet and some decision arrived at. I cannot understand why anyone should object to a uniform method of collecting statistics all over the States as well as the Centre. We can never compare anything unless there is this uniformity. Also, we have to have some accuracy, which we do not possess at present. In the final analysis, we still depend on the patwaris. The only way to secure more or less accurate statistics is through the sample method. Of course, the work will have to be done by the State Governments. But the procedures and the method should be laid down by the Centre.

I think this is an urgent matter in view of our food situation. We cannot really deal with it unless we know what the facts are.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

43. File No. 31(72)/58-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

44. Member, Planning Commission.

45. Referring to a note on the organisation of Government statistics in India by A.E. Ezhov, Deputy Chief of the USSR Central Statistical Board and Chairman of its Scientific and Methodological Council, Nehru favoured quick action for coordinating statistics collection, as suggested by Ezhov. See also SWJN/SS/41/pp. 221-222, SWJN/SS/42/p. 299 and SWJN/SS/43/p. 129.

like to have full particulars about this arrangement that has been arrived at. Obviously, it must involve foreign exchange also. Could you kindly have these particulars sent to me?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

198. To Keshava Deva Malaviya¹⁹⁶

September 11, 1958

My dear Keshava,¹⁹⁷

Your letter of the 11th. I have read your draft statement which you propose to make tomorrow in the Lok Sabha.¹⁹⁸ It seems to be all right. There is just one or two minor suggestions I want to make.

At page 2, you say: "We are extremely lucky". Instead of "lucky", you might say "fortunate".

Then you refer to "Indian boys" at the end of that paragraph. Perhaps, it will be better to say "our young Indian engineers".¹⁹⁹

I think it would be advisable for you to make this statement in the Rajya Sabha also. If you cannot yourself make it about the same time, you can ask someone else to read it out on your behalf.²⁰⁰

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

196. File No. 17(311)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

197. Union Minister of State for Mines & Oil.

198. The statement pertained to the discovery of oil in the Cambay area by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

199. The changes suggested by Nehru were incorporated into the following paragraph:

"We propose to increase the number of drills in this area as also in some of the other promising areas so as to speed up the work. We are extremely fortunate to strike oil at such shallow depth in an unknown virgin area within a short time and at negligible cost and the credit goes to the hard work, determination and enthusiasm of our young Indian engineers. We are also indebted to the Russian and Rumanian experts who are helping us in our work."

200. The statement was made by Keshava Deva Malaviya in the Lok Sabha on 12 September 1958 and by Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, in the Rajya Sabha the same day.

166. To C.S. Jha⁴⁷

October 22, 1958

My dear Jha,⁴⁸

Our Statistical Adviser, Professor Mahalanobis, is likely to go to Japan about the second week of November. He will get in touch with you there. I should like you to help him in every way and to put him in touch with his opposite numbers in Japan.

Pitambar Pant,⁴⁹ who does statistical work in the Planning Commission here and more especially perspective planning, went to Japan a year or two ago and he established some kind of a unit for translation of Japanese reports, etc., into English so that we could take advantage of them. I do not know if you know about this unit. If not, you can write to Pitambar Pant about it. Mahalanobis will of course immediately get in touch with this unit when he goes there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

167. The Socialist Pattern of Society⁵⁰

Socialist Pattern of Society Must Remain Broad Objective:
Nehru's Declaration—Role of Private and Public Sectors

Hyderabad (Dn), Oct. 23. Prime Minister today declared in firm tones that India must always keep in view the broad objective of establishing the Socialist pattern of society and nothing should be done which came in the way of this movement or diverted the people away from it.

In a thirty-minute speech to the trainees of the Administrative Staff Training College here, the Prime Minister said that the pace of achieving this goal of

47. File No. 38(15)/56-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

48. Ambassador of India to Japan.

49. Head, Perspective Planning Division, Planning Commission.

50. Report of speech at the Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, 23 October 1958. *The Hindu*, 24 October 1958.

The college, patterned on the Administrative Staff College at Henley in the UK, was established in December 1957 by the Government of India with support from the corporate sector.

socialist pattern might be slow or fast, depending on certain conditions, but the "direction" of going towards it must be there always.

The Prime Minister, who was making his first speech soon after his arrival here today by air from Delhi for the AICC session, said that the private sector and the public sector were not branches of the same tree, but were based on different philosophies. "I do not mean to say that they are completely separate. I don't mean that but public sector, of course, can only come at a certain stage of development of the social group".

Mr Nehru said that one could not start suddenly the private or the public sector in Africa because conditions, including development of human beings there, had not gone that far. One might start a factory in Africa but one could not possibly start, particularly speaking, a big public enterprise there. All this related to the stage of social growth.

The Prime Minister, who explained at some length the objective of establishing the socialist pattern, said: "One fact I would like you to remember, because we are aiming at the socialist pattern of society in India. Now, what does it mean? We have said, of course, that we shall have the public and the private sectors and we have also said that we are not following any doctrinaire or dogmatic form of socialist theory. We are dynamic about it and we may be taking such steps as we think proper from time to time towards this goal, but always keeping in view the broad objective (socialist pattern) we have in view".

Mr Nehru said that India might not be in a position to go too fast towards this goal, because present day conditions prevented her from going fast, but the "direction" of going towards it must be kept "intact" and always in view. "Nothing should be done which comes in the way of that movement or diverts us from that".

Industrialisation of the Country—Human Factor Must Not be Overlooked

The Prime Minister said. "I am convinced that without industrialisation, without development of our industries with the highest technique, we are not going to advance, we are not going to make India a prosperous country. Europe and America became prosperous because they utilised scientific technology. We must do the same. I want to push that process as far as I can. But in doing so, I have always said, we have to keep in view the human factor".

Mr Nehru stressed the need for people developing more and more respect for manual labour. This manual labour was very essential even for the "intellect" to function properly. Work had also to be provided for millions of people in India through the development of cottage industries. These cottage industries should also be run with modern industrial techniques as far as possible.

Mr Nehru told the future "administrators" that without adopting the "friendly approach" towards the workers and treating them as equals, perhaps in a venture, nothing big could be achieved. "We are trying to introduce progressively workers' participation in industry. It has been done to some extent here and there in the private sector and to some extent in the public sector. That is bound to grow because you cannot have the cooperation of workers except on the basis of developing close bonds with them. In the early days of the industrial revolution in Europe, most of the inventions were made not by the bosses at the top, but the worker in the factory, the foreman and the like. They made most of the inventions, and not the big man at the top, when they got a chance. So people should be given every chance to do that".

The Prime Minister strongly condemned the development of 'caste mentality' even in the sphere of business. "Nothing is worse than introducing, as we have noticed, the caste system in our industry or in our administration. I do not like class one, class two, class three and class four officers. I can understand a person being able, more competent and capable and holding a responsible position. But such a person should not think that he belongs to a superior caste. Apart from everything else, he will not get work from others, but get into more difficulties."

Earlier, General Shrinagesh,⁵¹ Principal of the College, set up under the joint auspices of the Union Government and industrialists, said that the College was set up in December last year to promote closer cooperation between Government and business leaders by training them together. The training would enable them to understand each other and take independent and consistent action for the common good of the nation.

The Principal said that the College was the first of its kind in Asia and the third in the world. It would cater to the needs of the private and the public sectors since India had a mixed economy.

The Prime Minister said that the importance of the College lay not in its being the first in Asia or the third in the world, but the training it would impart to future administrators. "In the few minutes that I speak to you, there is not much point in my discussing the normal type of problems that you deal with in which you have greater experience and knowledge than I have. I am glad to note that the principal idea behind your discussions and your efforts here is to view problems from various sides so that you may get a wider outlook and thus be able to understand them (problems) in all their aspects".

51. General S.M. Shrinagesh, Principal, Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, 1957-59.

Mr Nehru however warned them against just specialising themselves in particular fields of science or technology or administration, without knowing anything about other aspects and problems of life. A man might become a very good engineer, but it was possible that he might not even be a good citizen. Mere specialisation, important as it was, would not be enough. Along with this specialisation, wider outlook must be developed.

Mr Nehru said: "In regard to any special field, probably the approach is the same even though you might differ in your economic theories. Let us again take an engineer who has to build a bridge. It does not very much matter if he comes from a Capitalist or Communist or Socialist country. He has got to build a bridge and the engineering skill and technique he applies to make it are the same whether in a Communist country or a Capitalist country. Or take science. By and large, a scientist presumably more or less works on the same lines. If scientists have to send a rocket to the moon, well, they study laws of science, not laws of Marx or something of a different type. I say this because in the present day, there is in the world, as you know, great tension between what is called the West and the East, between the Communist world the anti-Communist world or non-Communist world".

International Tension

"The tension is political, military, and if you like to some extent economic also. But essentially if you see, even the major countries that are in conflict, their broad objectives are the same. They are the development of science and technology and the use of science and technology. Well, you may put it for the betterment of the people, raise their standard of living, or to put it in another way, to increase their power potential to become great powers. It is only through science and technology today a country can become rich and powerful and grow even in the military sphere. Therefore, while they may have different economic theories, they may have cold war—they are really and largely working along same lines—that is, exploiting science and technology, exploiting power resources of the world which science has released. To gain their objectives of increasing their potential and creating military power for their country, to raise standards of living and so on and so forth".

Mr Nehru said that the industrial revolution began with the creation of steam power, electric power and the like. There was now the atomic power. These various types of power had increased the capacity of the individual or the group or the State enormously. The course of civilisation had, therefore, been to increase the use of this power. "An average administrator generally does not think of these things. He takes the world as it is, not quite as it is, but

still, he does not see the revolutionary tendencies that have been at work, that have made countries of Western Europe and America very rich and powerful. Later, these tendencies made a Communist country like Russia very powerful and increasingly rich”.

“God of Machine”

The Prime Minister said that as he had observed at the meeting of the World Bank in Delhi,⁵² in spite of the cold war, the Communist and the Capitalist countries worshipped the same God, the God of Machine, call it technology, and other countries like India tended to do the same or go in the same direction because there was otherwise no hope. “I am quite sure that without the use of nature’s power as brought out by scientific and technological devices, we cannot raise our wealth, we cannot raise it without utilising science and technology, without industrialisation in some form or the other”.

168. To V.T. Krishnamachari⁵³

October 29, 1958

My dear V.T.,

I enclose a letter from a Member of the Lok Sabha. This is about the Indians repatriated from Ceylon in Tinneveli District.⁵⁴ The question of helping them in some way has often arisen. We have not accepted any proposals involving direct help. That would mean a large commitment and might induce many people from Ceylon to come over. We, therefore, suggested indirect ways of

52. For Nehru’s speech at the joint annual session of the IMF, the IRBD and the International Finance Corporation held at New Delhi on 6 October 1958, see item 320.

53. JN Collection.

54. P.T. Thanu Pillai, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Tirunelveli in Madras and one of the founder members of the Ceylon Indian Congress, and K.P. Kosalram, President, Tirunelveli District Congress Committee, wrote that they were helping out, without publicity. They were planning a cooperative textile mill at Nazereth village in Tirunelveli District for about Rs 40 lakhs. Prospective workers from among the repatriates had subscribed Rs 10 lakhs as shares; the Cooperative Bank and the State Government were to lend Rs 10 lakhs each; and the Central Government was expected to grant Rs 10 lakhs. They asked Nehru to help since the Planning Commission had turned down their request because it had not been included in the Plan. They added: “It is nobody’s fault that the action of the Government of Ceylon pushing out our people was not anticipated.”

helping them. The proposal contained in the attached letter was one such method that was evolved. The Chief Minister of Madras⁵⁵ wrote to me about it also.

I do not know if the Planning Commission has considered it and how far it is supposed to come in the way of something else. But it does deserve some attention because it concerns these repatriates. Could you kindly have this matter looked into?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) Food and Agriculture

169. A National Approach to the Food Problem⁵⁶

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: तुम अपनी यात्रा के कुछ तजुर्बे नहीं बताओगे? फिर बताना चाहिए ना। अरे क्या, क्यों, क्यों गंगोत्री नहीं, वो दूसरी यात्रा जो होती है आजकल वो धाम, बड़ा धाम है। अच्छा, [...]

अन्य: आज सब यू. पी. के मेम्बर जा रहे हैं, अपनी चाय पीने के लिए के. डी. मालवीय⁵⁷ के यहाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: तो भैया, फिर क्या किया जाए? [...] कार्यवाही शुरू की जाए कि वहाँ लोकसभा अभी बैठी हुई है उसका इन्तजार किया जाए, क्या किया जाए जी हाँ, और उधर मैंने सुना है कि यू. पी. के बहुत सारे मेम्बरान चाय पीने गये हुए हैं। हाँ, जाने वाले हैं और अगर देर तक ये चला तो बजाए चाय के, वहाँ खाने का इन्तजाम करना पड़ेगा। खैर, मेरी राय में अब आप लोग हैं तो हमें कुछ न कुछ इसपे गौर करना चाहिए।

मैं इनसे, रघुनाथ सिंह⁵⁸ जी से कह रहा था कि नये-नये धाम अब जाया करते हैं लोग यात्रा करने। अभी हो के आये हैं, कुछ न कुछ बतायें पार्टी को। इस वक्त नहीं, कोई दिन मुकर्रर हो, हाँ, वो तैयार होके आयें। [...] ये तो आपने बहुत ही एक गहरी बात कही है आपने इस समय लेकिन मुश्किल ये है कि मसले तय होते हैं कैसे? एक तो सोचकर दिमाग में आती है कोई बात, दूसरे जो

55. K. Kamaraj Nadar.

56. Proceedings of the meeting of the Congress Party in Parliament, New Delhi, 1 September 1958, AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts. Nehru spoke in Hindi and English.

57. Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil.

58. Member of the Lok Sabha from Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh.

दिमाग में आये वो दूसरे से कहकर, वो जवानी भी कह सकते हैं। यहाँ ये बात ठीक है कि ज्यादा चर्चा हो तो मुमकिन है उससे फायदा न हो। लेकिन आखिर दुनिया में सोचने को और बोलने को कुछ वक्त है, मशवरे को। हाँ, तो फिर आइये, कौन साहब बोलना चाहते हैं, आइए।

एक बात मैं आपसे अर्ज करूँ कि food problem के कई हिस्से हैं, जाहिर है। बुनियादी हिस्सा है ज्यादा production का हिस्सा है, वगैरह, वगैरह, जो हैं ही हैं। उसके साथ जो बातें हैं, कि हमारे resources जो हैं उनको हम पूरी तौर से काम में नहीं लाये। चाहे पानी हो कि न हो उसमें। चाहे वो टैंक खराब हो गए हों, वो बहुत सारी बातें हैं। वो तो एक तरफ से हैं, यानी production कैसे बढ़ाया जाए, बुनियादी है। दूसरा ये है कि इस वक्त जो दिक्कतें पेश आई हैं, और जिसकी सबसे ज्यादा चर्चा उत्तर प्रदेश में है,⁵⁹ उसका कैसे सामना किया जाए? अब अगर सारे मैदान में हम घूमें, बार-बार वो घूम सकते हैं लेकिन कुछ मैदान बढ़ा है और ये सब सवाल फैल जाते हैं। शायद बेहतर होता अगर इस वक्त के सवाल पर गौर करते। मैं किसी को रोकना नहीं चाहता, और सवाल भी करें। क्योंकि आखिर में एक position इस वक्त है जिसका हमने सामना करना है। आप चाहें तो पुरानी जो आपकी राय में गलतियाँ हुई उसका चर्चा तो हो ही सकता है, होना चाहिये, उससे हम सीखें। लेकिन क्या किया जाए? आप देखिये, उत्तर प्रदेश में इस वक्त काफी इसका चर्चा है और जितने वहाँ विरोधी दल हैं, opposition parties, उन्होंने अपने-अपने ढंग से एक झंडा उठाया है हमला करने का। एक साहब कहते हैं कि कोई कहते हैं कि जो सन् '30 में कि '31 में salt सत्याग्रह हुई थी, अब ये होने वाली है। सत्याग्रह करनी चाहिये, दूसरे कहते हैं कि ग्रेन गोडॉउन्स में हमला करना चाहिए। तीसरे कुछ कहते हैं, और जाहिर है कि इन सब बातों से एक हवा पैदा होती है जिससे जो कुछ इस वक्त लोगों के दिल में अंदेशा हो वो बढ़ जाए। यानि सवाल ज्यादा पेचीदा हो जाता है और हवा ऐसी होती है जिससे लोग परेशान हों कि जाने क्या होने वाला है। याद रखिये कि food production, हर problem के दो जोड़ होते हैं खासकर ऐसी problem जिससे आम लोगों से ताल्लुक हो।⁶⁰

[Translation begins]

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... Won't you tell us something about your travels? You must... No, no, not Gangotri; I mean what is called yatra [pilgrimage]. Nowadays one centre is very popular [...]

59. Sampurnanand, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, informed Nehru on 31 August that while the Socialist Party was planning to intensify its agitation against the State Government in UP over the food situation in the State, the Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh were planning to start new agitations. For details, see SWJN/SS/43/p. 374.

60. After this the proceedings are in English. These are given immediately after the English translation of the preceding part of the proceedings.

Someone: Today all the UP members are going to K.D. Malaviya's⁶¹ house for tea.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So what is to be done? [...] Should we start the proceedings or wait for the Lok Sabha sitting to end? What is to be done? Oh yes, and I hear that many members from UP have gone to have tea or they are about to go, and if this goes on much longer, arrangements will have to be made for dinner, instead of tea. Anyhow, in my opinion, since we are here, we must examine this matter.

I was telling Raghunath Singhji⁶² that now people are visiting new pilgrimage centres. He has just returned from one of his travels. He should tell the Party something about it. Not now; we can fix a date and he could come prepared. [...] What you've just said is of grave importance. [...] But the difficulty is—how are problems solved? One way is to think things out. Another is to discuss one's ideas with others. Yes, it is true that too much discussion may not always be profitable. But after all, there ought to be some time for discussions and consultations. So, please come, who would like to speak?

I would like to mention to you that there are many aspects to the food problem. Obviously, the basic one is of more production; that is there. With that comes the problem of our resources and whether we are using them fully or not; whether we have enough water; whether the tanks are in proper condition, etc. That is on one side—that is, how to increase food production. Secondly, how are we to deal with the problems, which have arisen lately and which are being discussed at great length in UP.⁶³ We can, in our discussions, roam all over these fields. But since the area is large, the discussion will get diffused.

So I think it would be better to examine one thing—I am not trying to stop anyone from discussing other matters. You may bring up any question you like. If you like, you can discuss what, in your opinion, were the mistakes which we made in the past. We can learn something from such a discussion. But, what is to be done when, as you see in UP, there is a great deal of discussion about this. All the opposition parties are bent upon attacking us, each in its own way. One gentleman says there will be a Salt Satyagraha like the one which took place in 1930 or 1931. Someone else says grain godowns should be raided. Yet another says something else again. And obviously, all this creates a certain atmosphere which increases the fears in the minds of the people. The problem

61. See fn 57 in this section.

62. See fn 58 in this section.

63. See fn 59 in this section.

becomes more complicated and people get perturbed about the future.

You must remember that the problem of food, or any other problem which directly concerns the common people, has two aspects.⁶⁴

[Translation ends]

One is the factual aspect of it and the way to meet it; the other is the psychological, which is very important in matters of this kind. And if a psychology is created of apprehension, a rather panicky psychology, naturally that has a powerful effect on the facts. And all that our friends of the Opposition in UP are doing now is to create a psychology of panic, quite apart from the law and order situation, so that people will probably think the situation is bad, it is getting worse and worse: "We do not know what might happen tomorrow, let us get any foodgrains that we can at any price, in case we may not get it." You see, all this tends just to aggravate the disease which you are trying to treat. It is not a proper way of looking at it, from the national point of view or the local point of view, apart from party conflict. [...] But I am sorry I have started talking. Since I have started talking, I will just put to you one or two ideas before he speaks.

Now, what are Congressmen to do? Let us come to grips with the problem as at present. I think Mr Mahavir Tyagi⁶⁵ on the last occasion laid stress on the necessity of cooperation: Congress, other people in the city, district authorities, etc. That, of course, is patent. I would say the necessity and desirability of that are obvious. Someone else gave an example of, I think, Meerut: there was some cooperation, therefore the position was better. In Dehra Dun this was wanting, therefore the position was not so good, and so on. It is obvious. But, let us go a little further. We have to meet a difficult situation, the difficulty coming chiefly from this propaganda and threats of satyagraha, etc.,⁶⁶ naturally. How are we to meet that? It is not particularly easy. Nevertheless we have to meet it. Now, one suggestion I make to you and especially members from Uttar Pradesh is that it would be a good thing if they left Parliament for a few days and went to their districts to deal with the situation. We cannot, we can never take up an attitude of defence and run away from our position but must go and face it; face it, explain it and all that. Try to seek the cooperation of,

64. After this the proceedings are in English.

65. Member of the Lok Sabha from Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh.

66. The executive of the Uttar Pradesh Praja Socialist Party resolved on 30 August that the satyagrahis would march to Government grain godowns after giving 24 hours' notice to the district magistrates about the batches and the number of volunteers. After seizing the godowns they would prepare inventories, arrange for fair distribution, and picket hoarders' shops peacefully.

certainly, the district authorities, meet them too. That does not mean that you do not function by yourself; you function by yourself too. Secondly, face the public and tell them these are the difficulties, let us cooperate in getting over them for the present and let us later discuss other matters too, basic matters. Let us not get tied up in long arguments about long-distance remedies when we have to meet an immediate situation.

Now, the most difficult or aggravating thing at the present moment is the sudden rise in prices in various places. Now, I cannot give an adequate explanation of that. There are various causes but maybe one was a temporary one: the heavy rains and waterlogging and some slight delay in transport and things not coming. But that is a very temporary cause—two days, three days, four days, it is going to last. But, sometimes when this happens an element of profiteering comes in and people want to take advantage of that. Now we ought to deal with that. We should approach the traders in foodgrains, the big ones, small ones, and approach them in a friendly way but a firm way also, friendly and firm. Point out to them not only the consequences of high prices but that it is their duty even from the point of view of, if you like, opportunism, their own good, to try to reduce prices. It is not good from their point of view for them to come into conflict with the public. For them to be disliked and hated by the public it is not good; they have to live with the public. We should tell them that what other opposition parties, are advising the public is not in the interest of the people and they would suffer. Therefore, it is up to the trading community to do their utmost to reduce prices. They should form committees for the purpose and all that. Now, I have seen in a newspaper that in Khurja, the traders got together and formed a committee and said that they would do their utmost to reduce prices, and immediately prices fell by two and a half rupees. They were pretty high, I think they were Rs 26, and they came down to Rs 24.⁶⁷ And I have no doubt if the trend goes, it will go more. It shows what they can do.

67. Note by U.N. Dhebar, Congress President, to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees, mentioning a report from Khurja:

"Prominent businessmen are taking vigorous measures to check the rise in prices of foodgrains. They have decided not to purchase foodgrains in the market on behalf of the people outside the State and not to allow exports. Secondly, they will buy coarse grains in the market at the prevailing prices and sell them to the local people at reduced rates.

"The loss thus sustained will be borne by some leading businessmen. As a result of these decisions, prices of foodgrains have registered a fall. Wheat prices have come down to Rs 24.50 from Rs 26.50."

From *Congress Bulletin*, August-September 1958, pp. 423-428, here p. 426.

Now, you have to exercise pressure on these tradesmen, as I said, in a friendly but firm way. Point out this: you can tell them that they will have our help if they help us; if they do not help us, they cannot expect help from us, it is obvious. And suppose we know what they are selling, we ask them, "Now you must take the public into your confidence as to what price you paid for it yourself. You should have a profit, no doubt, but not profiteering." Now, we cannot compel them to tell us the price of anything. But, we can tell them politely that if they cooperate, we will help them; if they refuse to tell the price, well, that goes against them. "We shall then believe the worst of you if you do not tell us." That is to say, approach them and tell them, "You must be frank with the public and with us. And if you are frank, we shall help you. And you must all try to reduce prices. That is to your advantage, to the public advantage. If not, you all will get into trouble. Do not expect us to help you and all that." So the approach to the public [sic], a measure of cooperation with the district authorities, of course. That is a two-sided affair; depends how the district authorities function. But, so far as we are concerned, we should like to know. That does not mean tying ourselves up with the district apparatus. Approach the public and approach the traders, especially individually and in groups. Let them form committees; let them resolve, as the Khurja traders did, to try their utmost to reduce prices.

That also involves another thing. They may all say, "But we ourselves have bought it at a very heavy rate, what are we to do?" May be in some cases, I do not know. I think the gap between the purchase price and the sale price is likely to be big in these days; we may say so. Well, you tell them that they just give up buying at that rate, for the time give up buying. In fact, I would advise the public for a time—you cannot do that for a long time—just not to buy for a little while, for a few days. Tell them we will not buy at this price and the matter ends. They feel that. Immediately pressures are exercised, it may be only for a day or two. If a person urgently requires it, of course, he will have to buy. In Khurja, I understand, a common pool has been created. And out of the pool they have said, the traders, that if anybody suffers loss, they will make good out of the pool. Well, that is a good way, cooperative way, of dealing with the situation and I do not see why other people should not do it. And, once you start this kind of thing immediately the psychology, the atmosphere, changes. The atmosphere changes from apprehension and panic to one of improving the situation: let us help.

Unfortunately, in a matter of this kind which should not be really governed by purely political considerations at a moment like this, these opposition parties are taking up an attitude which must tend to make the situation worse—how far I do not know. Anyhow, we have to face it. And I suggest that some such

line as I have ventured to put before you, might be followed by Congress members, the UP ones especially, and that they might go for a while and deal with the situation there in this way, if you approve of it.

Someone: Only one point, Sir. Instead of sending out any such message on behalf of the party, well, we have got to deal with other parties also. Would it not be better that it goes from Panditji himself?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no.

Someone: Although you are technically the leader of our party here, you are also the national leader. It is from that standpoint, from such level it should go. [...]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, yes; that is, any such approach should avoid conflict of parties. We should not, and even in our public addresses, we should not spend our time in cursing the other parties, however much they may be in the wrong. Well, I will try to draft something...⁶⁸

...वो है organisation जो फैली हुई है और तीन लाख गाँवों में है,⁶⁹ और अगर वो ज़रा भी ठीक function करे, गाँव-गाँव में, घर-घर में, तो नतीजा हो सकता है। त्यागीजी ने शिकायत की थी कि वहाँ तुम सिखाते हो, पिछले दफ़े, शहर के लोग भेजते हो वे सिखायेंगे गाँव वालों को। और गाँव वाला उनको निकम्मा समझता है वगैरह-वगैरह। अब इसमें कई बातें उठती हैं। एक तो ये कि जो हमने तीस हजार आदमियों को सिखाया है उनके बड़े-बड़े शहर के type नहीं हैं। वे देहाती types उसमें ज्यादातर हैं। शहर के भी हों कुछ।

दूसरे ये कि कोई और आपके पास ज़रिया नहीं है। हमने एक तरह से वहाँ limit रखी है। शायद मेरा ख्याल है कि matriculation की, या कुछ ऐसी ही है, मुझे कोई ठीक याद नहीं है। Non-matric भी हैं। खैर, होगा, कुछ न कुछ पढ़ाई की है। आखिर में, मैं इस वक्त तो नहीं कहता आपसे लेकिन मैं इस बात को नहीं मानता, त्यागीजी, कि हमारा किसान बहुत पहुँचा हुआ आदमी है। इस मामले में वो पिछड़ गया है। वो पिछड़ गया है। मेहनत करता है और बहुत बातें आपसे, मुझसे, ज़ाहिर है, ज्यादा जानता है। लेकिन आजकल जो agricultural technology निकली है, वो छोटी-मोटी tractor नहीं है, वो नहीं जानता, और जहाँ हमने उसको बताया है और उसने सीखा है फौरेन उसको फायदा हुआ है। आखिर आप imagine करलें कि दुनियाँ में जहाँ-जहाँ agricultural production बढ़ा है उसका ख़ास ताल्लुक है उस जगह की पढ़ाई के बढ़ने से।

68. After this the proceedings are in Hindi.

69. The reference is to the Community Development Programme.

कोई शक नहीं है इसमें। एक formula fix कर लीजिए। जापान में बढ़ा तो जापान में universal education हुई, agricultural production बढ़ा। ये समझना कि पढ़ाई एक अलग चीज़ है, खेती एक अलग चीज़ है, ये नहीं है। पढ़ाई का ताल्लुक इन बातों से काफी हो गया है। पढ़ाई जिसकी होती है उसको instruction—वो सीख सकता है, देख सकता है क्या हो रहा है। और जगह पढ़ाई क्या कर रहा है, और जगह दुनिया में नये methods क्या हैं। आखिर agricultural production जापान में, मुझे याद नहीं, चालीस-पचास बरस हुए, बहुत ही कम था। हमारे जैसा था। कैसे बढ़ाया उन्होंने? पढ़ाई साथ-साथ आई। Instruction हुआ। सिखाए गए लोग, हल्के। इस तरह से बढ़ा, और हल्के-हल्के बढ़ा। शुरु में जापान की तरक्की दो-तीन फीसदी साल की थी। बहुत ज्यादा नहीं, जो हम कर रहे हैं उससे कुछ कम ही थी। हल्के-हल्के वो पढ़ाई से एक हवा पैदा होती है जो कि दिमाग को खोलती है, नई चीज़ें सीखने को।

तो ये न आप समझिये कि जो लोग जाएँ, सीखें, ये हमारे साल भर के agricultural, वगैरा technique हैं। अब उनमें बाज़ निकम्मे हों वह और बात है। वह तो human element है। लेकिन इसी जरिये से आप उनको पहुँच सकते हैं। किसानों के लड़कों को लीजिए, उनको सिखाइये, भेजिये। आजकल तो मुश्किल ये है। उलट गई है हवा, किसान का लड़का पढ़ता है, वह धोती के बजाय पतलून पहनके फिरता है, कहता है नौकरी दो। वो अपने खेत में जाता नहीं, तो ये मुश्किल है न। और ये जो दिक्कत है तो इसलिये अगर आप शहरी लोग वहाँ भेजें तो अच्छी मिसाल देते हैं कि किसान का लड़का तो रहे वहाँ, कम से कम वो भाग न आए। लेकिन शहर उसकी बात नहीं है। हमें लड़कों को सिखाना है, और जब तक आप उन्हें सिखायेंगे नहीं और पढ़ायेंगे नहीं तब तक असल improvement नहीं होगी। कुछ न कुछ हो सके। खैर, मैंने तो रामसाहायजी⁷⁰ से कहा था, [...] वो तो है, ही एक सवाल ravines को reclaim करने में, लेकिन उसको अलग रखिये, वह तो एक सवाल है। एक project है जिसको लेना है। जिससे डकैती भी कम हो, खेती भी हो। मैं तो इसपर जोर दे रहा हूँ एक जमाने से। ये pilot project लिया था, इटावा में, नहीं भाई, मध्य प्रदेश में, [...] हाँ, हाँ, आइये कौन आते हैं।...⁷¹

[Translation begins]

...If this organisation which is spread over three lakh villages⁷² functions even moderately well, we can achieve good results. Tyagiji on the last occasion complained that we send people from urban areas to teach the villagers who look down upon these people as useless. Now, this raises several points. One is that we have trained thirty thousand people. They are not from big cities; most of them are in fact from rural areas. There may be some from urban areas. Secondly, there is no other way. We have set a criterion, perhaps matriculation

70. Ram Sahai, Member of the Rajya Sabha from Madhya Pradesh.

71. After this the proceedings are in English. They are printed after the English translation.

72. See fn 69 in this section.

or some such qualification; I don't clearly remember. There are some non-matriculantes also. I don't agree with Tyagiji that our farmer is very advanced in his profession. In this matter he has lagged behind. He works hard and obviously knows many things better than you and I know. But he is ignorant of the new agricultural techniques, which is not just small tractors, and whenever we have told him about these things, he has learnt them and benefited from them. If you examine the matter carefully, wherever agricultural production has increased in the world, the spread of education has had a direct bearing on it. There is no doubt about this. It is like a formula. Japan implemented universal education and its agricultural production increased. It is not correct to think that education is a thing apart from agriculture. Education has a great deal of relevance in these matters. An educated man is capable of receiving instruction, of observing what his neighbour does and the new methods being developed in the world. After all, just forty to fifty years ago, agricultural production was very low in Japan, just like ours. How then did they increase it? It increased with the spread of education, slowly but surely. Initially the increase in production in Japan was not much; it was at the rate of two to three per cent per year—slightly less than what we are achieving at the moment. Education gradually creates an atmosphere which makes the mind receptive to new things. But you must not think that all of those who go to villagers can learn new agricultural techniques in a year. There may be some useless people among them. That is a different matter because the human element is involved. But this is the only way to reach villagers. Take farmers' sons. Try to educate them and send them out to teach others. Today it is difficult. Indeed, things have changed. The farmer's son gets some education, discards the dhoti, starts wearing trousers and asks for jobs. He doesn't want to work in the fields. This is the difficulty. So in a way the people from urban areas going to villages set a good example so that the farmer's son stays in the village and does not run away to the city. But the main point is that until and unless the boys are educated, there can be no real improvement.

Anyhow, I told Ram Sahaji⁷³ [...] the question of reclaiming the ravines is also there, but let us keep that apart. That is a project we have to take up. That project will help in curbing dacoity and also in extending cultivation. I have been laying stress on this point for a long time. We had taken up a pilot project in Madhya Pradesh, not in Itawah. [...] Yes, yes, please come forward...⁷⁴

[Translation ends]

73. See fn 70 in this section.

74. After this some members spoke. Thereafter Nehru spoke in English.

Tyagiji made a suggestion. I have drafted something; it is rather long, longer even than Giani Zail Singh's⁷⁵ speech. He put forward nine points, there are ten in this. I shall read it out. You will appreciate what I have just done.

The Congress Party in Parliament met again today to continue discussions on the food situation. The leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, presided. He said that instead of discussing at present the basic issues of increasing production which were so vital we should deal with the immediate issue. This was the question of high prices especially in Uttar Pradesh. There was no apparent reason for these high prices. In spite of the great losses suffered through floods and droughts, there were enough foodgrains in the country for the people provided wastage was avoided. In fact tens of thousands of fair price shops had been opened all over the country. The rise in prices was thus partly at least due to artificial reasons and speculation. This must be faced and the psychology of scarcity combated. This was a national problem and must not be treated on a party basis. It was unfortunate that some political parties were functioning in this matter on party lines, and had suggested courses of action which can only lead to a worsening of the situation. We hope that in this matter there would be cooperation between all parties. In particular, Congressmen should help in every way to bring down prices by their contacts with the Mandal Committees, the traders, the public and the local authorities. He suggested that Congress Members of Parliament, especially from Uttar Pradesh, should go to their constituencies for this purpose. After some discussion the following resolution was passed by the party:⁷⁶

"This meeting of the Congress Party in Parliament considers that all parties should cooperate in dealing with the food situation which should be treated on a national basis. It regrets that some parties are suggesting action which can only worsen the situation. It trusts that this will be avoided and a cooperative approach made to deal with the problem which affects all our people so intimately.

This meeting is of the opinion that the present high prices of foodgrains in Uttar Pradesh and elsewhere are not justified and have no basis in the facts of the situation. There are at present enough foodgrains in the country for our people, provided the problem is approached cooperatively.

Members of Parliament, especially from Uttar Pradesh, are requested to visit their constituencies to explain the situation and in cooperation with

75. Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Punjab.

76. The resolution was published in the newspapers on 2 September 1958.

others, more particularly the Mandal Committees, the traders, the local authorities and the public generally to help in bringing down prices.

Traders and merchants should be approached and asked to form committees of their own to reduce prices and to deal adequately with any of their number who profiteers at the expense of the public.

The meeting notes with appreciation the action reported to have been taken by the merchants of Khurja, UP, who have allied themselves to bring down prices of foodgrains and have shown some immediate results. It commends this example to the merchants in other towns and cities.

In the event of adequate steps not being taken by the merchants to this end, other steps will necessarily be taken.

The understanding and cooperation of the public is essential for any success to be achieved and Congress Members of Parliament and State Assemblies and local Congress Committees must always seek that cooperation.

Every care must be taken by the authorities and the public to prevent misuse of fair price shops by persons buying there and selling at a higher price elsewhere.

Farmers and agriculturists should be asked not to withhold stocks but to bring them to the market. Mandal Committees should make this approach.

There must be avoidance of waste in all kinds of foodstuffs and more particularly of foodgrains." [...]

So, is it acceptable to you? [...] Yes, I have mentioned about avoidance of waste and feasting. Feasts should be avoided. We have got a rule in Delhi now limiting it to fifty for cereals. It is being extended, I believe, now to all parties. The difficulty about simplifying feast is that it is not very easy in Indian meals. In English meals you can say courses; in Indian meals it is very difficult to specify a course. However, I will add, if you like, there must be avoidance of waste of all kinds of food stuffs. [...]

Dr Raghu Vira⁷⁷ said that he has seen statistics from China to the effect that they have increased their food production by 68 per cent. Well, it is very difficult for me to say anything about it except that I require very solid proof before I accept such figures. These are almost fantastic figures. And it is very difficult to credit them. And we got only this evening some telegrams from China in some other matters. I forget what it is. Fifty per cent, 60 per cent increase last year. It really is amazing how these figures come out of China

77. Member of the Rajya Sabha from Bombay.

[and] I do not know how to test them. But it is very, very difficult. But, as I told you on the last occasion, all experience in the past has been that the rate of increase in food production per acre—I am not talking about more land coming in—has very seldom increased, gone beyond three per cent per annum. In fact we have gone beyond this up to five per cent in one of the past years. And I believe we can go beyond that and I think we will, next year, go beyond that. But, whether it is four or five per cent, but, from five per cent to 60 per cent is a big jump, to believe that [...] I do not know about this year—up to last year we have got the most accurate information about China, that is, official information [sic] by our own special delegation that went there. At least one or two members of that delegation know more about China than any man in India—I do not know about elsewhere—about their planning and all that, for instance Pitambar Pant.⁷⁸ He knows more about planning in Russia and China than any other man in India; this is my belief. Because he has studied all these things in the greatest details in the original books; not in [...] translations.[...] In fact, I might tell you that the very day I went back from this meeting with Dr Raghu Vira's speech in my mind, I wrote a little note to have this verified immediately in so far as we can verify it.

One thing else, Tyagiji on the last occasion talked a great deal about family planning and I entirely agree with him about that. And I hope that Congress Members will take it up not in a vague way but in an explanatory way because after all it requires public opinion. There is plenty of public opinion I believe in the cities, in the middle class people, but not in others. Fortunately we have not got that organised opposition that some countries have. The biggest organised opposition comes in other countries from the Roman Catholic Church. In fact, even in India I had a deputation from the Roman Catholic Bishops opposing this. However, that is true; we should do that.

But may I suggest that family planning need not be confined to human beings; it might be extended to animals also. Instead of that we are proceeding on another line where presently there will be no food left for human beings because the decrepit animals will all eat it up.⁷⁹

[...] एक Family Planning Board है, जिसको Government काफी रुपया देती है, जिसकी इस समय मेरे पास figures नहीं है। आप चाहें तो मंगवा दूँ। सैकड़ों clinic खोले हैं हिन्दुस्तान भर में खास इसीके लिये, अलावा इसके कि अस्पतालों में तो हैं ही facilities लेकिन special clinics इस बात के।

78. Head, Perspective Planning Division, Planning Commission.

79. After this the proceedings are in Hindi.

आपने तो उस रोज़ जिक्र किया था खासकर कि एक operational technique का। खैर, operational technique ज़रा मुश्किल है। वह technique मुश्किल नहीं है। उसको ज़रा कसरत से, आदमी को राजी करना मुश्किल है। तो जरूर कीजिए आप। [...] लेकिन इस वक़्त जो सिलसिला है उसकी enquiry का, और जिसमें कुछ हिन्दुस्तान में ज्यादा तरक्की हुई बनिस्वत और मुल्कों के, वो है contraceptive devices यानी oral बगैरह, यानी उसकी गोली खा लेना जिसका permanent असर नहीं होता, लेकिन दो-चार महीने होता है असर। और उसमें काफ़ी तरक्की हुई है। पक्की तो नहीं हुई, लेकिन कलकत्ते में डाक्टर लोग कई बरस से कर रहे हैं। और कम से कम जहाँ तक जानवरों का ताल्लुक है, उन्होंने इम्तिहान किया तो उसमें कामयाब हुए हैं। इन्सानों पर भी इम्तिहान हो रहे हैं। उसका नतीजा एक दम से होता नहीं, जाहिर है आप समझ सकते हैं, कुछ बरस लग जाते हैं कि उसके statistics जमा हों, क्या असर है। लेकिन वह हो रहा है और मैं आपको बता दूँ, एक यहाँ, याद नहीं मुझे, दिसम्बर में कि कब, एक बड़ी international conference हिन्दुस्तान में, दिल्ली में, होने वाली है, इसी मज़मून पर।⁸⁰

[Translation begins]

[...] Well, there is a Family Planning Board, which is expanding very fast. It gets a good deal of funds from the Government. I don't have the figures, but if you want I can get them. Hundreds of clinics have been opened all over India, especially for this. Apart from that, hospitals also provide these facilities.

You mentioned about an operational technique the other day. But the operational technique is rather difficult. The technique itself is not difficult; the difficulty arises in making people agreeable to it. Well, you may surely do that. [...] But, at this time there is a process of enquiry going on as regards contraceptive devices, that is, the oral pill, etc., and much progress has been made in India in this field compared to other countries. The effect of these pills is not permanent; it lasts for three to four months. Though much progress has been made, a definite advance has not been achieved. Doctors in Calcutta have been working on it for several years. They have conducted successful trials as far as animals are concerned. Now it is being tried out on human beings too. It is obvious that their results will not be noticeable immediately. As you can

80. The sixth International Conference on Planned Parenthood took place in New Delhi, 14-21 February 1959. It called upon the World Health Organisation to disseminate information on contraceptives; it recommended to the Food and Agriculture Organisation that a planned parenthood programme be included in its various schemes; it also requested the Human Rights Commission to include voluntary parenthood and freedom to obtain family planning education as a basic human right.

imagine, it may take a few years to collect the statistics in order to assess the results. But the work is being done; and let me tell you that a big international conference is going to be held in India, in Delhi, I think in December, on this very subject.⁸¹

[Translation ends]

170. To Raghu Vira⁸²

2nd September, 1958

Dear Dr Raghu Vira,

I have your letter of September 2nd.⁸³

There can be no doubt about the industry and energy of the Chinese people. All I said was that the statement that there had been 69 per cent increase of production compared with the previous year seemed to me hardly credible. There may be that much increase or even more over selected areas. But if the figure is meant to apply to the whole of China, then it is a unique achievement. I should like to have more particulars or proof of this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

81. See fn 80 in this section.

82. File No. 31(30)/56-61, PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

83. Raghu Vira, Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha, wrote: "I could not properly grasp what you said last evening at the [Parliamentary Congress] Party meeting about the information derived from our own Embassy in Peking about Chinese claims of having increased their agricultural production by 69 per cent as compared with the last year." He added that he could not vouch for the accuracy of the Chinese figures, but he could for Chinese industriousness, single-mindedness and energy; that he had seen the Chinese peasant at work in all parts of China and "their uniform capacity and willingness to work, as compared to our own peasantry, elicit my respect for them"; and that "From the global point of view, there is a race between China and India, a race between two systems and a race for future domination. We do not think in terms of domination but others do."

171. To V.T. Krishnamachari⁸⁴

September 4, 1958

My dear V.T.,

I am sending you a personal letter addressed to me by Dr Kailas Nath Kaul,⁸⁵ who is in charge of the National Botanical Gardens in Lucknow. I am sending this to draw your attention again to the remarkable results obtained by him in transforming alkaline soils into good agricultural land.⁸⁶ He has done this with a relatively small expenditure of money and limited official help. He has demonstrated that this can be done at a large scale. As he has said in his letter, even in the UP there are three million acres of alkaline soils and, in addition, fifty lakhs [of acres] of eroded lands. Here is a vast opportunity if we can grasp it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

172. Informal Consultative Committee Meeting of MPs⁸⁷

At the invitation of the Prime Minister, the following Members of Parliament came to his room in Parliament House on the 5th September, 1958, at about 5.30 p.m.:

- 1) Shri Asoka Mehta⁸⁸
- 2) Shri Jaipal Singh⁸⁹
- 3) Shri Surendra Mahanty⁹⁰
- 4) Dr Z.A. Ahmad⁹¹
and
- 5) Minister of Home Affairs⁹²

84. File No. 31(73)/56-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

85. Director, National Botanical Gardens, Lucknow.

86. The reference is to the work done by Kailas Nath Kaul at the Banthra Research Station near Lucknow. For details, see SWJN/SS/42/p. 160.

87. Note, 5 September 1958. File No. 31(78)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

88. Praja Socialist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

89. Jharkhand Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Bihar.

90. Ganatantra Parishad Member of the Lok Sabha from Orissa.

91. CPI Member of the Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh.

92. Govind Ballabh Pant.

6) Minister of Food & Agriculture⁹³

Shri Hriday Nath Kunzru⁹⁴ had also been invited, but he was unable to come.

2. The Prime Minister said that he had invited them to consider the various aspects of the food situation. His idea was that they should meet fairly regularly and profit by informal discussions.

3. Two or three days ago, the Speaker⁹⁵ had suggested to the Food & Agriculture Minister that an Ad Hoc Committee on Food might be constituted by him (the Speaker). Obviously such a Committee would be confined to the Lok Sabha. The question for him to consider was whether we should have such an Ad Hoc Committee nominated by the Speaker or an informal group of those present and perhaps a few other invitees.

4. It was the general opinion that an informal committee was preferable. It was suggested, however, that the Minister for Community Development⁹⁶ should also be added to this informal committee, as also the Member for Food of the Planning Commission.⁹⁷ If considered necessary, two or three additional MPs might also be added later.

5. The Prime Minister said that there were three aspects of this food problem: (1) the immediate; (2) the short-term and (3) the long-term.

6. Shri Asoka Mehta said that the following four subjects might be considered by this informal committee:

- (i) Whether adequate supplies of foodgrains were reaching the States;
- (ii) Is the distributing agency functioning satisfactorily;
- (iii) Had the powers under the Essential Commodities Act been used adequately;
- (iv) Whether any changes should be made in the Zonal arrangement.

93. Ajit Prasad Jain.

94. Independent Member of the Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh.

95. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

96. On 5 September, Nehru informed S.K. Dey, Minister of State for Community Development, about the constitution of an Informal Committee of some Members of Parliament, and added, "I expect this to be a continuing Committee. I should like you to join this Committee, because the Community Blocks must necessarily play a very important part in this matter of food production."

97. On 5 September, Nehru wrote to V.T. Krishnamachari of his plan to have an informal committee of MPs to monitor the food situation and to associate the Planning Commission by including Shriman Narayan, the Food Member of the Commission.

7. He further said that in two States, namely, UP and West Bengal, the situation was serious and rather explosive. Could we do something to lessen the tension there? Could these States act in the way we were doing here, that is, could contacts be made at the top level between Government and leaders of the Opposition? He suggested that some information in detail might be supplied about the UP and West Bengal.

8. It was also pointed out that the UP had had several very bad years and the agriculturists had suffered greatly. Hence there was a demand for a remission of revenue, tests works, etc.

9. Shri Mahanty referred to some speech made by Dr B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, recently in which he had said that he was unable to deal with the soaring prices because of the existing laws which were not enough.

10. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant said that the marked rise in prices appeared to him to be artificial and not justified by facts, although it was recognised that the situation was a difficult one and supplies were limited.

11. The case of Dehra Dun was referred to where prices had come down by a big jump in the last two or three days. It was also stated that the prices would tend to come down in the UP soon because of the new Sanwan harvest which was being cut. Within two weeks maize would be harvested.

12. Dr Ahmad referred to Eastern UP and said that the question of remission or suspension of revenue might be considered. Further, he said that school fees in that area might also be remitted or postponed.

13. Shri Asoka Mehta said that the basic problem was, of course, that of production. After a month or two, when the immediate situation had been dealt with and was in control, they should pay particular attention to production.

14. He again referred to the desirability of people at the top getting together at the State level, more especially in UP and West Bengal.

15. Shri Jaipal Singh referred to the diversion to commercial crops in certain areas of Orissa. Also to the difficulty of obtaining farm workers in some of the new industrial areas such as Rourkela.

16. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant said that the problem in the UP could be divided into two parts: (1) political and (2) economic. The latter was easier to discuss; the former depends on various tensions and developments which had recently taken place and which had made the situation very difficult to deal with. It could only be dealt with by the State Government and it was not an easy matter for others to interfere. There had been challenges and counter-challenges.

17. Shri Asoka Mehta said that unfortunately no political party was interested in production and everything was left to the Administration. This psychology must be reversed.

18. Shri Pant said that the cultivator had more grit in him in the old days and much more self-reliance.

19. Shri Asoka Mehta said that if the psychological change took place, we would be able to reach our target next year. We should try to make the UP a test case, lessen the tension there and then take a big step forward. It was the biggest State in India and deserved special attention. Dr Ahmad said that the immediate question was how to do away with this tension in UP. This was agreed, but it was pointed out that things had gone rather far in the UP and some political parties had announced that they were going to from [sic] Satyagraha or commit breaches of the laws, etc.⁹⁸ The State Government would have to deal with any such activity and this would only add to the tension.

20. Shri Mahanty mentioned that there was lack of purchasing power even to buy the subsidised food at the fair price shops and, therefore, test works, etc., are necessary. Dr Ahmad said that only a relatively small quantity of foodgrains go through the fair price shops.

21. Shri Mahanty said that ruthless measures were necessary against hoarders and also in regard to distributors.

22. Reference was made to Shri Shibbanlal Saxena's⁹⁹ hunger strike.¹⁰⁰ The Prime Minister said that he had received two long letters from him to which he had replied.¹⁰¹ This morning he had received a third one. Shri Shibbanlal wanted an assurance from him that major river valley schemes would be taken up soon in the Eastern UP districts. It was impossible for him to give that assurance as this required careful study and involved our neighbouring country of Nepal also. He had requested Shri Shibbanlal to break his fast as we were interested in improving the conditions in Eastern UP. The Planning Commission was giving special thought to it also.

23. The Prime Minister then suggested that the next meeting of this informal committee might take place on Monday 8th September, at 3.30 p.m. in his room in Parliament House. This was agreed to.

98. The UP Praja Socialist Party started a satyagraha on 5 September 1958 in four districts, viz., Azamgarh, Deoria, Ballia and Ghazipur in eastern UP against "the failure of the State Government to handle the food situation."

99. Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from Maharajganj in Uttar Pradesh. (Spellings of his name vary in different sources.)

100. Shibbanlal Saksena was on a hunger strike since 21 August. On 20 August, he had announced a fast unto death in protest against the UP and Central Governments' "attitude of unconcern" to the "starvation deaths" and the grave food situation in Uttar Pradesh.

101. For Nehru's reply of 29 August 1958 to Shibbanlal Saksena's first letter, see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 154-156.

173. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹⁰²

September 7, 1958

My dear Ajit,

Your letter of the 7th September about the cost of procurement of foodgrains in the Punjab.¹⁰³ This subject is much too important for it to be settled by us individually, either by you or by me. If it is to be considered, the Food Committee should meet with the representatives of the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

174. Chinese Agricultural Production¹⁰⁴

I enclose a letter from Dr Raghu Vira, MP. The question of food production in China has repeatedly come up here in the course of our discussions. I should like to have as much information on this subject as possible. Could you please write to our Embassy in Peking and ask them to collect these figures.

In collecting them, they have naturally to rely on Chinese Government's statistics. These statistics should be for the last two or three years. The actual figures given in them are amazing and almost sensational. I should, therefore, like to have some comments on the correctness of these figures. Percentages are sometimes deceptive.

Another matter I should like to have facts about is reports from China that they are using small electric power stations, small cement kilns and even small plants for producing steel.

You may, if you like, send them a copy of Dr Raghu Vira's letter.

102. A.P. Jain Papers. Also available in JN Collection.

103. A.P. Jain had reported that Mohan Lal, the Food Minister of Punjab, and his officers claimed that production would decline if the existing procurement price of the dara rice was maintained at Rs 16/- per maund; that both politically and economically the Punjab Government was finding it difficult to meet criticism of the low procurement price. Jain had informed them that he could not offer to raise procurement prices since the Plan required controlling food prices. However, he added, it might be possible to do something for basmati or some other superior variety.

104. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 7 September 1958. JN Collection.

175. All-Party Meeting of MPs¹⁰⁵

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am grateful to you¹⁰⁶ for permitting me to make a brief statement about a matter which concerns all the Members of this House. This morning, in the course of the discussions, you were good enough to suggest to members of the Government that they might consider conferring informally with Members of this House of all parties in regard to the food situation. We will gladly do so. As a matter of fact, also in pursuance of a previous suggestion of yours, I invited some leaders of parties in this House from the Opposition, a few of them also from the other House, and we met for the first time on Friday last in this informal meeting to discuss this food situation.¹⁰⁷ And we met again this afternoon—I mean that this is a continuing committee and not just one discussion. The idea is that we should keep in view not only the immediate situation but the short and even the long-term remedies. That is, the committee though informal, should continue. We thought it better to have this informal committee because it is much easier to discuss matters with informality than under strict rules and regulations.

May I say that in the course of these two days' discussions, personally, speaking for myself, I have found it very profitable to hear the viewpoints of various Members and their suggestions. And, I hope, that they have also profited somewhat from the information that we could place before them. That small informal committee will continue meeting from time to time.

But, Sir, in view of the suggestion you made, we have decided to convene a much larger meeting. I cannot say the numbers; but I may say about 30 or so—25 to 30 Members—of all parties will meet on Thursday, the 11th September, i.e., three days from today. I might indeed have asked them to meet earlier but for the fact that an eminent personality¹⁰⁸ is coming here tomorrow and some of us will be rather occupied in talks with him. The 11th was, therefore, the earliest date we can find for that. So, we hope to meet—as I said about 30 or so Members from both Houses—we thought it better—and I hope that all the Members who are more specially interested, from all parties, in the subject will cooperate in this task. We shall gladly have that cooperation and

105. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 8 September 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XX, cols. 5366-5372. Extracts.

106. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

107. See item 172 for Nehru's note on the meeting of the informal consultative committee of MPs held on 5 September 1958.

108. Firoz Khan Noon, the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

we shall gladly supply them with all the information we possess on this subject and listen carefully to such suggestions as they make.

Now Sir, as I said, Government wish to share the information they have, past and present—what we have done and what we are doing—and to discuss with them any novel, new approaches and suggestions also. Apart from this, if at that meeting on the 11th, or after that meeting has taken place, it is the desire of this House or your desire, Sir, we are prepared to have subsequently, on a suitable date, a two-hour discussion in this House. I do not wish any Member or anyone to feel that Government have the slightest desire to come in the way of discussion in this House. Only a few days back—I forget the date¹⁰⁹—there was a full discussion and we thought that, perhaps, another discussion might take place somewhat later. As a matter of fact, there is going to be a discussion in regard to the food situation in the other House next week, in about eight days' time... But, that, of course, is the other House's affair and not this House's affair. So, while obviously we are not concerned, I mean to say it is not for Government to say anything—about the constitutional or legal aspects, as to what the Central Government's responsibility is and what the State Government's is,—that is for you to determine, Sir, and we accept whatever your decision may be. If I may say so, it seems to me natural that we cannot discuss questions of pure law and order here.

But, apart from all this, Sir, we do not wish anyone to abide by the strict legal interpretation in this discussion with regard to the food situation. So, I submit that if, after we have held this informal meeting of about 30 Members or so, on the 11th, which is Thursday, it is desired by you, Sir, or by the House, we shall ask you to allot two hours on a convenient date. I am making my submission, Sir, and it is for you and the House to decide.

One thing I should like to add for the information of the House. One of the areas which has been before the House and which has been under considerable stress is the eastern districts of UP I am not going into the past; I am merely informing the House of the present situation from the point of view of the food crops. We have had the latest information not only from the Government but actually from Members of this House who have come back now from there who say that the crop prospects there are excellent. Very fortunately, there has been precious rain there in the last two or three days which has gladdened the heart of every one there. Therefore, one can speak with a measure of assurance that the next harvest is going to be good.

109. There was a discussion in the Lok Sabha on 3 September when the Speaker referred to the notice of a number of adjournment motions, all relating to the food situation in Uttar Pradesh.

B.K. Gaikwad:¹¹⁰ The honourable Prime Minister has said just now that the representatives of all parties have been included on this committee. As far as my knowledge goes, a representative of the Republican Party has not been included.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I referred to the small informal committee and because it was small it was difficult to have too many people on it but in the larger informal committee which I am suggesting, we hope, as far as possible, to include the representatives of all groups.

Speaker: ...In the general discussion on the food situation, I hope and trust that some concrete suggestions will be made and I would say that if any discussion arises here, let it not add to the tension that exists elsewhere. Let it, as far as possible, relieve the tension that is existing there and relieve the distress wherever it may be. I shall fix up a suitable day, if necessary, after the honourable Leader of the House informs the House and there are some more outstanding major problems which ought to be given the attention on the floor of this House.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The problems are so big that they will remain outstanding for a long time; they will not be solved by a meeting but the point is that we should go towards their solution.

Nath Pai:¹¹¹ We welcome the spirit though we do not yet know what it will do. But may we know if he would use his good offices to influence the Government of UP to show the same spirit so that in that State matters are not aggravated there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have made yesterday, in public, an appeal to all the State Governments on these lines, more or less.¹¹²

N.G. Ranga:¹¹³ It may be a good thing if Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, not necessarily, as the Prime Minister, would hold a similar conference with the cooperation of the local Ministers at Lucknow at the State level also.

110. Scheduled Castes Federation Member of the Lok Sabha from Nasik, Bombay.

111. Praja Socialist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Rajapur, Bombay.

112. Nehru made the appeal during his press conference on 7 September 1958. See item 9.

113. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I would gladly go to Lucknow; it is my own State but I am in a slight difficulty. I am in constant communication, I may say, by letters and sometimes even by telephone and I hope the situation will improve rapidly. But I am in a personal difficulty because I am rather tied up about going to Bhutan within a few days' time.

S.M. Banerjee:¹¹⁴ My suggestion was, if you could possibly make a request to the Chief Minister of UP through the Prime Minister, to call a similar conference in UP and try to relieve the tension there.

Speaker: I am sure he will also take steps.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have publicly stated that I hope that all State Governments—I was not thinking of this bigger conference, but the smaller informal committees—would convene such meetings and invite opposition leaders to such meetings. I have suggested that to the State Governments already.

176. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹¹⁵

September 11, 1958

My dear Ajit,

For some time past, it has seemed to me that the proposal made in the Asoka Mehta Report about some control by the State of trading, especially wholesale trading,¹¹⁶ deserved greater consideration than we gave it. We cannot go into that just yet, of course, but I do think that this matter should be considered afresh.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

114. Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh.

115. File No. 31(48)/57-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

116. The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee of June 1957 under Asoka Mehta reported to Parliament on 19 November 1957, suggesting, among other things, price stabilisation and state control over the trade of foodgrains.

177. To N. Sanjiva Reddy¹¹⁷

September 11, 1958

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,¹¹⁸

I have received a number of telegrams from Vijayawada, all more or less to the same effect. One of these is from the Andhra Produce Exporters Association, Vijayawada. The others are from individuals or firms.

These telegrams read as follows:

“Andhra has heavy exportable surplus of rice. Rates prevailing in Andhra lowest in India. Praying removal of zonal restriction of rice will ensure free supply of rice to Bombay, Bihar, Bengal and Uttar Pradesh”.

If these dealers have stocks of rice, as obviously they have, then they should sell it to us and we shall buy it. Why are they anxious for our zonal restrictions to be removed? They may get greater profit, but without proper organisation the rice would go to the wrong places and not meet the urgent needs of some other areas. Therefore, it is obviously desirable for our Food Ministry here to buy out this rice and utilise it in other States. I am asking our Minister of Food & Agriculture to send a man to Andhra for this purpose. I hope you will kindly help us in this matter.

As you know, we are facing very difficult situations in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal, and we must all pull together to meet them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

117. File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

118. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

178. Congress and the Food Situation¹¹⁹

The Working Committee has frequently suggested what steps should be taken to increase food production which is so vital to the nation. In spite of the emphasis laid on this programme, the progress has been rather slow. It is known what should be done, the question is how to do it. What is required most of all is a new spirit in our workers and in our farmers and agriculturists.

From the long term point of view, progress can only be by the adoption of new techniques. These new techniques require some basis of elementary education. Thus primary education for the masses becomes essential for real progress, whether agricultural or industrial. The Congress is committed to the building up of a cooperative commonwealth on socialist lines. That itself necessitates our increasing the cooperative element in our institutions and our activities. Even apart from this, cooperatives are necessary for greater production, equitable distribution and the well-being of the farmers. These cooperatives should not be merely credit organisations. They should deal with all the economic activities of the farmers and other people in the villages and they should normally be confined to a village. The village cooperatives can be joined together in regional groups. These cooperatives should organise credit at the right time for the farmer, should provide good seeds, fertilisers and manure and marketing facilities. The lack of credit is a fatal drawback to the farmer and he cannot make much progress unless this is provided to him at the right time.

Where feasible, joint cultivation should be encouraged. But this should be done with the consent of farmers concerned. This can be especially attempted on new land or on gramdan land. As a rule, cooperatives should be started to begin with for all purposes other than joint cultivation.

The farmer should be assured of a reasonable price for his produce. At present, however, the prices are high and there is no need for fixing a minimum. But a farmer should be given an assurance that he will get a reasonable price if prices fall unduly. The high prices of agricultural products and especially foodgrains are harmful to the economy of the country and raise the price index, thereby causing much suffering to the mass of the population and also raising the costs of development projects. These high prices should be combated

119. Note for U.N. Dhebar, Congress President, 14 September 1958. JN Collection. Dhebar included the contents of Nehru's note in a note he addressed to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees.

both by administrative means and popular pressure. The present high prices are only partly due to natural causes, mostly they have been artificially raised. This artificial increase can be brought down by administrative measures as well as popular pressure. Indeed this has happened wherever effective steps have been taken and prices are slowly going down now.

A farmer learns from practical demonstration and not so much from theoretical advice. Therefore it is necessary to have demonstration farms in reach of every farmer. In every Community Block there should be at least one big demonstration farm for this purpose. Small demonstration farms can be started in villages.

It is necessary that those who go to give good advice to farmers in regard to agriculture, should themselves set a practical example by themselves working in terms of the advice. In particular, the gramsewaks should set these practical examples.

It is necessary to have accurate statistics about agricultural produce. The methods to collect them should be uniform all over the country so that they might be comparable. Modern methods of sample surveys should be utilised to the fullest.

179. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹²⁰

14th October, 1958

My dear Ajit,

Mulraj Kersondas¹²¹ of Bombay came to see me today. For some years he has had contacts with China. He told me that the Chinese Counsellor here had offered to sell rice to our State Trading Corporation but he had not been at all encouraged in this. Apparently, China has had a bumper crop and they are anxious to sell their rice in exchange for the goods that they may buy in India.

I do not know if you wish to purchase rice at all. If you do, then I see no reason why you should not enquire about this Chinese rice which apparently is available at a moderate price and in fact in terms of barter. In any event, it is not good to produce an impression of not caring for offers and of keeping aloof from the Chinese Government. This is the impression created in the Chinese Counsellor's mind here. You might enquire into this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

120. JN Collection.

121. An entrepreneur from Bombay.

180. To Bajrang Bahadur Singh¹²²

October 20, 1958

My dear Bhadri,¹²³

Thank you for your letter of the 18th October. I have read your account of paddy-wheat rotation with great interest.¹²⁴ Weber,¹²⁵ the FAO expert, also spoke to me about it. At that time, I drew the attention of the Food & Agriculture Minister. I shall do so again. Indeed, I am sending your letter and your printed pamphlet to him.¹²⁶

Since you have got printed the pamphlet, I suggest that you send copies of this to the Planning Commission here and a few copies to the Cabinet Secretary for distribution among Ministers here. Also, you might send copies to Chief Ministers of other States, with a covering letter explaining the importance of this scheme. You might say in your covering letter, that you are doing so at my request.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

122. File No. 31 (30)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

123. Bajrang Bahadur Singh of Bhadri, the Lieutenant Governor of Himachal Pradesh.

124. Bajrang Bahadur Singh had enclosed his pamphlet, *Paddy-Wheat Rotation: as experimented and in practice in Paonta Valley of Himachal Pradesh and a possible way to attain self-sufficiency in food* [no publication details available].

125. F.B. Carbasius Weber, a Dutch, expert in the Nutrition Division of the Food and Agriculture Organisation, and an adviser to the Government of Uttar Pradesh on canning and preservation; presented a report "India—A community canning and food preservation project in the state of Uttar Pradesh" in 1958.

126. Forwarding Bhadri's letter and pamphlet to A.P. Jain the same day, Nehru stated: "You might remember that I wrote to you about this when Weber...mentioned it to me. I do not know how your experts reacted to this matter. Probably, they did not react at all because they seldom react to any new suggestion." Jain replied on 23 October that at Bhadri's instance he had at once contacted specialists who felt crop rotation would impoverish the soil, that the interval between the paddy harvest and wheat sowing needed to be longer to prepare the soil, and that "the paddy/wheat and leguminous crop rotation" was good for soil fertility. Jain added that experienced and progressive farmers had also opposed paddy-wheat rotation, and he felt that paddy-wheat rotation was possible only with plentiful manure or where leguminous crops after paddy were impossible.

181. To T.N. Kaul¹²⁷

October 20, 1958

My dear Tikki,¹²⁸

I have just received your letter of 17th October. I am glad you have written to me and told me of Professor Kovda's¹²⁹ views about Chinese rice cultivation.¹³⁰

The figures of increase in rice and other cultivated articles that the Chinese reports give are astonishing and hardly believable. Of course it is possible to increase the rate of yield in a small selected area very greatly. We have ourselves done that. But to carry this out over a wide expanse is something which, I believe, has not been done before. We have written to our Embassy in Peking to send us fuller particulars, not only about his matter, but also about the steel making that is going on there on some kind of a cottage industry basis.¹³¹

I hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

127. JN Collection. Nehru sent a copy of T.N. Kaul's letter to the following: Govind Ballabh Pant, Morarji Desai, A.P. Jain, V.T. Krishnamachari, U.N. Dhebar and Gulzarilal Nanda.

128. Ambassador of India to Iran.

129. Victor Abramovich Kovda (1904-1991); Soviet soil scientist; Professor at Moscow State University, 1939-41 and 1953-70; Director, Department of Natural Sciences of UNESCO, 1958-65.

130. T.N. Kaul reported his conversation with Kovda in Tehran at a UNESCO seminar. Kovda, fresh from a long visit to China, claimed that some simple and elementary techniques had led to a doubling of the rice yield per acre in parts of the Sinkiang and Peking regions.

131. Responding to T.N. Kaul's letter, A.P. Jain wrote to Nehru on 23 October that though these reports of vast agricultural output increases in China might be exaggerated, they should not be dismissed out of hand. Chou En-lai had told an Indian delegation that they had introduced ten lakh ploughs in different parts of the country. However, most of these had failed. Jain said that it was no small thing to introduce a few lakh ploughs even if they proved unsuccessful, and added, "When I compare this with the frustrating conditions prevailing in India, I feel depressed."

182. Reports of Extraordinary Production in China¹³²

I enclose a letter from our Ambassador in Tehran. I have sent copies of this to some of our Ministers and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. I have also sent a reply¹³³ to him, copy enclosed.

Some time ago I suggested to you¹³⁴ to ask our Embassy in Peking to send us full particulars, as far as they are available, about this tremendous increase of small iron smelting plants that they have put up almost on a cottage industry basis. We have received printed reports issued by the Chinese Government. These reports give figures that can only be called fantastic. I should like you to remind our Ambassador about this. Further, to tell him that we do not merely want the figures, but a report after personal examination of what had been done.

183. To Chief Ministers¹³⁵

October 21, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

You may have seen recent reports of a very great increase in agricultural production in China. Indeed the figures given in the official reports are quite extraordinary and almost unbelievable. We are trying to get fuller information about this and other matters from our Embassy in China.

Meanwhile it may interest you to have an account which we have received from a person¹³⁶ (not an Indian) who recently visited China and was for some time there. He said that he had seen in the Sinkiang region and in the neighbourhood of Peking several farms where the Chinese had been able to double in one year the previous production of rice per acre by using the following simple and elementary practices. He mentioned in particular a farm near Peking where the production had been raised to 8,000 kg per acre. He said that he had

132. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, and Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 20 October, 1958. JN Collection.

133. See item 182.

134. See item 174 for Nehru's note of 7 September 1958 to Subimal Dutt.

135. File No 31(82)/58-59-PMS. Also published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5, pp. 153-154.

136. Victor Abramovich Kovda.

not believed the report at first, but that he was convinced about it after visiting these areas. He added that we in India could easily do the same, if not more. The methods adopted in China for this intensive cultivation were as follows:

- (1) Increasing the amount of seed ten times compared to the previous practice. This, he said, was a new thing which the Chinese had introduced. Seedlings were growing almost side by side like a thick carpet;
- (2) ploughing to a depth of one metre. The Chinese were doing this not through tractors but through their ordinary implements;
- (3) using plenty of manure, mostly compost, up to a depth of one metre; and
- (4) increasing irrigation facilities.

He further said that the community farms¹³⁷ in China did not strike him as being successful. They could be described as some kind of primitive communism.¹³⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

184. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹³⁹

October 29, 1958

My dear V.T.,

I am sending you a note on the bumper harvest in China and some other papers which we have received from our Embassy in Peking. You may keep these papers.

I hope to send you some other papers also about Chinese production.

Yesterday at the Cabinet meeting I made a suggestion that in view of the extraordinary reports of increasing production in China, we might send a small

137. Between April and October 1958, the Chinese agricultural system was radically reorganised: the great majority of the cooperatives were merged into large "people's communes" with agricultural, industrial, administrative and military functions.

138. Professor Kovda had told T.N. Kaul in Tehran that he was not particularly impressed by the communal farms he had seen in Sinkiang, and thought that the Chinese would change their ideas about introducing such institutions at that stage. According to Kovda, "The Soviet Union believes that such institutions should only be introduced when Communism is at a highly developed stage."

139. File No. 10(48)-EA/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

team of three or four expert officers to investigate in China and report to us. I suggested three subjects for report: (1) rice production, (2) small scale production of pig iron and steel on almost village basis, and (3) small irrigation projects.

Cabinet agreed to my suggestion and added that the Planning Commission should organise this small delegation in consultation with the Ministries concerned. If you will please let me know when you can send this delegation, we can immediately get in touch with our Embassy in Peking and inform them. The sooner these people go, the better.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

185. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹⁴⁰

October 29, 1958

My dear Ajit,

I spoke to you in Hyderabad about the desirability of taking measures in Bombay as well as in other parts of India on the lines of the ordinance issued in West Bengal.¹⁴¹ You said that you would speak to the Chief Minister of Bombay.¹⁴² What was the outcome of your talk?

I have a definite impression that the public generally is greatly dissatisfied with our weak policy in this matter. This feeling has grown greatly after the coming of Martial Law in Pakistan.¹⁴³ I think therefore that we should be a little more alert and vigilant and take some action. In particular, we should not at all be soft to any man whom we suspect of anti-social activities.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

140. JN Collection.

141. The West Bengal Government issued an Anti-Profiteering Ordinance on 22 October 1958 to control and fix the prices of essential commodities. For details, see item 88, fn 302.

142. Y.B. Chavan.

143. Two days after the promulgation of martial law in Pakistan on 7 October 1958, Chief Martial Law Administrator General Ayub Khan announced 29 Martial Law regulations providing for summary and special military courts and the death penalty for a variety of crimes, including smuggling and hoarding of foodgrains.

186. To Sampurnanand¹⁴⁴

October 30, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,¹⁴⁵

Your letter of October 28th.¹⁴⁶

Whatever the reasons may be, the fact is, as you know, that Indian agriculture has been and is in a bad way. The way to judge it is by yield per acre. This is almost the lowest in the world. To say then that the Indian farmer knows his job is hardly correct. It may be correct to say that he knows how to function in the conditions in which he has functioned. Conditions have changed everywhere else. It is obvious that if he continues to function as he does, there will be no great advance.

Conditions mean, of course, some things that are obvious, that is, better irrigation, more manure or fertiliser, selection of seeds, etc. As a matter of fact we have failed in supplying these adequately. There is another aspect: the farmer is not wide-awake enough. He can do many things if he works harder which he does not.

Surely we ought to learn from others whether it is Japan, China, America or Y where they have increased their yield very greatly. In learning from others, we should not blindly copy them. We should experiment and see which is more suitable.

We have been getting an abundance of papers and facts from China recently. We are sending a special team soon there to study. The main fact which appears from these is the tremendous energy that was put in by the cooperatives which later turned into collectives and are now becoming communes. But it seems to

144. File No. 31(82)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

145. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

146. Referring to Nehru's letter of 21 October 1958 to Chief Ministers (see item 183) regarding reports of a very great increase in agricultural production in China, Sampurnanand wrote: "I sometimes feel that we do not render much service to Indian agriculture by paying too much attention to techniques employed in other countries....My own feeling is that on the whole the Indian cultivator knows his business fairly well. He has developed techniques suited to the normal conditions in which he finds himself." Sampurnanand further said that the old Indian method was good enough and "we need not carry on propaganda either for the Japanese or the Chinese or any other foreign method" if such desiderata as money for purchasing strong bullocks and facilities of irrigation could be provided to the Indian cultivator. He added, "If irrigation, deep ploughing and manure can help to increase produce with the expenditure of such huge quantities of seed as the Chinese method implies, surely they would prove more successful with the Indian method which used fewer seeds and, therefore, gives each seed a greater survival potential."

me obvious that there can be no improvement in agriculture in India to any marked extent unless we function cooperatively.

Another interesting fact about the Chinese experiment is that the State there made it quite clear that they will give no help for the minor irrigation projects as well as many other minor improvements. They said that this was the function of the cooperative or commune. The State would only help in major projects. Further, they laid stress on local materials being used even for building up small fertiliser plants and small irrigation works.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(c) Water Resources and Irrigation

187. To Abdul Rahim¹⁴⁷

7th October, 1958

Dear Abdul Rahim,¹⁴⁸

Thank you for your letter of the 29th September which I received on my return to Delhi.

You refer to a scheme drawn up by M.A.T. Iyengar.¹⁴⁹ I went into that scheme at the time and was not satisfied by it. That of course is no reason why experiments should not be made with kutchra wells. Indeed kutchra wells exist all over India and [are] being added to constantly. The whole point of M.A.T. Iyengar's scheme was a special type of kutchra well.

As you will appreciate, this matter is essentially one for State Governments to undertake. In the past it was the lack of interest of the State Government concerned that came in the way.

I am sending your letter to our Food and Agriculture Minister¹⁵⁰ and requesting him to draw the attention of the State Governments to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

147. JN Collection.

148. (1902-1977); Congress politician from Madras; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1958-62; author of several books in Tamil.

149. An ICS officer; served in West Bengal in various capacities.

150. Ajit Prasad Jain.

188. To Sampurnanand¹⁵¹

October 9, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,¹⁵²

You will remember that when you were here last, there was some talk about the Gandak Project.¹⁵³ I was told at that time that the Bihar Government had refused to give any water to the UP and this made it difficult for the UP Government to agree. I had mentioned this matter to our President who wrote to Sri Babu.

Sri Babu has sent him a reply by telegram,¹⁵⁴ a copy of which I enclose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

151. JN Collection.

152. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

153. A joint irrigation project of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh designed to exploit the water resources available in the eastern part of India along the Himalayan foothill plains covering parts of UP and Bihar.

154. Sri Babu is Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar. To President Rajendra Prasad's letter of 16 September he replied that engineers of the two States had reached agreements in 1956, and, as demanded by UP engineers, 21 per cent of water for irrigation in UP had been provided for in 1957. He added that the water supply was plentiful from May to December for meeting more than the full requirements of both the States. As it was low from February to April, water was distributed in proportion to acreage under irrigation, according to the Bihar Project Report. Accordingly, Bihar and UP received 34 and 12 lakh gross command acres respectively. Sinha concluded that UP would thus get its due share of water.

189. To N.V. Gadgil¹⁵⁵

October 11, 1958

My dear Gadgil,¹⁵⁶

Thank you for your secret letter in which you told me about what some Pakistanis have been talking about.¹⁵⁷ We have also had some such information. I do not attach very much importance to this loose talk. But, in any event, we ought to be prepared for any contingency. We have informed our Army Headquarters accordingly.

Slocum¹⁵⁸ of Bhakra-Nangal came to see me yesterday on his way back from the United States. He said that it was of high importance to use all the power potential of Bhakra. In order to do this, some machine or parts of a machine were necessary, and these would have to be imported from abroad. Thus, some foreign exchange was needed. Without those small parts, the machines we have got cannot function. Apparently, the foreign exchange involved is not very much. The Electricity Board is said to be dealing with this matter, but Slocum thought they were too slow and nothing was happening. Perhaps, you would enquire into this matter.¹⁵⁹

I think it would be a good thing if you meet Slocum and discuss this and other matters connected with Bhakra with him. As I have told you, he is sometimes a little difficult person to get on with, because of his ways, but there can be no doubt about his high competence and about his devotion to Bhakra.

Slocum also spoke to me about another matter. Previously, he was opposed to normal transfers, etc., of senior engineers serving at Bhakra. He used to say

155. JN Collection.

156. Governor of Punjab.

157. N.V. Gadgil wrote on 9 October that some Indian officers, recently returned from Lahore, reported that "military officers there were in high spirits and were expectantly looking towards 'some day in October'." Gadgil added that there were reports of Fida Husain, the Chief Secretary of West Pakistan, saying "you will soon see what happens at Husseiniwala on the 15th of October."

158. Harvey Slocum, American dam-building expert; chief engineer of Bhakra Dam project.

159. The same day Nehru inquired about this from Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Union Minister of Irrigation and Power. Ibrahim replied on 3 December that, after a discussion with Slocum, the General Manager of the Bhakra Dam had reported that Slocum was concerned about two matters. First, the power potential at Bhakra could not be realised as the project estimates did not include a full power house on the right bank, which he wanted; second, delays in import licences for material. Ibrahim added that foreign exchange had now been granted for these imports.

that they should be allowed to continue working there because they had got into the hang of it and it would be unfortunate for us to lose their experience. Because of his insistence, I spoke on several occasions to the Punjab Government people and induced them to keep the same senior engineers on at Bhakra. Now, Slocum has changed his opinion. He said to me that the time had come when changes could be made without any harm, and he felt that it was not a good thing to hold up promotions, etc. I am passing this on to you.

Thank you for sending me the album of pictures of my visit to Bhakra.¹⁶⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

190. Waterlogging in Najafgarh¹⁶¹

I visited the Najafgarh area and round about this afternoon and saw large expanses of water over wide areas.¹⁶² A number of villages were almost marooned and crops had been ruined. I met many villagers. I need not describe the condition of these villages or of the land round about them, as full particulars are no doubt known. I have myself received a detailed account of a survey made by the Bharat Sewak Samaj of Delhi.

2. For two years now I have been taking some interest in this Najafgarh area and more especially in the drain there. During this period I have frequently received complaints from the villagers who have stressed the necessity of a proper drain being built to draw away the water that collects all over this area. This was normal occurrence during the rainy season. This year of course it has been much worse. I have written on this subject to the Delhi authorities¹⁶³ and received long explanations. I was told, I think, that something was being done about this Najafgarh Nullah and some little has actually been done. But the progress has been so slow that only about five miles, I think, have been tackled so far out of thirty miles or so.

160. Perhaps the reference is to Nehru's visit to Bhakra-Nangal on 10 November 1957.

161. Note, 15 October 1958. JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to Brij Krishan Chandiwalla, Convenor of the Delhi Branch of Bharat Sewak Samaj.

162. Nehru visited the waterlogged Najafgarh and environs on 15 October. He drove about 50 miles and halted at about seven or eight villages.

163. For letters and notes written by Nehru in July and August 1958 on problems in Delhi caused by rains, see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 314-319.

3. The land is good from the point of view of cultivation and every year floods cause a great loss. Even though this year was rather exceptional from the point of view of rain, it is distressing to note that nothing effective has been done during the past years in spite of attention being drawn to this repeatedly. This does not bring credit to the authorities concerned, whoever they might be. I am told that there is some argument as to who is responsible for this. Some people blame the Punjab Government, others the Delhi authorities, others still the Central Government. However that may be, I get the impression that no one takes any particular interest in this and certainly there is no sense at all of urgency and things move at a snail's pace.

4. When heavy rains came to Delhi some months ago, I held a meeting and two committees were appointed. One of these committees was supposed to take special interest in this area round about Delhi.¹⁶⁴ What exactly it has done since then, I do not know. But evidently it did not tackle the question effectively. I receive notes about the difficulty of the problem. That surely is hardly an excuse for allowing this problem to remain unsolved. We have competent engineers and if we really want to do a thing, we can do it rapidly and effectively. The way the India 1958 Exhibition has been put up in two and a half months in spite of great odds, is an example of how things can be done and indeed should be done. There was a great sense of urgency there and all those connected with that Exhibition worked with zeal and enthusiasm.

5. That zeal and enthusiasm seem to be singularly absent about these old and recurring problems of Delhi. When floods come, we wake up and some consultations are made and notes are written. Gradually the subject joins others which remain continually under some kind of vague consideration without producing results. This has been the fate of this Najafgarh Nullah. I believe that some weeks ago, when the rains came here in a big way for a second time, some meetings were held to consider what should be done. Before anything could be done however, more rains came and water poured in from the Punjab side and made matters worse.

6. I think the time has come, indeed it came long ago, for more active and effective approach to this problem. It would be a shame if we do not profit by these repeated reminders of disaster.

7. Probably, in tackling this problem, there will have to be consultation between the Punjab authorities and the Delhi or the Central authorities. After the plan is chalked out, the work may be done separately. But it must be done and taken in hand as rapidly as possible.

164. On 23 July 1958, a ten-member committee under K.C. Reddy, the Union Minister of Works, Housing & Supply, was set up to examine Delhi drainage systems.

8. The immediate problem is how to make these waters drain away so that some land at least might be rescued for cultivation during this season. Surely something can be done about this. I was told today by some local officials round about Najafgarh that some areas could be drained off easily, but some small zamindar owning a patch of land objected to this being done across this land and therefore they could do nothing. This seems to me an absurd proposition. No man is entitled or should be allowed to hold up relief work which is urgently necessary for the benefit of the community. The Delhi authorities must make this clear immediately and issue orders that whether the particular zamindar agrees or does not agree, this water should be drained off across his land. If it is necessary and if any damage is done to him, compensation may be given. But all this can be considered later. The immediate need is to drain off this water wherever possible.

9. The more permanent solution must also be taken in hand forthwith, and I shall be grateful if I am told of what is being done. The Corporation of Delhi is also concerned with it, as the area is within the limits of the Corporation.

10. The villagers whom I met were anxious to help, but unfortunately we have developed a mentality in the people which expects Government to do everything or at any rate to take the initiative. If a chance is given, these villagers themselves would help in digging channels or the main Najafgarh Nullah. This will be not only much speedier method but much more economical. The Bharat Sewak Samaj could render great help in this matter. They have already built up some kind of an organisation for such works. They have built some embankments at a cost much less than estimated and with speed. Apart from these advantages, it is always a good thing to associate the people concerned with work of this kind. We talk a great deal about public cooperation but do not show any eagerness to invite it. I suggest therefore that as soon as plans have been chalked out, the Bharat Sewak Samaj should be associated in carrying them out under the supervision of our Engineers.

11. I realise that the problem is not a simple one. That is no reason why it should be delayed. I have seen a note from Shri M.C. Mehra, Assistant Engineer (Irrigation) of Delhi, which deals with these recurring floods in Delhi territory. Some other notes on this subject have also been sent to me. All these notes indicate that unless urgent action is taken, waterlogging would make this whole area completely useless for cultivation etc.

A copy of this note should be sent to:

- 1) The Home Ministry.
- 2) The Chief Commissioner, Delhi.¹⁶⁵

165. A.D. Pandit.

3) The Mayor of the Delhi Corporation.¹⁶⁶

4) The Bharat Sewak Samaj, Delhi.

If the committee I constituted for this Delhi area is still functioning, that committee might consider this note also.

191. Draining of Flood Waters¹⁶⁷

I am sending you a letter from Shri Brij Krishan about the floods and waterlogging in the Delhi area. Since he wrote this letter to me, he must have received a copy of the note¹⁶⁸ on this subject, which I wrote last night.

2. In this letter, he refers to a number of places in the Delhi area where the work of draining away the water is easily possible, but this has been impeded by a private interest. I made a mention of this in my note yesterday. Shri Brij Krishan refers to particular cases. I think the attention of the authorities should be especially drawn to these cases, and they should be requested to take action, and not allow matters to be held up because some private interest comes in the way. I am not prepared to accept the proposition that in a case of natural calamity or disaster, relief cannot be given because private interests come in the way. That is an impossible proposition to accept. If a person takes this matter to a court of law, we should fight it there. But action should be taken immediately, whatever the results.

166. Aruna Asaf Ali.

167. Note to Kesho Ram, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 16 October 1958.

Also available in JN Collection.

168. See item 190.

192. To Swaran Singh¹⁶⁹

October 22, 1958

My dear Swaran Singh,¹⁷⁰

I saw a paper today from the Planning Commission which had escaped my notice when it first appeared. This is dated August 19 and is [a] letter from Balwant Singh Nag¹⁷¹ to Sivasankar¹⁷² of the I & P Ministry. A reference is made in this to the great difficulty in obtaining steel for irrigation projects. The Kotah Barrage¹⁷³ was referred to and ultimately, I think, some steel was provided. The Andhra Government also complained about the great difficulty in obtaining steel for their irrigation projects and work on the Krishna Barrage¹⁷⁴ Gates had been held up because of this.

I do not know what has been done about this. But apart from individual cases, the point arises as to how far proper allocations are made of the available steel and secondly, how far these allocations are given effect to. Who is in charge of this allocation work and what are the rules he follows? It is obvious that delay in irrigation projects is very wasteful and harmful.

I think this matter of allocation of steel has to be looked into and put on a satisfactory basis.

I am told that there is a good deal of blackmarketing also in regard possibly to steel and certainly cement.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

169. File No. 17(318)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

170. Union Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel.

171. Balwant Singh Nag (b. 1906); joined Indian Service of Engineers, 1930; served in the UP Irrigation Department; first Indian to be a Commander, Royal Engineers; served with the Central Water and Power Commission; Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of Assam, 1954-57; member, High Level Committee on Floods, 1957-58; Adviser, Irrigation and Power, Planning Commission.

172. Tumkur Sivasankar (b. 1902); joined Indian Civil Service; served in Madras state, 1927-47; Textile Commissioner, GOI, 1947-48; Chairman, Automobile Experts Committee, 1950-51; Secretary, Union Ministry of Irrigation and Power, and Vice-Chairman, Bhakra Control Board, also part-time Chairman, for some time, of Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC), 1953-60; Secretary, Union Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, 1960-62; Lieutenant Governor, Goa Daman and Diu, June 1962-August 1963; Chairman, DVC, September 1963.

173. Near Kota on the Chambal river, the Kota Barrage diverts water for irrigation in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

174. Krishna Barrage, across the river Krishna connecting Guntur and Krishna districts, is one of the major irrigation projects of South India.

193. To K.C. Reddy¹⁷⁵

October 27, 1958

My dear Reddy,¹⁷⁶

Thank you for your letter of October 25th and the note attached. I am glad this question of Najafgarh area is being taken up as an urgent matter. I cannot offer any expert opinion on this. I note, however, that by the end of November a large area under water will be available for cultivation.

I agree that it is extremely difficult to drain out the whole area so that the entire region could be used for cultivation. That would be rather unnatural also. I think we should have a lake or jheel there. But it should be kept within bounds and drainage should be provided.

There is a reference in the note to the villagers themselves tackling minor problems which might mean digging through other people's lands. The Delhi authorities should be told about this. I had indeed mentioned it in my previous note and the authorities should make it clear that this can be done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

194. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹⁷⁷

October 31, 1958

My dear Ajit,¹⁷⁸

I enclose a letter from Professor K.N. Kaul, Director of National Botanical Gardens, Lucknow. He has been responsible, as you know, for the Banthra scheme¹⁷⁹ near Lucknow.

175. JN Collection

176. Union Minister of Works, Housing & Supply.

177. File No. 17(105)/56-61-PMS.

178. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

179. For the Banthra Scheme, see SWJN/SS/42/p. 160.

Many years ago I sent him to Jodhpur as he said that water could be found there. He did in fact find underground fresh water.¹⁸⁰ But he was given no encouragement by the then Government of Rajasthan and he gave it up and came back. Now they are after him again. Whether he can spare the time, I do not know, but he can certainly give advice. I have no doubt that there is a good chance of finding plenty of fresh water in Rajasthan.

It is obvious that if this water is properly utilised, it will make an enormous difference. I wish you would look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(d) Industry and Labour

195. Agreement with Foreign Drug Companies¹⁸¹

General Sokhey¹⁸² came to see me this afternoon and gave me the attached letter and other papers. What he writes and tells me confuses me somewhat.¹⁸³ Unless I go much more deeply into it, I do not know what exactly the position is.

180. In 1948, the findings of Kailas Nath Kaul, then Professor of Botany at the Agriculture College, Kanpur, indicated the presence of large quantities of subterranean water in the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan. On 9 June 1949, Nehru wrote to Hiralal Shastri, the Premier of Rajasthan, suggesting the possibility of the Government of India undertaking exploratory work in the region. Nehru also wrote to Jairamdas Daulatram, the then Union Agriculture Minister, in this connection. See SWJN/SS/11/pp. 8-10. Subsequently, an experimental boring at Samdari near Jodhpur yielded 40 cubic feet of water per second. See SWJN/SS/12/pp. 23-24.

181. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, 3 September 1958. JN Collection.

182. Sahib Singh Sokhey; former director, Haffkine Institute, Bombay, and former deputy director-general of the WHO; also a prominent member of the peace movement, awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1953.

183. Sokhey argued that the Government of India's agreement with Mercks, an American pharmaceutical company, for technical assistance to produce streptomycin, allowed disguised royalties; its secrecy clauses were both harmful in a matter like drug production and contrary to the Government of India's agreement with the WHO. He recommended an Indo-Soviet agreement without royalty or secrecy.

2. As you will see from his letter, he makes out that the agreement we have made is contrary to the information supplied to us. We have already made the agreement, and we do not propose to put an end to it. But since these charges are made, I think that we should be clear in our minds about them. Could you kindly look up the old papers and examine these points afresh?¹⁸⁴

3. Sokhey has given me four names in another paper, Dr Krishnan,¹⁸⁵ Dr Kothari,¹⁸⁶ Dr Mukerji¹⁸⁷ and Sokhey. He suggests that these persons might be asked to examine and report on the Pimpri factory.¹⁸⁸ We need not go into this matter now.

4. Then there is another paper giving the names of the Directors of the Hindustan Antibiotics Limited. Sokhey pointed out that hardly anyone of these Directors is an expert on the subject of Antibiotics, and the Managing Director is a Barrister-at-Law and not even a scientist or a medical man. This does seem to me odd.¹⁸⁹

196. To Swaran Singh¹⁹⁰

September 6, 1958

My dear Swaran Singh,¹⁹¹

The Russian experts, who are here for the Drug Industry, came to see me today. Accompanying them was some officer of the Soviet Embassy here. As they were going away, this officer spoke briefly to me about Bhilai.¹⁹² He said

184. For Nehru's subsequent note on this subject, see item 199.

185. Perhaps refers to K.S. Krishnan, Director, National Physical Laboratory.

186. D.S. Kothari, Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence.

187. Not identified.

188. Refers to the Hindustan Antibiotics Limited, based in Pimpri, near Poona in Bombay State; the first public sector drug manufacturing company set up by the GOI in 1954.

189. Vishnu Sahay, Cabinet Secretary, clarified on 11 September that the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Hindustan Antibiotics Limited was A. Nagaraja Rao, a chemical engineer; other members of the board included K. Venkataraman, the Director of the National Chemical Laboratory; S.K. Borkar, a chemist and the Drug Controller of the Indian Council of Medical Research; and H.I. Jhala and P.M. Wagle, the current and former directors of the Haffkine Institute, Bombay. Only the Managing Director was not a scientist, but he had proved his managerial ability while working in the Agriculture Ministry, Sahay explained.

190. File No. 17(37)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

191. Union Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel.

192. The Bhilai steel plant in Bhilai in today's Chhattisgarh State, built with Soviet cooperation and technology, began production in 1959.

that though work was going on there, it was not as speedy as it might be, and they were anxious to expedite it. For this purpose, they wanted six to seven thousand more workers. I asked him what type of workers, trained or untrained. He said most of them should be partly trained, and some may be untrained.

I pass on this information to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

197. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹⁹³

September 7, 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur,¹⁹⁴

The other day I spoke to you about three-wheeled trucks and mentioned that the Defence Ministry was making one or two proto-types. I saw these proto-types at the Defence Production Exhibition yesterday.¹⁹⁵ These were made, I believe, in a few weeks' time. Naturally, one cannot judge of their performance or of the economic aspect without looking into this matter further.

It is quite possible that the Defence people might be able to make these trucks at a fairly cheap price. If so, obviously, we should encourage them. Primarily, they will be for Defence use, but I see no objection whatever to their being used for civil purposes also. I do not understand why in such matters or, indeed, in any matter, we should give a monopoly to private enterprise. It is a good thing to have some competition between public enterprise and private enterprise. It is good for both as it will keep them up to the mark.

If we find that the military can produce these trucks at a cheap price, then obviously we shall have to think again.

Although I had a vague idea that the Commerce & Industry Ministry were looking into this matter, I did not know that they had come to any arrangement about it with a foreign firm. It was only recently that I learnt that some kind of an arrangement had been arrived at by some private firms in India with German manufacturers. Further, that import licences for the first batch of these vehicles in a knocked-down condition for assembly in India have been issued. I should

193. JN Collection.

194. Union Minister of Commerce & Industry.

195. The Defence Production Exhibition opened in New Delhi on 6 September 1958. For Nehru's inaugural address, see item 354.

like to have full particulars about this arrangement that has been arrived at. Obviously, it must involve foreign exchange also. Could you kindly have these particulars sent to me?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

198. To Keshava Deva Malaviya¹⁹⁶

September 11, 1958

My dear Keshava,¹⁹⁷

Your letter of the 11th. I have read your draft statement which you propose to make tomorrow in the Lok Sabha.¹⁹⁸ It seems to be all right. There is just one or two minor suggestions I want to make.

At page 2, you say: "We are extremely lucky". Instead of "lucky", you might say "fortunate".

Then you refer to "Indian boys" at the end of that paragraph. Perhaps, it will be better to say "our young Indian engineers".¹⁹⁹

I think it would be advisable for you to make this statement in the Rajya Sabha also. If you cannot yourself make it about the same time, you can ask someone else to read it out on your behalf.²⁰⁰

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

196. File No. 17(311)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

197. Union Minister of State for Mines & Oil.

198. The statement pertained to the discovery of oil in the Cambay area by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

199. The changes suggested by Nehru were incorporated into the following paragraph:

"We propose to increase the number of drills in this area as also in some of the other promising areas so as to speed up the work. We are extremely fortunate to strike oil at such shallow depth in an unknown virgin area within a short time and at negligible cost and the credit goes to the hard work, determination and enthusiasm of our young Indian engineers. We are also indebted to the Russian and Rumanian experts who are helping us in our work."

200. The statement was made by Keshava Deva Malaviya in the Lok Sabha on 12 September 1958 and by Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, in the Rajya Sabha the same day.

199. International Collaboration for Manufacture of Drugs²⁰¹

Thank you for going into this matter with the Cabinet Secretary.²⁰²

2. There is, of course, no question of our breaking the agreement with Mercks. But I was anxious to know if we have been given a wrong impression about the terms of that agreement.²⁰³ To a slight extent, as you have pointed out, we did labour under a misapprehension about certain payments to Mercks.²⁰⁴

3. I remember, when we were considering the putting up of the penicillin plant, the tremendous argument we had as to whether we should do it in collaboration with Mercks or some other well known manufacturer, or directly with the help of WHO and UNICEF. Every conceivable argument was advanced against our collaborating with WHO, even though they were going to help us with a large sum of money. We were told that WHO were not competent to do this, that Mercks were far the best qualified for this work, that their reputation was very good, that indeed it was a piece of great good luck that Mercks were offering to do this for us. The pressure brought to bear upon us on behalf of joining up with a foreign firm for the manufacture of penicillin was tremendous. For months, we argued.²⁰⁵ At last, it was agreed to accept the WHO proposal.

201. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, and Vishnu Sahay, the Cabinet Secretary, 14 September 1958. File No. 17(48)/56-66, PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to Vishnu Sahay.

202. Vishnu Sahay and N.R. Pillai commented on 11 and 14 September respectively on Sokhey's letter to Nehru (see item 195) about the agreement with Mercks. Sokhey had met both Pillai and Sahay after meeting Nehru.

203. Vishnu Sahay noted that the Cabinet had expressly disallowed royalty when approving collaboration with Mercks; that, according to the Ministry of Commerce & Industry, the percentage payment allowed to Mercks on sales was "our contribution to the continuing research which Mercks will make in future, the benefit of which would be made available to us." As for secrecy, the Ministry argued that Indian interests were not affected as long as Indian scientists could use the results of the research at the penicillin factory at Pimpri; further, that India was free to collaborate on streptomycin with the USSR independently. Vishnu Sahay noted also that Government's commitment to the WHO concerned only the penicillin factory, financed by the WHO, hence there was no breach of agreement with the WHO as alleged by Sokhey.

204. N.R. Pillai generally agreed with Vishnu Sahay and was satisfied that the Cabinet had not been misled but felt that the Cabinet could have been informed that payment to Mercks was for future technical collaboration.

205. For Nehru's note of 23 April 1951, in which he discussed the relative merits of collaborating with Mercks or WHO/UNICEF for the manufacture of penicillin in India, see SWJN/SS/16 pt I/pp. 124-126.

As a result, we have done very well. If we had not accepted this, we would have been tied up with Mercks in many ways and even the price of the penicillin we produced would have had to fit in with the price of imported penicillin.

4. This experience has put me on my guard, more especially in regard to drugs. The drug industry is well known for the unconscionably high charges that are made for its products. To get tied up with the patents and others and the prices of a private firm is not desirable at all, and will prevent our future growth.

5. In the present case, we were given to understand that we were not going to be tied up with Mercks about royalty etc. That, it appears, is broadly true, though not precisely as I had thought.

6. General Sokhey, I agree with you, is not a very reliable judge of these matters, because of his strong opinions.²⁰⁶ But I have to remember, for General Sokhey's credit, that it was largely because of his insistence that we ultimately put up a penicillin plant of our own with the help of WHO, without getting entangled with private firms. I am afraid that our Commerce & Industry Ministry, dealing with private firms as it does, is inclined to think in terms of private firms. They have not quite grasped the fact that we are aiming at greater State control of the essentials of life and a socialist pattern. In regard to drugs, this is particularly important.

7. Independently of this proposition, there is now a Soviet team of medical experts here. They have come here to draw up the details of some drug industry they are going to put up. It is a big team of very competent men, including, I think, one of their Ministers or Deputy Ministers in charge of drug manufacture. I met them some little time ago. You will remember that a year or two ago, a similar high-powered team came from the Soviet Union, and they drew up a very full report. That report was almost shelved for a long time. Our Ambassador in Moscow²⁰⁷ wrote to us that the Soviet Government felt rather hurt about the way we had treated this report which had been prepared with so much care. Part of it ultimately was more or less adopted by us, though in a restricted form. It is for this, I suppose, that the new expert team has come from the Soviet Union.

206. N.R. Pillai felt that Sokhey's "violent objection" to the agreement with Mercks was chiefly ideological. Pillai thought India was doing rather well: she was making penicillin on her own, producing streptomycin with help from Mercks, and hoping soon to make other drugs, including antibiotics, with Soviet technical assistance. He observed, "To rely wholly on any one country for assistance over a wide sector of a particular industry is not a prospect that pleases me."

207. K.P.S. Menon.

8. I am a little afraid that this team might also wander about aimlessly without decisions being arrived at by us. This kind of thing does not do much good to our reputation abroad. I have had a vague indication that they are not happy here.

9. I do not know much about these matters which are highly technical. But the Soviet team seems to think that the work they have been asked to do, might be held up because certain intermediary projects have been separated from it. Also, that further expansion might be impeded. The Soviet team have suggested an expansion of the antibiotic project. One of their number is reported to have said that progress here is very slow and the atmosphere is negative. No one here is taking any great interest in the scheme.

10. I really do not know where this is at the moment and why there is any complaint of this negative and lack-interest [sic] approach.

200. Khadi and Village Industries²⁰⁸

In this changing world, so dominated by science, it appears rather odd for people to talk about khadi and village industries. Though it may appear so, there really is nothing odd about it, nor indeed is there any conflict with science and modern technique.

We must accept science and modern technique and it is only in that context that a country can make progress. But why should we think that this acceptance involves some conflict with village industries? It need not do so.

First of all, we have to remember that even village industries should utilise modern technique in so far as it can be adapted to them. Secondly that in the present state of India, however the big industries might advance, there is a large field which can only be filled by village industries.

I have no doubt about the importance of khadi and village industries in the India of today. They fulfil an essential need. We should always try to introduce the latest technique in these village industries of ours.

208. Message for the annual number of *Khadi Gramodyog*, 14 September 1958. File No. 9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and the *National Herald*, 4 October 1958.

201. To K. Kamaraj Nadar²⁰⁹

October 10, 1958

My dear Kamaraj,²¹⁰

I enclose a copy of a telegram I have received from the General Secretary of the All India Port and Dock Workers' Federation.²¹¹

When discussions were taking place with the representatives of this Federation in Delhi in regard to their strike etc., I gave them the assurance that there would be no victimisation and no proceedings taken against their people unless there had been violence or a criminal offence.²¹² When I learnt first that the Madras Government was proceeding against Anthony Pillai and others, I asked our Minister, S.K. Patil, about it.²¹³ I gather he referred to your Government who told him that these cases related to violent acts and, therefore, could not be governed by the assurance we had given.

Your Government is the best judge of this and I have no desire to interfere. But, since I was involved in giving an assurance to these dock workers I am a little concerned that there should be no doubt about our word being kept. I would, therefore, be grateful if you would kindly look into this matter yourself.

You might also consider whether it is worth while at this late stage to revive old controversies and disputes. Anthony Pillai is a Member of Parliament²¹⁴

209. File No. 26(36)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

210. Chief Minister of Madras.

211. Makhn Chatterjee's telegram of 9 October strongly protested against the Madras Government's prosecuting S.C.C. Anthony Pillai, President, Madras Labour Union, and General Secretary and Vice-President, All India Port and Dock Workers' Federation, and 75 others after the police fired on striking port and dock workers in Madras on 16 June 1958. He claimed workers had been peacefully picketing.

212. The All India Port and Dock Workers' Federation's strike from 16 June 1958 was called off on 25 June 1958 after discussions with Nehru. See SWJN/SS/42/153-154.

213. On 5 October, Nehru wrote to S.K. Patil, the Union Minister of Transport and Communications: "If it is a fact that Anthony Pillai and others are being charged for some old incidents, this hardly appears proper. Could you kindly enquire into this matter?" He also forwarded a telegram from C.A. Sambasivam, General Secretary, Madras Port Trust Employees Union, which essentially repeated Makhn Chatterjee.

214. S.C.C. Anthony Pillai was a Socialist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Madras North.

and no doubt this question will be raised there repeatedly. We have, therefore, to consider this matter not only from the strictly legal point of view but from the wider point of view also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

202. To Swaran Singh²¹⁵

10th October, 1958

My dear Swaran Singh,

Thank you for your letter of October 8 about the difficulties in Bhilai.²¹⁶

You point out all these difficulties but you do not make any particular suggestions as to how to meet them. Obviously it is better to engage Indians than to import Russians at a heavy cost. Foreigners should normally only come in relatively small numbers and for a specialised work. A few may be invited just to help in training up our people for a period. In all such matters we should think of the training element also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

215. File No. 17(37)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

216. On the difficulties in completing the construction work of the Bhilai steel plant on schedule, Swaran Singh observed that Russians exaggerated and Indians underplayed the need for more workers. He objected to importing 500 Soviet workers, as they had proposed, since they would be expensive and "we shall be defeating the very object of taking on most of the work departmentally if, for the doubtful advantage of gaining a few weeks, we employ Russians in the place of Indians." He thought that more men were required "but not perhaps as many as the Russians, with their inadequate knowledge of Indian conditions, seem to insist on."

203. To A.K. Gopalan²¹⁷

10th October, 1958

Dear Gopalan,²¹⁸

I have received your telegrams about Nambiar's fast.²¹⁹ I referred the matter to the Railway Minister²²⁰ who saw me about it and gave me a full account. He sent you a long telegram also explaining the situation.

I must confess that I do not at all understand the justification for Nambiar's fast. The Railway Ministry has issued a statement to the public giving a full account of the steps they have taken.

The question of the recognition of the Union surely has to be decided in ways other than those of fasting. If Nambiar in his personal capacity wishes to meet the representatives of the Railways, he can certainly do so. But it is not proper to bring in the question of representation in this way.

I hope that Nambiar will give up his fast.²²¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

204. To Lal Bahadur Shastri²²²

14th October, 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur,

Mulraj Kersondas²²³ saw me today. He has for many years had contacts with the Chinese agencies and people. He told me that, according to his information, the Chinese have advanced greatly in the manufacture of many industrial articles

217. JN Collection.

218. CPI Member of the Lok Sabha from Kasaragod, Kerala.

219. K. Anandan Nambiar was on strike in Madras demanding immediate recognition of the Southern Railway Union.

220. Jagjivan Ram.

221. Nambiar broke his fast on 11 October on the advice of the leaders of the Southern Railway Labour Union. M. Kalyanasundaram, President of the Southern Railway Union, announced that he had requested Nambiar to break his fast in view of Nehru's "conciliatory" letter and on the understanding that the Railway Minister would discuss workers' problems with Kalyanasundaram.

222. JN Collection.

223. A leading industrialist from Bombay; Chairman, Elphinston Spinning and Weaving Mills Co. Ltd., Bombay.

and even of machines and plants. They are anxious to sell these at a very competitive price and for long credit and no interest. Among the plants that, according to him, they are prepared to provide are plants for the manufacture of paper and heavy chemicals and possibly others. They are also making ships now of considerable tonnage.

I am passing this information on to you so that you may keep it in mind and, if necessity arises, make further enquiries.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

205. Manufacture of Tractors and Trucks in Ordnance Factories²²⁴

I have read the two notes you have sent me on the manufacture of tractors and the manufacture of trucks in the Ordnance Factories.²²⁵

2. You have drawn attention to a note I wrote on the 24th February, 1953. I certainly approve of what I said then, that is, the Ordnance Factories being fully utilised and, more particularly, of our becoming more and more self-reliant in regard to our needs in defence, etc.

3. So far as the notes you have sent me go, it appears, *prima facie*, that the steps taken have been on the right lines. But I should like to have a closer examination about the economic aspect and, more especially, of how far foreign exchange is affected by these proposals. Some broad indication is given of this in the notes, but, in a matter of this kind, a more precise working out of figures is desirable.

4. While this is a matter especially pertaining to defence, it is nevertheless desirable for the fullest consultation to take place with the other relevant Ministries, that is, Commerce & Industry, and Finance. Also, the Planning Commission should be kept fully informed. It is clear that any big scale manufacture, as intended, will have some repercussions, and the Commerce & Industry Ministry should know of these possible repercussions.

5. From the notes, it appears that both Finance and Commerce & Industry were consulted, and that they agreed to these proposals. It is not clear to me whether they agreed broadly with the approach, or examined it in some detail and then agreed.

224. Note to O. Pulla Reddi, Defence Secretary, 20 October 1958. JN Collection.

225. Not available.

6. I gather from the note on tractors that Messrs International Harvester Co. have dropped out of the picture and that the agreement made with them has become null and void, chiefly at their instance. The agreement with the Japanese firm appears satisfactory.

7. So far as the manufacture of trucks is concerned, this apparently involves a fairly large scale purchase abroad to begin with. This may be advantageous to us, but I should have like to have this matter more carefully examined, so as to avoid any possible difficulty in the future. We cannot be too careful in these matters lest some action of the other party may put us in difficulty. Any agreement that we make, should be foolproof and something that we can fully defend, whatever happens, in Parliament.

8. The question of foreign exchange involved should also be carefully worked out.

9. As I have said above, I think that the Planning Commission should have been kept fully in the picture. Also, there is a Committee of the Cabinet called the Heavy Industries Committee, and a Secretaries' Committee for the same purpose, of which the Secretary-General,²²⁶ I think, is the Chairman. These Committees were formed to bring about coordination and to prevent overlapping. Even a scheme that is essentially good, has to be fitted in with the rest of what is happening. So far as I know, these Committees were not consulted.

10. I am, for the present, sending your notes to the Secretary-General.

11. The Defence Minister²²⁷ will be coming back soon and, if necessity arises, I can discuss this matter with him.

226. N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA.

227. V.K. Krishna Menon.

206. Cottage Industries²²⁸

Role of Cottage Industries – Nehru Explains Significance

Hyderabad Oct. 25. Addressing a mammoth demonstration of Ambar Charkha²²⁹ spinning here today Prime Minister Nehru explained the significant role of cottage industries in this country.

Nearly 1,500 women demonstrated before the Prime Minister and other Congress leaders the working of Ambar Charkha on a mass scale at a function organised by the Hyderabad Khadi Samithi. Mr Nehru, Mr Dhebar and the top members²³⁰ spent nearly half an hour witnessing the spinning. They also inspected Khadi and allied material produced under the auspices of the Samithi, which were kept at an exhibition. The women garlanded Mr Nehru with hand-spun yarn. Mr Nehru asked the Samithi authorities to sell the yarn presented to him and utilise the cash to award prizes to the best spinners.

Mr Nehru recalled the day when about 27 years ago, he had opened a Khadi Vastralaya in Hyderabad. The continuity of the efforts and progress achieved thus far had given him immense pleasure. They in this country were searching for solutions for several intricate problems facing them and were anxious to develop the nation. People should be provided with employment because no one could live on charity. It was always better to stand on one's own legs. Self-help was commendable. Spinning was one of the methods by which this could be achieved. The Ambar Charkha had been evolved out of the traditional charkhas. Though the earning out of this might not be much, it

228. Report of an address at a demonstration of Ambar Charkha spinning, Hyderabad, 25 October 1958. *The Hindu*, 26 October 1958. Over 1,500 khadi-clad women, mostly Muslims, participated in the demonstration of mass spinning. Nehru also visited an exhibition organised by the Hyderabad Khadi Samiti, showing improved models of Ambar Charkha and different designs and techniques of production. Hundreds of spinners presented Sutjanas (offering of yarn) to Nehru as he moved amongst them.

229. A spinning wheel that was hand-powered but more efficient because of its four spindles.

230. According to the *National Herald* of 27 October 1958, Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister, and V.L. Mehta, Chairman of the Central Khadi Board, also accompanied the Prime Minister.

taught the value of self-reliance and made the individual depend upon himself, instead on others.²³¹

The Prime Minister said that numerous textile mills existed in this country and more might come into existence. But they alone could not be of use to all sections of the people. Development of cottage industries had therefore a special significance to India and their promotion was most essential in the present day context. Mr Nehru said that he was tremendously struck by the large-scale activity which he saw today and marvelled at the magnitude of the task undertaken here. The situation in former Hyderabad was such that the field was ripe for organising such industries. The design of the Ambar Charkha might change as days passed on but there should be proper remuneration for the work turned out.²³²

He welcomed the increase in the price of hanks produced by them, but pointed out that any extraordinary enhancement might kill the very initiative and might then cease to be a source of income.

Mr Nehru congratulated Swami Ramanand and his colleagues in their endeavour to render service to the people.

Earlier, Swami Ramanand Tirth, Chairman of the Hyderabad Khadi Samithi, reminded that on June 4, 1931 it was Mr Nehru who inaugurated the Khadi Vastralaya in Hyderabad the first of its kind in the State. Mr Nehru had then expressed that the small beginnings of the Samithi would blossom into a great endeavour and go a long way in improving the lot of the masses of this area. His prophesy had been fully borne out by the progress achieved thus far.

Mr N.B. Raju, State Minister for Planning, proposed a vote of thanks.

231. Reporting the Prime Minister's speech, the *National Herald* wrote: "One of the problems facing the country, he (Nehru) said, was providing employment to the people and thereby enabling them to stand on their own legs. People could not be maintained on charity. Besides, charity was proper neither for him that gave nor for him that took. However, Pandit Nehru added, there was nothing wrong in one helping the other but the help should be such as to enable the person to depend upon himself."

232. The *National Herald* report said: "Pandit Nehru complimented the Khadi Samiti for its work. The work was also commendable because people in Hyderabad, particularly women, had been in difficulties and something had to be done to afford them some relief."

207. To Y.B. Chavan²³³

October 30, 1958

My dear Chavan,²³⁴

I enclose a letter from the Port & Dock Workers' Union. I wanted to speak to you about this matter in Hyderabad,²³⁵ but forgot to do so.

I know nothing about the particular cases referred to. But when the strike was called off, my colleague, S.K. Patil and I gave an assurance that there would be no victimisation and no proceedings would be taken against anyone, unless there were clear cases of violence. I should like that assurance to be honoured. Could you kindly look into this matter?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Roads and Shipping

208. The Gangtok-Nathu La Road²³⁶

The road built from Gangtok to Nathu La,²³⁷ leading to Tibet, is a very fine achievement of our engineers. It passes through difficult terrain and whoever sees it is much struck by it as we were.

I think that some of the principal engineers concerned in building this road should be included in our next honours list. I asked our Political Officer²³⁸ in Sikkim for their names. He has not proved very helpful as he has sent me the

233. JN Collection.

234. Chief Minister of Bombay.

235. Nehru visited Hyderabad from 24 to 26 October for the AICC Session.

236. Note to B.N. Jha, the Union Home Secretary, 4 October 1958. JN Collection.

237. This road was completed in 1958 after three years of effort. Formerly a 35-mile stretch of mule track, the road winds upward from Gangtok at 5,600 feet to 14,000 feet at Nathu La on the border between Sikkim and Tibet. It was inaugurated by Nehru on 17 September at the beginning of his drive from Gangtok to Sherathang, at the foot of the Nathu La Pass, where he spent the night on his way to Bhutan via Tibet.

238. Apa Pant.

names of nearly all of them. We should pick out two or three names from this, if necessary after reference to him.

One name that should obviously be there is that of Shri O.P. Mathur.²³⁹

I am sending you the note by Shri Apa Pant.

209. Road Communications²⁴⁰

I have gone through these papers.²⁴¹ There can be no doubt at all that it is important for us to develop our road communications. There are so many things which are all of the first importance for us that we have to make some kind of a list of priorities, in view of our limited resources. But roads certainly should be given a high priority both because they are needed and also because of their employment potential.

2. It is true that, compared to Western countries, India is backward in regard to road communications.²⁴² Compared to most Eastern countries, including China, we are much more advanced. The same problems have to be faced in these countries and the same priorities thought of.

3. In the United States of America, new roads and bridges are sometimes built by private agencies and tolls are charged. Because of the enormous traffic there, a very large sum of money is realised through this toll system. Obviously

239. Om Prakash Mathur, the executive engineer associated with the construction of the Gangtok-Nathu La Highway, was awarded the Padma Shri in 1959. In 1965, the Bhutan Government honoured him for his role as the chief engineer in charge of the Phuntsholing-Paro-Thimpu Highway.

240. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, 7 October 1958. JN Collection.

241. S.K. Patil, the Union Minister of Transport and Communications, had been invited by the International Road Federation to a meeting from 26 to 31 October 1958 in Mexico City. The Federation, a non-governmental organisation established in 1948 to promote road development and transportation in all countries, had also offered a tour of transport offices and facilities in the USA. The agenda for the meeting was (i) economic and social aspects of roads and road transport; (ii) modern methods of road financing; and (iii) technical training.

242. R.L. Gupta, the Transport Secretary, noted on 23 September that road mileage had expanded since Independence, but slowly. At the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan, that is, on 1 April 1956, India had 122,000 miles of surfaced roads and 198,000 miles of unsurfaced roads, or just 0.26 mile per square mile. By the end of the Second Plan period, this was to rise to 0.30 mile per square mile with 144,000 miles of surfaced roads and 235,000 miles of unsurfaced roads. Even this would be low, he added, compared with the UK, the USA and France, which had 2.00 miles, 1.0 mile, and 3.04 miles, respectively, per square mile.

conditions are different in India, and we cannot invite private individuals or corporations to build roads and let them recompense themselves by a toll system. Roads, being public utility services, have inevitably to be built by some State agency, whether this is the Central Government, the State Government, a Municipal Corporation or local body. Personally I do not see any particular objection to a charge being made by tolls on new roads or bridges for a period. This charge could be made on vehicles. I do not think it should be made on foot passengers. All these depend on circumstances.

4. The economic and social aspects of roads and road transport are fascinating subjects, but they depend very largely on the broad economic development of the country concerned. The roads cannot be isolated from this general development.

5. As for technical training, we have fairly competent engineers, some of them having received their training abroad, and we have also a Road Research Institute.²⁴³ The function of this institute is specially to apply modern knowledge to Indian conditions. Conditions in America and Europe are different and I have known in the past that engineers who have come straight back from America have not easily adapted themselves to Indian conditions.

6. Both in road-making and cheap houses, a good deal of work has been done not only by our research institutes, but by State Governments also.

7. In the note of the Communications Secretary, mention is made not only of the meeting of the International Road Federation in Mexico City, but of a number of other places and countries which need visiting.²⁴⁴ I am sure that a visit from the Communications Minister to these various countries can do good to us. But there are two aspects which I should like him to consider. In effect, the suggested tour becomes a world tour, and a Cabinet Minister going on this kind of world tour which would no doubt involve some considerable time and expense, might not be justifiable in the eyes of the public in view of our great stress at present on economy, more especially in foreign exchange. It is not the money involved that matters so much as rather the fact of a world tour.

243. The Central Road Research Institute, a constituent laboratory under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, was founded in 1952.

244. The Transport Secretary, R.L. Gupta, had proposed the following tour for his Minister: USA, for discussions with C. Itoh & Company for a \$25 million loan for Indian shipping, as it was a good time for buying vessels with prices having fallen; Yugoslav shipyards building ships for India; Netherlands, to discuss replacements for Dakota aircraft; UK, for discussions on possible UK participation in India's second shipyard project; and Japan, to talk to the Japanese Shipbuilders Association about help for India's second shipyard.

8. Secondly, the International Road Federation meeting in Mexico may do important work, but again would it be right for a Minister to go all the way to this distant city to attend this meeting? Normally Ministers only go to very important gatherings. The International Road Federation is a non-official body and normally a Minister would not attend such a conference. If it is considered necessary to find out what is done there, perhaps an official can be sent to attend.

9. As for the other matters referred to in the note, that is, the desirability of the Minister visiting some countries in Europe for the purposes mentioned, I would leave this to the discretion of the Minister.

210. To S.K. Patil²⁴⁵

14th October, 1958

My dear SK,²⁴⁶

Mulraj Kersondas²⁴⁷ came to see me today. As you know, he has contacts with Chinese agencies. He told me that the Chinese were making quite big ships now up to, I think, 20,000 tons and that they were prepared to sell these ships at less than the market price for long credit and no rates of interest. I am passing this information on to you. You can, of course, get more information from Mulraj himself.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

245. JN Collection.

246. Minister of Transport and Communications.

247. Eminent entrepreneur from Bombay.

211. To Gulab Singh²⁴⁸

October 20, 1958

Dear Gulab Singhji,²⁴⁹

I have your letter of October 16th about the Tuini-Chakrata road.²⁵⁰ As you know, I am interested in this road and I have been emphasising the importance of it.²⁵¹ The Ministry concerned also realise its importance. But there are some inevitable difficulties to be faced at present, when all our plans are being cut down with a view to economy, and we cannot add to them.

I am again reminding the Ministry concerned about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

248. File No. 27(30)/57-60-PMS.

249. A Member of the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly.

250. Replying to a Lok Sabha question on 15 September, Raj Bahadur, Minister of State in the Ministry of Transport and Communications, said that constructing the 25-mile-long road between Chakrata and Tuini in Uttar Pradesh was primarily the responsibility of the Uttar Pradesh Government as it would form part of a State road, that the State Government had asked the Central Government for a loan to finance it, but that it might not be possible as the State had not included the project in the current plan. However, no decision had been taken as yet.

251. For Nehru's concern for the early construction of the Chakrata-Tuini road, see also SWJN/SS/41/p. 446 and pp. 532-533.

(f) Education

212. To S.R. Das²⁵²

1 September 1958

My dear Chief Justice,²⁵³

Thank you for your letter of the 1st September.²⁵⁴ I am grateful to you for having written to me frankly and fully.

Personally, I have no doubt that your accepting the Vice-Chancellorship of Visva-Bharati will be something in the nature of a landmark in the history of that institution. It will not only be welcomed by everyone interested in Visva-Bharati, but will also indicate how much importance we attach to this University. The fact that the Chief Justice of India, after retirement, has been good enough to agree to become Vice-Chancellor will impress people and the institution. It will have a rejuvenating effect on it. As for your ability in this regard, you will please forgive me if I do not share your doubts. I could not conceive of a more suitable person. I would, therefore, very much like you to agree to accept this. Of course, it is understood that you will go there only after the completion of your term as Chief Justice.

The other points you have mentioned are not difficult to deal with.²⁵⁵ If once we are clear about your going there in October 1959, the interim

252. File No. 40(164)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Anil Kumar Chanda, member of the Samsad (Court) of Visva-Bharati and Union Deputy Minister for Works, Housing & Supply. Chanda had also been Secretary to Rabindranath Tagore.

253. Sudhiranjan Das or S.R. Das, Chief Justice of India, was a distinguished alumnus of Visva-Bharati, where he studied under Tagore.

254. S.R. Das consented, although aware of "the inexorable fact that the moment I go to Santiniketan as Vice-Chancellor and attempt to take steps to clear away the mess that is said to have accumulated there for some time past, I shall certainly tread on many toes and shall, notwithstanding my present popularity, be faced with a good deal of opposition and antagonism which will disturb the peace of my mind and make me feel utterly unhappy...." Das agreed to assume office on 1 October 1959, that is, after completing his term as the Chief Justice of India.

255. S.R. Das suggested that Tapan Mohan Chatterjee, the writer, an alumnus of Santiniketan, be appointed acting Vice-Chancellor until October 1959.

arrangements can easily be made. There will be no difficulty when people know what we have really decided. It will not mean a reopening of any controversy.²⁵⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

213. The Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill²⁵⁷

Jawaharlal Nehru: I would have hoped and I still hope that this question might be considered apart from party lines and issues, and because we are thinking of a great university, we might at least in this House try to bring in somewhat of an academic atmosphere in this discussion. I realise that it is not easy and appreciate very much that many honourable Members have looked upon this matter quite apart from party lines. I am not accusing anybody, because surely everyone in this House, and indeed I presume vast numbers of people outside, have one object in view, and that is that in so far as this great university is concerned, it should prosper and function adequately and produce worthwhile sons and daughters of India, that it should be a great centre of learning. Everybody wants that, I have no doubt. Even though sometimes some people may, in the excitement of the moment, say or do something, surely it is obvious that we want this institution to be a great centre of education and learning, producing fine men and women for the service of India and the world.

Now, what has happened? In the course of the discussion, two types of criticism have been made which are rather mutually contradictory. On the one hand it is said: "Why did you rush in and have an Ordinance?"²⁵⁸ Could you not have waited two months for this House to meet?" On the other side it has also

256. Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay, had on 3 September recommended K.C. Sen, member of the Karma Samiti (Executive Council) of Visva-Bharati, for the job; but Nehru informed him that the matter had been dealt with.

257. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 2 September 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XIX, cols 4241-4250.

258. On 14 June 1958, an Ordinance amended the Banaras Hindu University Act to make the Executive Council the supreme governing body instead of the University Court, which now became merely advisory. This followed the BHU Inquiry Committee's report that the University had become a hotbed of intrigue, nepotism, corruption and crime, that it had lost its residential and all-India character, and that both faculty and students were devoid of discipline.

been said: "Why have you delayed so long in taking this action? This report²⁵⁹ and what you say indicates that for a long time past there has been trouble, there has been a procession of Vice-Chancellors coming and going.²⁶⁰ If you consider yourself responsible, you should have acted responsibly previously and not allowed matters to drift."

I am not here to defend the long past of Government in regard to this or anything else. It is difficult to know what one can do and when one can do it. Naturally, Government is very, very hesitant always to interfere in university matters. Some people, I think, used the word that our approach in this matter or in university matters is "bureaucratic". I venture to submit that we may be bureaucratic in other matters, but certainly not in university matters. We try not to be, not to interfere, and it may be that if some kind of interference had taken place previously, it would have been worthwhile.

Well, the fact remains it did not take place and we expected the various Vice-Chancellors of high degree who went there one after the other to be able to improve the situation. Ultimately the normal course which is open to us was adopted, that is, appointment of a committee by the Visitor, i.e., the President.

The committee was appointed.²⁶¹ It was a high-level committee and the committee presented a report. I should like this House to consider apart from other backgrounds—and I ventured to say something about it on the last occasion when I spoke on this matter²⁶²—what could follow after that. We took the step of appointing a committee which we considered and which we still consider was a very great committee. The committee presents a report to the President. The report is before the House, they know it. It became impossible for us to set aside that report, ignore it and say that things should continue as they are. That is an absolutely impossible position to advocate, whatever one's views may be. We had to take action.

The committee has suggested certain types of action, fairly far-reaching action. We discussed this at considerable length amongst ourselves. We consulted people outside the immediate circle of Government but connected with education, whose opinion we value; and it was clear to us that action had to be taken, and action more or less on the lines of the Committee's recommendations.

259. The Banaras Hindu University Inquiry Committee report, submitted in April 1958

260. Between 1948 and 1956, BHU had four Vice-Chancellors. They were: Amar Nath Jha, Govind Malaviya, Narendra Deva and C.P. Ramaswami Aiyer.

261. Appointed in July 1957, the Banaras Hindu University Inquiry Committee under A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar had M.C. Mahajan, P. Subbarayan, Sucheta Kripalani and Navroji J. Wadia as members.

262. On 16 August 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 198-205.

Now, action which might be said to be a half-way house, neither here nor there, was, we felt, a dangerous course to adopt; because it is never easy or desirable not to take a clear-cut step in such matters. If we try to sit on two stools, we are likely to fall in between. The position was not a theoretical and academical one that was facing us—it was academical in a sense, of course. It was a practical issue of difficulties being created day to day in the campus, in the professorial circle, in the teachers' circle. And, I should like to make it quite clear, I am not condemning the students of the Hindu University or even, for the matter of that, the professors or teachers as a whole. Because, when one criticises, one is not criticising the thousands of people who are there, good, fine, young men and women; but the fact is that owing to certain happenings, the whole atmosphere of the place was vitiated and people, even who were not in the University, presumed almost to take possession of the University, sometimes coming in and roaming about, as they are doing, I am told.

So we came to the conclusion that this report cannot be ignored, it has to be acted upon. It cannot be acted upon in a feeble, half-hearted way. That is neither here nor there, and we will get even caught in this tangle more and more. Therefore, some fairly effective step has to be taken, temporarily, not for ever, to allow, if it is considered necessary, for the Act to be amended and the University to be set on a sound footing, one might say, in this regard.

The question arose about an Ordinance. When we considered this, about a month after the consideration of this report by the Government the University was going to open after the vacations, and another month after that Parliament was going to meet, this House was going to meet. Now, would it have been proper for us to postpone this matter at that stage for two months till this House met? Already, in spite of every precaution, people knew what the report contained, at least the essence of it, if not the wording of it. Already, as soon as this was known a new agitation raised its head in the University among certain professors, certain teachers, against this Committee itself, running them down, blaming them, creating an atmosphere hostile to the Members of that Committee and generally preparing for a battle royal "if something is going to be", as they said, "imposed upon them from outside". That was the position. Now, should we have allowed two months to elapse for the University to meet a month later and meet in this atmosphere of conflict of preparation for a big battle and all the teaching and courses of the University being affected by it and generally for that atmosphere, which had been described in the report as a vitiated atmosphere, to grow worse and worse and become almost intractable? We could not have waited for two months. It was impossible. It would not have been desirable even. So we thought...

Govind Malaviya:²⁶³ Forgive me please for interrupting. It was the summer vacation, nobody was in the University, Sir.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is exactly what I am pointing out. I happen to know my facts too. It was the vacation and we did not want that vacation to end before this step was taken. Because, if the vacation ended—in three or four weeks it was going to end—and no step was going to be taken, then all these preparations, etc., will take effect and by the time this Parliament met a month later and possibly considered this question or this Bill or something, much would have happened which it would have been difficult for us to retrace. Anyhow, whether we were right or wrong, this was the question we discussed, and discussed not only amongst ourselves but in consultation with eminent educationists. Because we wanted to consider this matter on the educational plane entirely, not on a political or any like plane. And we were advised—we were, if I may say so with all respect, almost pushed; the advice, I might say, was such strong advice that we were almost pushed in this direction—that “you must take steps now, well before the summer vacation ends, well before the University opens, well before any other development takes place”. That was the advice we received, and we agreed to it. And therefore this Ordinance was issued then so as to clear the ground, so that when this House met it could consider this matter perhaps when the ground was a little clearer and when it was easier for this House and the University to take another step forward.

I am submitting to this House the reasons which actuated us at that time. I do not say that there was no other possible course. Personally I think it would have been a risky adventure for us not to have taken that course and allowed matters to drift. Anyhow, it is completely wrong, I do submit, for anyone to imagine that we were rushing about in a bureaucratic manner to impose the Government's will on this great institution.

So we arrived at this stage, and the Ordinance was passed. The Ordinance was something slightly less than what had been recommended by that Committee, though broadly on those lines; and after that, in due course, the matter has come up before this House.

Now, I ventured to say on the last occasion, and I would like to repeat it; whatever our likes or dislikes may be in this matter, whatever sentiments may govern us—because it is a matter on which I can very well understand sentiment to affect us—what and when and where could the Government have taken any other line basically other than what they have taken? I am not talking of minor

263. Congress Member from Sultanpur, Uttar Pradesh. He was the Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University from 1948 to 1951.

amendments to the Ordinance which have been made in the Select Committee; I am not referring to them. But basically what could we have done? It would have been an impossible position for Government, after those initial steps had been taken, the appointment of a Commission or Committee, the Committee's report, etc., to have taken any other line.

One might say we should not have appointed that Commission or Committee; some other course might have been adopted. Possibly, though I do not know what other course could have been adopted, because we had seen the most eminent Vice-Chancellors trying and failing. However that may be, once a Commission or Committee was appointed, there was not much choice left for the subsequent steps: they followed one another automatically, I might say. And you could not ignore it without ruin to the University, and not only to the University but to the larger cause of University education and education generally.

So we were caught in this tangle and we had to take those steps. Even now, the matter has come up before this House; is it, I submit, at all conceivable or practical for this House to say, "We don't like this, all this is wrong, throw it out"? By throwing it out, if I may respectfully say so, you throw out also the Hindu University. That is the position. That is the position we have been facing. And we have too great regard and respect for this great institution to take such risks or behave in this manner.

So I submit that in this chapter of misfortune in the last few years, maybe Government was to blame, the Central Government or any other Government, or whoever it may be; but there is no doubt that a time came when no other course was open but to appoint a Committee or Commission and to follow up as we have tried to follow up. There was no choice left, and there is no choice left for us now.

I think honourable Member, Shri Asoka Mehta,²⁶⁴ said something about the students not aligning themselves with political agitations or political parties. I do not for an instant say that the students should empty their minds of political questions, political thinking or political discussion. That would be an absurd thing to say, and I have never thought so. But it is undesirable for students to function in their universities and elsewhere in the party sense, and not only do injury to themselves but to their institution.

Then, certain honourable Members referred to the present Vice-Chancellor²⁶⁵ and—some criticised him—some said that although he may have done well but, anyhow, circumstances are such that it would be better if he withdrew

264. Praja Socialist Party Member from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

265. V.S. Jha.

from the seat—I think that was, more or less, the burden of some speeches. Now, I should like honourable Members just to visualise the kind of position the Vice-Chancellor has had to face during the last many months, if not more. He has faced a most difficult situation, a situation which, remember, had led many of his most distinguished predecessors, if I may use the word, to surrender and go away, to give it out. Here he comes and faces this situation, faces it with some courage and faces all the abuse that comes to him in this business. I should like to say that I have admired and still admire the courage with which he faced this situation.

I might also inform the House that he himself has not been anxious. It is not a pleasant place for any man to function. Whoever he may be, it is not going to be a particularly easy place for some time. It was at our request that he remained at that post. He told us, he told us more than once that, first of all, of course, he does not wish to hold on to the post as a post; he has had a hard time there. Secondly, he told us that his interest is that the University should prosper and flourish. If his remaining there or not remaining there has any relation to the University's prosperity the question should be decided in regard, not to him, but to the University's future and prosperity. If he is of service, it is one thing. If, perhaps, his continuing there comes in the way of developing an atmosphere which is helpful, he for one does not want to be there at all. Very honourably, and very rightly, he put all these questions before us. We told him that we appreciate what he says, but we certainly could not like him at this stage, that is to say, when this Bill is before Parliament, to retire. We do not want it to appear that he had, under pressure of certain wrong elements in the University, been compelled to retire. But we said: "We are prepared to consider what you have suggested after this Bill is over. Then we can look into the matter how best to proceed with this, and if you so wish to retire from this post we can consider that then." That is the position.

There is one thing more. I think some honourable Member—perhaps Shri Asoka Mehta—said something about a visit of Members of Parliament to the University. Well, Members of Parliament, of course, are always welcome, there or anywhere else, to go and see, and I hope they will go; but I imagine it would be a good thing for them to go at a time which is carefully chosen and not just when they may get entangled in the internal troubles there—what I mean is, after this Bill is over.

Asoka Mehta: I was told that the troubles there are of a political character, and someone said that various political parties are involved. I thought that a delegation composed of representatives from different political parties, if it went there now, probably the situation can be eased.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes; it is not for me to say anything. I was merely suggesting, when it was said that political parties were involved, as far as I know it was not hinted at that parties outside Banaras were involved, but local groups and local parties were there.

Anyhow, honourable Members can always go there; there can be no difficulty about their going. The only question which I was suggesting was, would it not be better for this Bill to be passed and then for some Members of Parliament to go there, instead of to go there in between? It is only a question of a few days; anyhow they can go, it is not a very long interval. But if people wish to go before that, certainly they are welcome to go so far as I am concerned.

I submit, Sir, therefore, that both on general principles and in regard to the history of the case and, also, more particularly with the course of events in the last, well, whatever the period is, so many months or years since this Commission was appointed, there is no choice for us but for us to deal with the situation with a certain firmness in order to serve the cause of this University and education, and it has become inconceivable to me how any person can now argue that we should adopt any other course or oppose this Bill at this stage.

214. Basic Education²⁶⁶

I send my good wishes to the Kerala Basic Education Conference. It is generally recognised in India now that our approach to education should be on the lines of Basic Education,²⁶⁷ even though there may be minor differences in that approach. We have inevitably to introduce far more of technical and scientific education now than previously. Basic Education is a far sounder foundation for this. But the main virtue of Basic Education is that it is meant to produce a more integrated human being.

266. Message, 2 September 1958, File No. 9/2/58-PMS. Also published in *The Hindu*, 20 September 1958.

The message was sent to the All-Kerala Basic Education Conference held at Ernakulam on 20 and 21 September 1958. The conference was organised by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and chaired by G. Ramachandran, founder-director of Gandhigram, Madurai. About 500 delegates from all parts of the country attended the conference.

267. Basic education refers to Mahatma Gandhi's concept of a radical alternative to colonial education. Its core was mastering a craft, and making schools self-supporting. He called it Nai Talim, literally, new education. The first one was opened at Wardha in April 1939.

It is sometimes criticised that many people who recommend Basic Education, send their children to non-Basic schools. Partly this is due to a hiatus in our educational system which results in the Basic school not fitting in with higher education as it is today; partly it is also due to the fact that the average Basic school is not too well equipped, and the parents who can afford it, want to send their children to a better equipped school.

All this may be a temporary phase which we shall get over. This does not in any way lessen the importance of the fact that a proper system of education should be on Basic lines. Indeed, in a way, modern education in other countries also tends to develop in that direction.

I hope the Kerala Conference on Basic Education will lead to greater developments in this direction.

215. Ambedkar's Letters for Research²⁶⁸

I have no objection to letters from Dr Ambedkar²⁶⁹ being shown to any person who might be writing his biography or writing on some other connected subject. The question of principle does not worry me. Generally speaking, most of his letters will fall in this category, although there might be some which should not be published. Each letter will have to be judged from this point of view.

2. The fact that these letters raise controversial issues does not make any difference. Thus, I would have no objection to the publication of his letter to me dated 28th April 1948, which is given in this file.²⁷⁰

3. While this is so, I really do not see how we can collect large numbers of letters he wrote to me during many years, and then hand them over to someone else. In no event, should they be handed over. At the most, copies might be given. But, who is to choose?

268. Note to Kesho Ram, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 4 September 1958. JN Collection.

269. B.R. Ambedkar passed away in 1956.

270. Ambedkar was reported to have appealed to the UP Scheduled Castes Conference in 1948 to fragment the Congress and to create a separate party of backward classes. On 27 April 1948, Nehru pointed out to Ambedkar the serious consequences of the speech, and Ambedkar replied on 28 April 1948, to which Nehru responded on 30 April 1948. Ambedkar was a member of the Union Cabinet at the time but had not joined the Congress Party. For Nehru's letters to Ambedkar, see SWJN/SS/6/pp. 373-374 and 377-379.

4. I think, therefore, the following reply should be sent to Shri Kamble:²⁷¹

“Dear Shri Kamble,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of the 25th August. It is true that Dr Ambedkar wrote a large number of letters to him during the period he was Law Minister.²⁷² There are also a few letters after he left the Law Ministership. All these relate to official matters, dealing with different subjects, and are spread out in a large number of official files. Many of these letters deal with the framing of the Indian Constitution.

It is very difficult to collect these letters and, in any event, we would not be able to send you letters in our official files.²⁷³ If any particular letter is desired by you, a copy could be made and sent to you, provided there is nothing considered confidential in it.

We have not been able to trace any photographs of Dr Ambedkar in our files.”

216. To Gulzarilal Nanda²⁷⁴

September 7, 1958

My dear Gulzarilal,²⁷⁵

A young man named Somwar Sharma, who said that he worked for the Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti, came to see me today. He told me that he had visited one of the Bharat Sewak Samaj Students' camps which was being held at Bhaguwala, District Ferozepur, Punjab. He went there on the 24th August. There were at that time about forty to forty-five students. More had been expected apparently and provided for, but they had not come. No responsible

271. Bapu Chandrasen Kamble (1919-2006); politician, lawyer and journalist from Maharashtra; for some time associated with the Scheduled Castes Federation; one of the founders of the Republican Party of India (Kamble Group); Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1952-57; Member of Lok Sabha, 1957-62 and 1977-80; edited *Janata*, *Prabudha Bharat* and *Republic* between 1948 and 1975; author of several books including some on B.R. Ambedkar.

272. B.R. Ambedkar was Union Law Minister, 1947-51.

273. It is not clear why Kamble wanted these letters but it seems to be for research on Dr Ambedkar.

274. JN Collection.

275. Union Minister for Labour and Employment and Planning and Chairman, Bharat Sewak Samaj.

person was in charge of this camp. Shri Chandilal Varma, the Samyojak, was supposed to be in charge of it, but he was not there. Actually a school teacher named Mathwala was in charge.

He said that he was surprised to see this camp where there was no worthwhile activity. A very little Shramdan was being done. There were no proper lectures or any other work and in fact the students wasted most of their time.

He also said that collections of cash amounting to about Rs 2,000 had been made locally for the camp. Also twenty-five maunds of foodgrains and two big tins of ghee. He seemed to indicate that these food-stuffs, etc., were not used for the camp, but were apparently diverted to private use.

I am passing on this information to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

217. The Role of Visual Aids in Social Education²⁷⁶

Among the questions which the Prime Minister discussed with the participants was that of the introduction of modern means of education into the traditional cultures of countries and particularly with those where people still largely live in isolation. He told the meeting that such walls as still existed between modern and traditional societies cannot be maintained, but that any efforts for bringing about social changes in order to arrive at better living conditions should start from traditional patterns, and even more important, that no change be imposed upon a people. Such changes could come about validly only through the desires and urges of the people themselves.

Audio-visual means of communication can do tremendous good, the Prime Minister told the delegation, but they could also do tremendous harm if they were not properly used. In this connection Shri Jawaharlal Nehru agreed that

276. Report of a talk with the delegates attending the UNESCO Regional Seminar on Visual Aids in Fundamental Education and Community Development, New Delhi, 12 September 1958. Press Information Bureau.

The seminar was convened by the UNESCO under the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and held at the National Institute of Audio-Visual Education in New Delhi from 8 to 27 September 1958. Delegates from 13 countries from South and South-East Asia participated in the seminar.

great responsibility lay with the social education workers and that the question of this training was of utmost importance. We cannot teach anything without first being taught, he said.

The Prime Minister also agreed that feature films of high standards which recognised the dignity of each man were powerful instruments in the educational process and that they formed part of audio-visual education in general.

The Director of the Seminar, Mr Henny de Jong,²⁷⁷ briefly explained the scope and purpose of the seminar to the Prime Minister and the significance of the role of visual aids in Fundamental Education and Community Development in the underdeveloped areas.

218. To Ika Paul-Pont²⁷⁸

September 14, 1958

Dear Ika,²⁷⁹

I received your letter about ten days ago.²⁸⁰ I was happy to meet you after some years. During these years we have moved in different spheres and no doubt gathered some experience on the way. As I grow older, I become more doubtful of the value of giving other people advice. Each person ultimately has to find his or her way and often the advice thrust upon one by another is a disturbing factor.

Then again, you represent an entirely different generation from mine. In the world of today, changes are so swift that there is often a big gap between two generations. What then am I to advise you? You have devoted yourself,

277. Associated with the Department of Mass Communication in the UNESCO Secretariat.

278. JN Collection.

279. International civil servant from France who devoted her life to the cause of children; studied economics; greatly influenced by Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru; worked for UNICEF; Chief of the International Division of the International Children's Centre, Paris; came to India in 1959 as a technical expert to the Indian Council for Child Welfare under a bilateral agreement between France and India; wrote, among others, *Child Welfare in India: An Integrated Approach* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, GOI, 1963).

280. In her letter of 27 August written from New Delhi, Ika Paul-Pont referred to "the interview which you (Nehru) have just given me" and said that she believed the time had come to fully realise "the undertaking you asked me to give in 1948... by fully going back to the country." She wrote that she was likely to get an offer from the Indian Council for Child Welfare to work in India, and added, "I have only my life to give to this country, which is mine and which has not always got your humanity. Please tell me the word which will help me take the first step."

I believe, to child welfare. That is very much after my heart. I feel happy with children. If some arrangement is made for you to come here to do work for the Indian Council for Child Welfare,²⁸¹ I shall be glad. But I am not at all sure how you will feel about living in India. When we live in a particular environment for a considerable time, more especially in our impressionable years, we are moulded by it and a new environment might or might not suit. I do not know you well enough to be able to say what would suit you.

Ultimately I suppose it is some inner adjustment that each individual seeks consciously or unconsciously. If that is there, then the outer environment does not make too much difference.

Do not ask me for some magic word or phrase. This kind of thing does not come to order. What is usually said is some stale platitude and I would hate to repeat it. But it is true, I think, that each person should have some special function or vocation in life, or otherwise that life is rather empty of content. Since you have chosen to devote yourself to children's welfare, that is a very worthwhile vocation and something which should give you a feeling of content. Have this sense of vocation and develop the sensation that you are helping in building something worthwhile. There is nothing more important after all than a growing child. It is a new creation looking with wonder at this strange and so often unhappy world.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

219. To G.C. Sondhi²⁸²

September 14, 1958

Dear Sondhi,²⁸³

I have your letter of September 8. I am glad to learn that your daughter is returning after finishing her course abroad.

I do not quite understand how you expect me to keep some government post ready for her so that she can take it up immediately on return. I have to

281. The Indian Council for Child Welfare (ICCW) came into being in the 1952 as a registered voluntary organisation. The first President of ICCW was Amrit Kaur. The Council became the first organisation in India to become a full member of the International Union for Child Welfare. In 1958 Indira Gandhi was elected its President.

282. JN Collection.

283. A resident of Jullundur City.

function under the rules of our own making and those rules imply a reference to the Union Public Service Commission, etc.

I think your daughter should definitely not even ask for a post for some time after her return. She should certainly work, but she should do some kind of honorary work in the villages preferably, so as to get to know what village India is after her term abroad. That will do her a lot of good.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

220. To K.L. Shrimali²⁸⁴

September 14, 1958

My dear Shrimali,²⁸⁵

I enclose a letter from Hiren Mukerjee, MP.²⁸⁶ I do not know if what he says is correct. If so, I confess that I am greatly surprised. I think that almost always our specialised posts should go to specialists and not to any officer of the Administrative Service. More especially, the National Archives requires a man of high specialisation.²⁸⁷ How can an Under Secretary function there, I do not understand at all.²⁸⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

284. JN Collection.

285. Union Minister of State for Education.

286. CPI Member of the Lok Sabha from Calcutta North East, West Bengal.

287. Apparently the reference is to K.D. Bhargava (1920-1980), who took charge as Director of the National Archives of India (NAI) on 15 September 1958. He was Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Defence, 1955-58, and Director of the NAI until September 1969 except from July 1960 to April 1962 when he was on deputation to the Ministry of Education.

288. Shrimali's reply not traced.

221. To S.R. Das²⁸⁹

September 15, 1958

My dear Chief Justice,

I need not tell you how distressed I have been feeling at developments at Santiniketan and the decisions of the Karma Samiti. I wanted to come and see you, but during these last few days I have been very heavily occupied.

The Samsad will meet towards the end of this month. I shall not be here then. On my return in October I shall know what the decision of the Samsad is and then we shall have to consider what course we have to adopt. I hope to go to Santiniketan round about the 22nd December at the time of the Convocation.²⁹⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

222. Education and Research in the USSR²⁹¹

This article is very interesting.²⁹² I should like others to see it also. You should send copies of it to the Members of the Planning Commission.

2. I should like you to send copies "With the compliments of the Prime Minister" to:

289. File No. 40(164)58-60-PMS.

290. Nehru delivered the annual convocation address at Visva-Bharati on 24 December 1958.

291. Note, written at Paro, Bhutan, 24 September 1958, for Pitambar Pant, Head, Perspective Planning Division, Planning Commission. JN Collection.

292. The article on "Education and Research in Soviet Russia" by Raymond Ewell, Vice-Chancellor for Research, the University of Buffalo, New York, was based on his observations during a recent visit to the USSR. Raymond Ewell wrote: "Russia is using education as an instrument of national policy far beyond any other nation in history. To me, this was one of the most startling observations I made in Russia in the field of education. Education is being pushed on a massive scale in Russia; great emphasis is being placed on quality, as well as on quantity. This educational drive is being purposefully directed toward the objectives of the state in the military field, in economic development, and in public health. It seems almost certain that Russia is devoting a much larger proportion of its national income to education than any other country in the world (8% in Russia, 4% in the USA)." The article was printed in *Chemical Engineering News* (Washington D.C.: American Chemical Society, 1958), 36 (15), pp. 66-70.

- (1) All our Ministers of the Central Government, that is, including Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers. You can leave out those who have already received it as Members of the Planning Commission.
- (2) All Chief Ministers of States in India.

223. Study of Buddhism and Tibetology²⁹³

Friends,

You may remember that I came here about nine months ago²⁹⁴ and saw this building in the course of construction. At that time you asked me to come for the inauguration ceremony, and I gladly agreed to do so, because I considered it an honour and a privilege for me to be associated with this ceremony of inauguration of this institute which, I entirely agree with you, Maharajkumar,²⁹⁵ has a great future before it. Then two or three weeks ago, when I was passing through Gangtok on my way to Bhutan, you expressed some doubts as to whether this institute will be completely ready for the inauguration ceremony on this occasion. I am afraid I pressed you to get it ready. And in any event an institute of this kind, an institute of learning and research, is never finalised; it is a growing institute as knowledge grows. So waiting for it to be finished completely seemed to me not necessary. The real fact of the matter was that I was exceedingly anxious that I should perform this inauguration ceremony. And I did not know when it may be my good fortune to come here again. I am grateful to you for having, therefore, hastened and expedited this process and the ceremony.

Why was I so anxious to be associated with this institute? You have yourself indicated in your opening remarks about the interest I have had for a long time

293. Speech at the inauguration of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim, 1 October 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Nehru arrived in Gangtok on 30 September 1958 on his way back from Bhutan.

With financial support from the Government of India, the Sikkim Government established this institute to conduct research on Tibetan culture and Mahayana Buddhism. N.C. Sinha was the first director.

294. In the last week of December 1957.

295. Palden Thondup Namgyal, the Maharajkumar of Sikkim.

in the approach of Buddhism to many problems.²⁹⁶ You know well that I am no scholar and I am only a student, an inquisitive person, trying with all humility to understand the problems of the age and seeking to find some answers. Now, what struck me, above all, in the approach of the Buddha, was how eminently scientific and rationalistic he was. In this age that we live in today, science plays a dominant role, and no man may deny science. And if he does so, he shows, if I may say so with all respect, his ignorance of the physical world. The physical world may not be all, is not all; there are other worlds, or other realms of thought or whatever they might be. But the physical and the phenomenal world we live in is there, and if we do not even seek to understand that, how will we jump over things and understand the deeper things of the spirit? However that may be, the approach of the Buddha, as, if I may say so, the old approach of the Vedanta, was rationalistic and scientific and it called upon people not to believe because they are told to believe, but to experiment, to experience, to go through the path of learning, and thus understand and realise for themselves what the truth or reality was.

Thus today, in spite of the many difficulties that the application of science has created in the world, science or the method of science is a method of discovering truth, which naturally is limited largely to the physical world we live in. And yet even so, today science stands on the verge of something which is not perhaps of the physical world. Indeed one cannot draw these lines today when matter and spirit become almost convertible terms, matter and energy. No man knows where matter ends and what spirit is. The old days of a limited science are no longer there. So what attracted me to Buddhism was this eminently reasonable, logical scientific approach, not only to the things which we see and feel normally but to the things of the spirit. Now, at any time that would be a very interesting and important study, but more so I think today, when this very science, which I have praised before you, has been exploited for evil ends, and may be exploited still more, and instead of being a benefit to humanity, may well become a curse to humanity. Because science is not human neither it is inhuman. It just sees things as they are. If the people who use that science for evil end, well, it is a fault of those persons, not of science. Just as the people who have used the name of religion for evil ends and for exploitation

296. The Maharajkumar of Sikkim said: "We consider your presence here not so much as the Prime Minister of India or as the foremost Asian leader, but as an ardent student of Buddhism. Our esteem for you transcends the boundaries of government and politics, and concerns your noble and objective efforts in focusing the world's attention upon Buddhism."

and even for the shedding of blood have been at fault, not the truth that was embodied in that religion.

So now, in the world today, we stand at some kind of crossroads where, perhaps in order to find a solution to the problems that the advance of science and technology has given rise to, we have to go somewhat apart from the normal approaches of the physical world. We have to go to some other realm, call it what you like, call it the humanistic realm, or call it the realm of the spirit. We have to go to some other dimension of thinking; from our three dimensional lives, we have perhaps to go to the fourth dimension. Already forces, enormous forces, have been released by science, which seem to go beyond the third dimension, and if man is to control them, or to understand them properly, then he must also begin thinking in other realms, in the fourth dimension or call it what you want. These are difficult problems and I am only a person struggling with great humility and difficulty at the threshold of these problems. It is something at least to realise that they are problems. Most of us perhaps do not even realise that, and go on along the same rut even though they know that that path leads only to disaster.

Therefore, in the world today, more perhaps today than at any previous stage, there is need for the message of the Buddha, for the scientific spirit of the Buddha, but a scientific spirit allied to humanism, to compassion and to love, and not to those things which today appear to overwhelm the world, those passions of fear and hatred. It is right that we should remember that message today, it is right that we should study it fully in all its implications, and that we should have scholars sitting here in this institute to do this work, and thus spread a greater understanding of that message. May the blessing of the Enlightened One rest on this institute and on all of us, and lead us to the path of peace and understanding.

224. To K.L. Shrimali²⁹⁷

7th October, 1958

My dear Shrimali,²⁹⁸

As Chancellor of Visva-Bharati, I received the enclosed letter from a number of students of the Economics Department of Visva-Bharati. What is said in this letter certainly deserves our attention.²⁹⁹ I suggest that you might write to the

297. JN Collection.

298. Union Minister of State for Education.

299. The letter complained about inadequate staff for the Economics Department.

University authorities, drawing their attention to this complaint and enquiring what the position is and what they propose to do about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

225. To Goshiben Captain³⁰⁰

October 10, 1958

[My dear Psyche,]³⁰¹

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd October. Indu and I had a hard time during our journey to Bhutan. Nevertheless, it was a very enjoyable experience. Since our return, all our time has been taken up by the crowd of bankers and others who have come here for the big Bank Conferences.

I have not seen Pan³⁰² and I do not know where he is.

As for your questions, I think it would be a good thing for you to discuss these matters with Chief Minister Chavan.³⁰³

I do not think it will be possible for the Education Ministry to include some lessons in Urdu in the Hindi textbooks. In any event two lessons would do little good.

Should you so wish it, you can make me a Patron of the Committee of the Memorial Research Institute.³⁰⁴ I should not be made Chairman as that involves certain responsibilities.

[Love.]

[Yours,
Jawahar]

300. JN Collection.

301. Apparently pet name of G.M.S. Captain (1904-1976), granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji and younger sister of Perinben; President of the Rashtriya Stree Sabha, formed in 1930 to carry out the programme of picketing of foreign cloth shops and liquor and toddy shops in Bombay; formed, along with Perinben, the Gandhi Seva Sena for constructive work, 1932; worked for the Hindustani Prachar Sabha founded by Mahatma Gandhi.

302. P.A. Narielwala; for many years in the service of the Tatas, and a friend of the Nehru family.

303. Y.B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Bombay.

304. Perhaps the reference is to the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Research Centre & Library in Bombay. After Perinben Captain's death in February 1958, Goshiben had taken over the charge of the centre along with Morarji Desai.

226. To K.L. Shrimali³⁰⁵

October 13, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

I am sending you a note which Shri K.M. Munshi³⁰⁶ has sent me about students in the USA. This note paints a dark picture.³⁰⁷ What Shethi, the Educational Secretary of the Embassy, is reported to have said, is extraordinary.³⁰⁸ If he is not there to look after Indian students, what is he there for?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

227. Bharat Darshan Tour by Students³⁰⁹

Addressing the students, the Prime Minister stated that though he had finished his book *Discovery of India* many years ago, but the process of discovery is still going on. He referred to the immense variety of the regional traditions of India and stated that by blending these traditions harmoniously, we could weave a rich tapestry with a significant pattern. History has moulded the people of India; they should now mould the future, said the Prime Minister. In this

305. JN Collection.

306. Founder-President, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan; former Union Minister; and former Governor of Uttar Pradesh.

307. In his note of 13 October, K.M. Munshi reported on his meetings with Indian students in the USA, Britain and some European countries. They complained that Indian missions ignored them; they were hypercritical of Government and the Congress, believed all Ministers were corrupt, that Public Service Commissions only provided for Ministers' kin, and that independent talent was discouraged; that high distinction abroad meant little in India, and that International Communism recruited them easily, especially in Chicago and Paris. He felt that they knew little of the Government of India's achievements and suggested setting up a central students' bureau to help them find suitable universities abroad and establish contacts there.

308. Munshi said students in Washington were loudest in their complaints, and that one of Mr Shethi's subordinates had rebuffed him with a "it was none of their business to look after Indian students."

309. Report of an address to a group of students, New Delhi, 19 October 1958. PIB.

A group of 450 students from Bombay who were on a Bharat Darshan, or a tour to familiarise themselves with India, met Nehru at his residence. The tour was organised by the Bharat Sewak Samaj, Bombay.

connection he gave the students an account of the work of planning carried on by the Planning Commission and the National Development Council.

The prime material for reconstruction was the human material. The Prime Minister referred to the principles behind the organisation of the Bharat Sewak Samaj and stated that it was meant for enabling everyone to contribute their share to social progress. He stressed the importance of manual labour and warned that a society which looked down upon manual labour would rapidly decline.

The task ahead of the nation was one whose form would emerge more easily only as we progressed. But he told the students that their immediate duty was to undertake tasks which would be conducive to social prosperity and to try to finish them today rather than postpone them for tomorrow. Those who lived without working were really stealing from the fruits of the endeavours of the others. He concluded by saying that real unity could be achieved only by every individual and social group deciding to give more to society than what they took from it.

228. Seventieth Anniversary of Allahabad University³¹⁰

It is right that we should celebrate the completion of seventy years of the University of Allahabad. In celebrating this past record of work, naturally we have to look forward to the future. Nothing is more important today than the quality and quantity of education that we impart to our people. Much criticism is often made of the present system of education. That criticism is mostly exaggerated, but it has an element of truth in it.

Our Universities have done excellent work in the past and produced many great men. But, in this rapidly changing world, the methods of education also have to adapt themselves to the new demands and conditions that arise. It is in the measure that this is done that they will succeed. Apart from the cultural aspect, which is of high importance, training has to be given for the specific kind of life and occupation that the student will have to face later. Above all, his character and intellectual capacity have to develop and he has to be made a good citizen. The right type of education should provide for some personal attention from the teacher for his pupil. Owing to the sudden growth in the number of students attending classes, this personal attention becomes less and less and sometimes is totally lacking.

310. Message to Shri Ranjan, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, 21 October 1958. JN Collection.

We want, of course, education for the masses, but education can never be successful if it adopts the methods of mass production. It is inevitable and essential that every single boy and girl in the country should have the benefit of basic education, and those who are fitted for it should have more advanced and specialised education. But, while quantity has to be provided for, it is quality that will count. Ultimately it is the quality of the teachers that makes for the quality of the students.

I hope that the Allahabad University will always lay stress on quality and will thus produce men and women of distinction who can raise standards wherever they work and perform distinguished service for the country.³¹¹

229. To K.L. Shrimali³¹²

October 22, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

I am writing about the Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati University. We have, I take it, to approve of the decision of the Executive Committee and the Samsad. But I think our approval should clearly state that this is conditional for one year only. I should very much like our present Chief Justice to become the Vice-Chancellor after this year is over. Unless we make this matter fairly clear at this stage, there might be difficulties later.³¹³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

311. On 21 December 1958 Nehru delivered the address at a special convocation to celebrate the seventieth anniversary.

312. JN Collection.

313. Kshitishchandra Chaudhuri became the new Vice-Chancellor in December 1958. S.R. Das held office from 1959 to 1965.

230. To U.N. Dhebar³¹⁴

October 22, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,³¹⁵

Among the crowd of Finance Ministers and Bankers who came to the recent Bank Meeting here, there was the Governor³¹⁶ of the Central Bank of Ireland. He came to see me and gave me a letter from William O'Brien,³¹⁷ famous revolutionary leader of Ireland in the old days. He is a very old man now but he still lives in his past revolutionary period. William O'Brien has sent me a copy of an article written by James Connolly³¹⁸ on British rule in India, which was published in September 1898. James Connolly joined the British Army and came to India in the middle eighties of the last century. He is, of course, a famous Irishman and he was executed in 1916.

This article by James Connolly is interesting from many points of view, chiefly historical. I have had it with me for some time now. I thought that it might be kept in the AICC Library. I am, therefore, sending it to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

314. JN Collection.

315. President, Indian National Congress.

316. J.J. McElligott.

317. William X. O'Brien (1881-1968); politician and trade unionist of Ireland; a significant figure in the Irish Socialist Republican Party; helped establish the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, 1909; President, Irish Trade Union Congress; member, Irish Neutrality League and Anti-Conscription Committee during World War I; elected as a member of the Irish Parliament, 1922, 1927 and 1937.

318. James Connolly (1868-1916); Irish political leader, born in Edinburgh; active in the Irish Socialist movement in Edinburgh; came to Ireland in 1896 and founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party and *The Workers' Republic*, the first Irish Socialist paper; lectured in the USA, 1902-1910, and helped found the Industrial Workers of the World; on return to Ireland, organised Socialist citizen armies; was arrested and executed for taking part in the Easter rebellion in 1916.

231. To K.L. Shrimali³¹⁹

October 22, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

Some time ago, Sardar Prithvi Singh³²⁰ came to see me and gave me a note on physical efficiency, particularly in regard to attaining a minimum standard of efficiency in schools and colleges. I have had this note with me for some time. I am now sending this to you.

Apart from the various detailed proposals, I think it is definitely a good idea to lay down certain norms of physical efficiency for our secondary schools and colleges. After examining these norms, we might recommend them to the State Government with any other recommendations of the like kind that we consider proper.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

232. The Generation Gap³²¹

डा. श्रीमाली³²² और नौजवानों,

पहला सवाल तो यह उठता है कि मैं आपसे क्या कहूँ। तो मैं शुरू करता हूँ आज, आज की कहानी अपनी आपको बताऊँ। मैं आज सवेरे तक हैदराबाद में था,³²³ वहाँ से सात बजे चला हवाई जहाज से, और दस बजे के ज़रा बाद यहाँ पहुँचा। करीब-करीब सीधा मैं गया विज्ञान भवन। वहाँ सारे दुनिया के हवाई जहाज के जो international services हैं उनकी एक बड़ी conference है।³²⁴ तो वहाँ कुछ देर रहना पड़ा, कुछ कहना पड़ा, कुछ सुनना पड़ा। (हँसी) वहाँ से फिर मैं वापस पालम

319. JN Collection.

320. Revolutionary-turned-Gandhian; one of the founders of the Ahimsak Vyayam Sangh (Non-violent Exercise Association), which was set up in Bombay City in 1941; on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, conducted for some time an exercise centre, established by the Ahimsak Vyayam Sangh, to propagate physical training among youth.

321. Speech at the inauguration of the fifth Inter-University Youth Festival, Talkatora Gardens, New Delhi, 27 October 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

About 1,600 students from 34 universities participated in the ten-day festival.

322. Minister of State for Education.

323. Nehru visited Hyderabad for the AICC Session, which ended on 26 October 1958.

324. For Nehru's inaugural address at the fourteenth annual general meeting of the International Air Transport Association, see item 326.

गया, क्योंकि पालम में एक नए किस्म का हवाई जहाज आया हुआ है, एक आजमाइश के लिए। आजमाइश तो क्या, दिखाने के लिए अमेरिका से, और तेज जाता है, करीब घण्टे में चार सौ मील घण्टे में, आराम का है वगैरह, वगैरह। तो उसके ऊपर आधे घण्टे के लिए दुबारा हरिद्वार तक हो आये सुबह। (हँसी)³²⁵ उसके बाद फिर करीब-करीब सीधे पालम से मुझे जाना पड़ा फिर विज्ञान भवन। वहाँ एक दूसरी conference थी पंचायतों की, और local self-government की।³²⁶ और वहाँ से सीधा मैं यहाँ आ रहा हूँ। तो आज का मैंने अपना अब तक का कार्यक्रम आपको बता दिया। बताने के माने यह नहीं है कि मैं आपको दिखाऊँ कि मैं कितना मशगूल रहता हूँ सुबह से शाम तक, यह नहीं, बल्कि ये थे कि कुछ इस दुनिया के अलग-अलग जो काम होते हैं उनके, मेरे या औरों के, सामने वो आये, दुनिया के कितने पहलू हैं।

वहाँ जब मैं गया वो international air transport services, जो कि नाम मुझे पूरा याद नहीं, तो खैर, तो वहाँ जो मैं गया तो मैंने उनको याद दिलाया, कहा कि दुनिया के इतिहास बहुत तरह से लिखे गये हैं। एक तो पुराना तरीका था कि फेहरिस्तें बनें, बड़े-बड़े राजाओं की, बादशाहों की, और बड़े-बड़े जहाँ लड़ाई हुई हो उनकी तारीखें रखनी पड़ी लोगों को। यह दुनिया की तारीखें गिनी जाती थीं। फिर और तरीके हुए दुनिया के हाल, आर्थिक। मैंने कहा कि एक तरीका भी माकूल हो दुनिया के इतिहास का, और खासकर दुनिया में सभ्यता का कोई इतिहास लिखें कि कैसे शुरू से अब तक यह तरीके communications के हर तरह के, सफर करना या कोई खबर भेजना, इसका इतिहास लिखें। मैंने कहा कि आप लोग यानी, आप लोगों से मतलब, वहाँ जो लोग थे, air services, सारी दुनिया की air services को चलाते हैं। वो आजकल का बड़ा तरीका है सफर करने का, सामान भेजने का। और तरीके हैं खबर भेजने के, उससे भी तेज। आप जानते हैं radio है, radar है सबमें तेज, वक्त ही नहीं लगता उसमें, कुछ और। मैंने कहा कि इससे अगर हम एक-दो सौ बरस पहले भी देखें या एक सौ पचास बरस पहले देखें कि तो क्या तो सफर के तरीके थे या खबर भेजने के। आजकल आप आदी हो गये हैं telephone, तार, radio, rail, हवाई जहाज, motor, वगैरह, वगैरह। लेकिन इस एक सौ पचास बरस पहले, और पन्द्रह सौ बरस पहले, एक ही तरीका था तेजी से भेजने का, वो घोड़े पर बैठकर भेजना, सबसे तेज वही था, जो हजारों बरस से दुनिया चली आती थी। फिर एकदम से-और उसमें तरक्की होती थी, यकीनन बहुत फरक हुए-लेकिन एक बात हुई, एक सौ पचास बरस हुए, जिसने रफ्तार को बदल के बिल्कुल उलट-पलट कर दिया।

आप जानते हैं कैसे हुआ, क्या-क्या हुआ। और नई ताकतें दुनिया में आयीं या कहिए नई ताकतें प्रकृति की इन्सान ने पहचाना। वो सब भी मौजूद, आखिर रेल चलती है steam से, तो भाप तो हमेशा हिन्दुस्तान में, दुनिया में, हमेशा से थी, बिजली भी हमेशा से थी, उसको पहचाना, कैसे इस्तेमाल

325. Nehru had a ride aboard the new Lockheed "Electra" aircraft which had arrived in Delhi on 24 October in the course of its world premiere flight.

326. For Nehru's inaugural address at the meeting of the Central Council of Local Self-Government, see item 44.

करें। आजकल atomic energy का सिलसिला है। वो भी कोई नई चीज़ थोड़े ही है। लोगों ने पहचाना कहाँ है? तो इन चीज़ों के आने से किस तेज़ी से दुनिया बदली। तो अगर इतिहास दुनिया का लिखा जाय इस तरह का, तो काफी वो दिलचस्प हो।

फिर मैंने उनसे कहा कि अभी पन्द्रह दिन हुए, मैं, तीन हफ्ते हुए करीब, एक हिन्दुस्तान के पास के मुल्क में गया था, जहाँ हवाई जहाज तो दूर है, कोई किसी किस्म की पहिए की गाड़ी भी नहीं गयी है, यानी सड़क ही नहीं तो गाड़ी कैसे हो, यानी भूतान। यह नहीं कि वहाँ के लोग पिछड़े हुए हैं, नहीं, अच्छे तगड़े लोग हैं दिमागी, लोग हैं। अगर आपके college में आपके साथ पढ़ें तो यकीनन कामयाब हों, मुमकिन है, आज उनमें से आप से ज्यादा कामयाब हों, कोई कमी नहीं है काबिलियत में। लेकिन इतिहास ऐसा हुआ कि वो हिमालय पहाड़ के अंदर रहे, उनसे कुछ कट गये, कुछ अपने इरादे से उन्होंने अपने को काटकर रखा, क्योंकि उनको डर था कि अगर बहुत रास्ते आसान हों तो लोग बाहर से आकर कुछ दबायें। ठीक डर था, क्योंकि उस ज़माने में बहुत बड़े मुल्कों की शहनशाहियत फैलती जाती थी, हिन्दुस्तान में फैली और जगह। बहरसूरत, मैं उस मुल्क में गया, भूतान, और कहाँ तो आज सुबह तीन घंटे में हैदराबाद से नौ सौ मील से ऊपर आया, और कहाँ मुझे सत्तर-अस्सी मील जाने में पाँच दिन लगे, ज्यादातर घोड़े पर, कुछ पैदल, और कुछ yak की पीठ पर। तो एक दूसरी दुनिया में मैं पहुँच गया। इंसानों में फर्क, जैसे मैंने कहा, नहीं था लेकिन वो दुनिया थी जैसे कि हिन्दुस्तान की दुनिया या कोई और कई सौ बरस पहले हो। हाँ, दो-एक बातें थी, कि वहाँ भी radio पहुँच गया था, हमारे साथ भी था, और तार भी बेतार के हमारे पास आ सकते थे, अलावा इसके वहाँ कोई फर्क नहीं था।... तो मैंने उनसे कहा कि कितना फर्क है, इसमें, उसमें, एक ही दुनिया है।

और वह सिलसिला बदलने का तेज़ी से होता जाता है। कभी आप पढ़ते हैं कि कोशिश हुई कि इस एक नये चाँद बनाने की,³²⁷ कभी पुराने चाँद तक पहुँचने की। यह सब बातें रोज़ होती हैं। लेकिन इस वक्त शायद मज़ाक सा मालूम होता है, एक दिन यकीनन आने वाला है, जब वो हो जाएगा, अगर मेरी जिन्दगी में नहीं, तो आपकी जिन्दगी में जरूर। मेरी जिन्दगी को आप देखें, काफी लम्बा अरसा हो गया है, लेकिन मेरी जिन्दगी में पूरे हवाई जहाज का सिलसिला शुरू हुआ और मुझे याद है जब मैं स्कूल में पढ़ता था तब मुझे बहुत दिलचस्पी थी, पढ़ा मैंने कि अमेरिका में पहली बार हवाई जहाज के कुछ इम्तहान हुए थे, और थोड़ा उड़ें थे, सौ-दो सौ गज तक, तो बहुत मुझे उसमें दिलचस्पी हुई। बल्कि यहाँ तक मुझे याद है कि मुझे जोश चढ़ा तो मैंने अपने पिताजी³²⁸ को लिखा था, कि कुछ दिन में मैं आपके पास मिलने हवाई जहाज पर आऊँगा। खैर, वो बात तो नहीं हुई इतनी जल्दी, लेकिन बाद में हो सकती थी। मैंने देखा, पहले मैं गया, मुझे याद है, सन् '10 में, एक नुमायश थी हवाई जहाजों की aeronautical, जर्मनी में। वहाँ जहाज उड़ते थे एक ढाल पर आकर, जरा उड़ते थे और सौ-दो सौ गज उड़कर गिर जाते थे। शुरू का जमाना था, ज्यादा नहीं

327. Referring to the Soviet and American satellites respectively, Sputnik and Explorer.

328. Motilal Nehru.

उड़ सकते थे, दो सौ-तीन सौ गज उड़कर गिर जाते थे। और इस तरह से हल्के-हल्के तेजी से बढ़े और खैर यहाँ तक पहुँचे। तो मैंने पूरा सिलसिला एक पचास बरस के अंदर देखा।

यकीनन एक तीस-चालीस बरस बाद, जब आप लोगों की उम्र भी कुछ करीब हो मेरी आजकल के उम्र के, तो आपके तजुर्बे जाने क्या क्या होंगे, उस वक्त तक दुनिया के, अपने मुल्क के, गरज कि आप महसूस करें कि किस तेजी से दुनिया बदल रही है। और दुनिया के बदलने के माने यह है कि आप बदल रहे हैं, मैं बदल रहा हूँ, नई नस्लें बदल रही हैं क्योंकि इन्सान पर अपने रहन सहन का असर होता है, तरीके का असर होता है। अगर खाली भूटान में आप रहें, वहाँ और कोई चीज नहीं है, जाहिर है आपके रहने का तरीका एक खास होगा, और आपके सोचने का तरीका भी खास होगा, क्योंकि वो रहने से निकलता है। इस तरह से दुनिया चलती है। हवाई जहाज की दुनिया में आप एक तरह से रहते हैं, सोचते हैं, चाहें आप हवाई जहाज में न भी बैठें, सोचते हैं बनिस्पत इसके पहले। चुनाँचे इन्सान का दिमाग बदलता जाता है। मेरा मतलब नहीं है, बदलने के माने यह नहीं है कि बहुत तरक्की करता जाता है। मैं नहीं, कौन ऐसा है जो कहने को तैयार है कि एक engine driver, engine चलाता है, और engine का सब जानता है, या motor mechanic, motor का जानता है। लेकिन यह तो मैं नहीं कहने को तैयार हूँ कि हमारे उपनिषद् के ऋषि-मुनियों से ज्यादा अक्लमंद है, या प्लेटो से ज्यादा अक्लमंद है। यह बात तो मैं नहीं, वो दूसरे ढंग की बात है। लेकिन मेरा मतलब यह है कि आम लोगों के ख्याल, सोचना-समझना, इस पर दारोमदार कि उनकी एक environment का, उनकी society कैसी है? मोटी बात है। आप लोगों ने जिन्होंने पढ़ा हो कुछ socialism वगैरह, उसकी बुनियादी बात है कि जो-जो नये तरीके निकलें उनका असर समाज पर होता है। यह बात है।

अब मैं एक पेंच में पड़ा, और वो यह कि जिस दुनिया में मैं रहा और रहता हूँ इस वक्त, मेरे जमाने की दुनिया जिसकी जड़ उन्नीसवीं सदी में थी, और अब बीसवीं सदी का बीच आ गया, उस दुनिया में बहुत फासला है जमाने का, और खाली जमाने का नहीं, वाक्यात का। तो कैसे कोई पुल बने इन दोनों दुनियाओं के बीच में? आप मुझसे मोहब्बत करें, भरोसा करें, और बात है; मैं आपसे करूँ यह खुशनसीबी मुझे हासिल है। लेकिन यह दिक्कत मेरे सामने आती है, क्योंकि मैं इस बात को कुछ बहुत जोरों से महसूस करता हूँ। दुनिया का बदलना, जो मैंने देखा और हरेक जानता है और उसके बदलने का नतीजा लोगों के ऊपर, लोगों के सोचने पर, समाज के ऊपर, सब बातों में वो होता है। क्योंकि महसूस करता हूँ, मैं यह मानता हूँ कि आजकल के जो नौजवान हैं या बच्चे हैं जो एक दूसरी दुनिया में बढ़ रहे हैं, मैं टटोलने की कोशिश करता हूँ, कुछ समझने की, कि क्या है दुनिया उनके दिमाग की, उनके emotions की, जज़्बात की कुछ-कुछ झलक कभी हो जाय। लेकिन वाक्या यह है कि बड़ा मुश्किल है। फिर मैं सोचता हूँ क्योंकि जब मैं आपकी उम्र का था मैं क्या सोचा करता था, और मैं क्या समझता था कि कितना फासला है मुझमें और मेरे बुजुर्गों में। मैं समझता था फासला है। आप भी समझते होंगे यकीनन। मैं अपने छोटे बच्चों से मिलता हूँ, और बहुत करीब का रिश्ता है, मौहब्बत है, लेकिन दूसरी दुनिया है उनकी, उनके दूसरे ढंग हैं। वो आजकल की दुनिया के, मैं पचास बरस से पुरानी दुनिया का हो गया। यह दिक्कत हो जाती है।

इसलिए शुरू में मैंने आपसे कहा, मैं आपसे कहूँ क्या? मैं इस पेंच में पड़ गया। क्योंकि ऊपर की तरह-तरह की नसीहत देना हो सकता है, और माकूल भी नसीहत हो सकती है, लेकिन जो बात होती है वो एक, दूसरे के दिमाग में टटोलना, घुसना या दूसरे के दिल में कुछ घुसना। एक बात है, मैं अपनी तारीफ आपसे नहीं किया चाहता लेकिन एक बात है कि कुछ थोड़ा होगा मुझमें मादा दूसरे के दिल और दिमाग में घसने का। क्यों हुआ, कैसे हुआ? तजुर्बे से, वो दूसरी बात है। मैं नहीं जानता। और ऐसे लोगों से भी जिनसे कोई मेरा बहुत एक माने में वास्ता नहीं हो, वास्ते से मतलब है दिमागी वास्ता, फर्ज कीजिए हिन्दुस्तान का किसान है। अब मैं तो कभी किसान रहा नहीं, न मेरे पास बालिशत भर ज़मीन रही, न कभी खेती की। हाँ किताबें पढ़ीं, देखा भी उनको करते, कुछ सोचा समझा। लेकिन वो ज़ाती तजुर्बा तो नहीं है मुझे किसान का जो किसान को होता है। हो नहीं सकता है, जब तक खुद काम न करें। किताबें पढ़कर नहीं होता है यह, खुद करके होता है। और मेरी पढ़ाई-लिखाई बिल्कुल दूसरे ढंग की हुई, एक दूसरे ढंग की, फिर भी एक रिश्ता मेरा हिन्दुस्तान के किसान से कुछ मोहब्बत का हो तो बड़ी बात है मेरे लिए और कुछ मुझमें खूबी भी हो कि मैं उसको ला सकता हूँ, और जो भी कुछ हो।

तो मैं इस पेंच में पड़ा रहता हूँ। खैर, काफी पेंच की बात है। और मैं आपसे कहता हूँ, और बहुत कम लोग इसको महसूस करते हैं, चाहे वो बड़े हों, चाहे छोटे हों, कि यह जो फासले, जो *gulf* होते हैं *generations* में, और खासकर एक बदलती हुई दुनिया में। एक जमाना था जब दुनिया नहीं बदलती, जमी हुई थी, तब इतने *gulf* नहीं होते। तब पुरानी नीति में वो सब बातें चलती जाती हैं, दोहराई जाती हैं। लेकिन जहाँ दुनिया बदलती है, तो हर *generation* उसके साथ बदलता है और वो *gulf* हो जाता है और यकीनन हिन्दुस्तान में वो है काफी। अलावा इसके नये-नये लोग आ रहे हैं हमारे *school* में, *college* में। नये लोगों से मेरा मतलब, जिन लोगों के बाप-दादा कभी *school*, *college* नहीं गये थे। बड़ी खुशी की बात है, हम चाहते हैं, कि सब आयें। और उससे भी एक नयी फिज़ा पैदा होती है, नये ख्याल पैदा होते हैं, नये ढंग पैदा होते हैं। तो यह सवाल मुझे घेरे रहते हैं।

क्योंकि जैसे मैंने एक दफ़े किताब लिखी, उसको भी पन्द्रह-सोलह बरस हो गये, *Discovery of India*, वह सिलसिला एक तलाश का, खोज का जारी रहता है और आखिर में *discovery of India* के मायने क्या होते हैं? *Discovery of Indians* हो जाते हैं। उसमें और भी हैं बहुत बातें, *India* में, अलावा आजकल की आबादी के क्योंकि बहरसूरत मुझे दिलचस्पी और फिर इसके खास माने हो जाते हैं। आजकल के जो नौजवान हैं वो कहाँ हैं? क्या सोचते हैं? क्या ख्याल हैं? मैं ढला, बना, खास बातों से, जिसका एक बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा हमारी आज़ादी की तहरीक थी, स्वराज की लड़ाई की, और गांधीजी थे। यह सब बातें हुई। आपके लिये यह बातें किस्से-कहानियों की हैं। आपमें से बाज़ लोगों ने गांधीजी को देखा होगा, दूर से या पास से, बहुतों ने न भी देखा हो, लेकिन बहरसूरत आपमें से शायद ही कोई हो जिसका करीब का संबंध उनसे हो, या जिसके ऊपर असर हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी की लड़ाई का एक जबरदस्त हुआ हो, दिमाग पर, दिल पर, डालने का। हम लोगों पर तो हुआ, अच्छा या बुरा, क्योंकि बरसों तक दस, बीस, तीस, चालीस बरस तक, रदे पर

रहा हम पर जमता गया उनका। वो एक कहानी नहीं थी हमारे लिए, वो एक व्यक्तिगत अभ्यास या तजुर्बा था, **experience** था। उससे हम बने, जैसे कुछ हम हैं। सब एक से नहीं बने, अलग अलग ढंग के बने, लेकिन एक **common** तजुर्बा उनका अभ्यास, **experience**, रहा।

आपके लिए यह बातें, जैसा मैंने कहा, पुराने किस्से-कहानियों के हैं। आप आदर करें, जाहिर है आप आदर करेंगे गांधीजी के नाम का, औरों का भी, हमारे बुजुर्ग जो अब नहीं रहे। जो कुछ अब थोड़े से बच रहे हैं उनकी भी आप कुछ कदर करें मोहब्बत करें लेकिन दुनिया उनकी एक, और आपकी दूसरी। महज वाक्यात की वजह से। मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि आपका उसमें, किसी का, कसूर है। एक **environment** आपकी दूसरी, और वह बदलती जायेगी रोज़-ब-रोज़। तो ऐसी हालत में एक ऊँची आवाज़ से आपको यह बताऊँ, तुम यह करो, तुम यह न करो, वह बात मुझे कुछ जंचती नहीं है। हालाँकि मेरा ख्याल है कि बहुत सारी बातें बता सकता हूँ जो माकूल होंगी, लेकिन जो आप सुनेंगे, और इज्जत से भी सुनें, तब भी भूल जायेंगे। क्योंकि वो चीज़ याद रहती है, जो महज कान की सुनी बातें नहीं, लेकिन एक तजुर्बा एक जोरों का जिसका असर पड़े, छाप पड़े, जिससे आदमी ढलता है। वो चीज़ याद रहती है और वह असर छोड़ती है। कैसे? मैं एक नौजवान से बातें करता था। और उसने मुझसे कहा यही कि हमारे लिए कहने लगा कि मुझे याद है जब मैं बीमार था, बरसों की बात है, दस-बारह बरस की, मैं उससे मिलने गया था, अठारह बरस का था उस वक्त, या सोलह बरस का। उसने कहा था कि आप आये थे मुझसे मिलने, मैं बीमार था और मेरे पर बड़ा असर हुआ क्योंकि मैंने आपका नाम सुना और वो मेरे लिए एक खास दिन हो गया जब आप मुझसे मिलने आये। लेकिन अब, उसने कहा, लेकिन वो ज़माना, आपके ज़माने, वो तो रहे नहीं। हम किस दुनिया में हैं, आप किस दुनिया में? उसने लिखा था तो मैंने वो सवाल आपके सामने रखा।

क्योंकि एक अजीब हालत है। एक कौम या एक मुल्क की तारीख़ एक दरिया है, जो बहता जाता है। देखने में एक सा रहता है वह, लेकिन सारे पानी के कतरे बदलते जाते हैं। गंगा, गंगा रहती है, लेकिन गंगा का पानी हर वक्त बदलता है, नया पानी आता है। कौम रहती हैं, और मुल्क रहते हैं, लेकिन उसका अंदर का **content** बदलता जाता है बहुत दर्जे, और ठीक है बदलना चाहिए। न बदले तो पानी जम जाता है। तो आप जानते हैं जमा हुआ पानी ताजा नहीं होता है, वो फिर बासी होने लगता है। बहुत दिन तक हम जमे हुए थे पुराने जमाने में सैंकड़ों बरस तक। तो हमसे, हमारी कौम से ताजगी निकल गयी थी, और एक माने में कुछ पैदा करने की शक्ति, नयी बातें, कुछ **creativeness** निकल गयी थी और एक जमाने में बहुत बातें निकलीं और एक माने में कहा जाय, एक आग, एक तेजी, जिन्दगी की तेजी निकल गयी थी। कौम फीकी हो गयी थी, बहुत दिन के दबाव से, बहुत दिन की मुसीबत से। खैर, उससे हम निकले और निकलने में उसकी कीमत दी निकलने की, और यह जरूरी बात थी क्योंकि वो कीमत देना ही आदमी को तैयार करता है, और जिसकी आप कीमत न दें उसकी कदर नहीं होती है और वो चीज़ रहती नहीं है, फिसल भी जाती है। हमने कीमत दी। अच्छी कीमत दी।

यह [atomic power] एक खौफ है जो दुनिया को तबाह करदे, और दूसरी तरफ से एक दुनिया को बहुत आगे कर सकता है। लेकिन आखिर में दुनिया को यह power क्या आगे करेगा?

यह तो एक जरिया है। इंसान को अपने आपको उठाना है, कौम को उठाना है, मुल्क को उठाना है, ऊपर से आप वहशी को एक बंदूक दे दें, तो बंदूक को चलाये वह, लेकिन वो एक बेहतर आदमी तो नहीं हो गया। आखिर में कौम बेहतर होती है तब मुल्क बढ़ते हैं, **quality** से। और हिन्दुस्तान बढ़ेगा तो हमारी **quality** से, और **quality** कहाँ से आयेगी? बहुत तरफ से आयेगी, लेकिन यकीनन उसका सब में बड़ा दरवाजा है जो हमारे लोग पढ़ते लिखते हैं, **school, college, university** से निकलेंगे, जाहिर है। उसके माने यही **university** जाना वगैरा, कि **quality** आये, सीखें। तो बड़ी जरूरी बात हो जाती है आईदा के लिए, कहाँ तक **quality** आती है। आ रही है, आ रही है जाहिर है, कि आने में शक नहीं कि किस दर्जे आ रही है, उसी के साथ और बहुत बातें हैं जो कि दबाते हैं, पीछे करते हैं और दोनों का मुकाबला है कौन आगे बढ़े। अच्छी बातें बढ़ें या बुरी ताकतें हावी हो जायें। यह बढ़े-बढ़े सवाल उठते हैं। आप लोग भी अपने ढंग से इस पर सोचते होंगे। मैं नहीं चाहता कि आप बहुत सोच करें, दिमाग को परेशान करें, कोई जरूरत नहीं है। जितने दिन तक आप अपने दिमाग को ताजा और हल्के रख सकते हैं तो रखिए। भारी करने के मौके बाद में (हँसी) बहुत से आयेंगे, उनसे बचना मुश्किल होगा। तो अब हल्का रख सकते हैं तो रखिए। लेकिन हल्के रखने के माने खाली रखना नहीं है।

इसलिए कुछ मैंने इधर-उधर की बातें आपसे कहीं, तबज्जोह दिलाई, और यह भी कि किसी कौम की जिंदगी, किसी इन्सान की, एक **balanced** होनी चाहिए। हर किस्म के पहलू पर बढ़ना चाहिए कौम, जैसे हजारों किस्म के होते हैं, मुल्क के सामने। हजारों किस्म के लोग होते हैं, उनके काम होते हैं, एक सभा के बहुत पहलू होते हैं। आप **university** में पढ़ते हैं, खेलते हैं, **sports** होते हैं, तरह-तरह की बातें होती हैं, सब जरूरी हैं। खाली आप पढ़िए, मुमकिन है इम्तहान में आप पास हो जायें, लेकिन बाद में जिन्दगी के इम्तहान में आप फेल हो जायें बाद में, और वो ज्यादा असली इम्तहान है जिन्दगी का। आपके **college** का इम्तहान, **university** का इम्तहान, वो तो हल्का है, और उसमें भी यह याद रखना है कि आप सारा आपका **school, college, university** में पढ़ते हैं, वो एक माने में तैयार करना है कि आप जिंदगी में कामयाब हों। महज **university** के इम्तहान को पास करना, किसी न किसी जरिये से, सही तरीके से या गलत तरीके से, वो रट के या कुछ जिससे आपमें असल में काबलियत नहीं आयी, तो आप ना-काबिल हैं आप उस दिन नहीं उसके कुछ रोज़ बाद निकम्मे साबित होंगे जिन्दगी के इम्तहान में, और बेकार हो जायगा आपका वो करना। यह सब बातें आती हैं।

क्योंकि एक जमाना दुनिया में, हमारे मुल्क में, अजीबोगरीब है। एक जबरदस्त क्रान्तिकारी इंकलाबी जमाना है बदलने का। एक तरफ से देखते हैं मुसीबत। बहुत सारे लोग हैं जिनको रोज़गार नहीं मिलते, वगैरह-वगैराह, **unemployment**, बहुत सारे। दूसरी तरफ से आप देखें कि खुलता जाता है मैदान उन लोगों के लिए जिनमें काबलियत है, कोई शक नहीं इसमें। इतने मौके, **opportunity**, वगैरह-वगैरह आती जाती हैं, और आयेंगी जाहिर है। बढ़ता हुआ मुल्क है दूसरे ढंग की आयेंगी, पुरानी ढंग की नहीं, कि आप मेरे पास आयें काफिला लेकर कि आपको **Government of India** में हमें नौकरी चाहिए। मैं कहाँ से नौकरी दूँ? हो सकता है चंद आदमी चुनकर आयें **IAS**

के इम्तहान में या Public Service Commission चुने, चुन सकते हैं। वह जरिये जो पहले एक दो थे उसमें सब लोग जो चाहे आ नहीं सकते। और जरिये निकालने हैं, निकल रहे हैं science के, industry के, technology के, छोटी industry के, यही सब बातें।

अभी एक नया पेशा हमने शुरू किया, कुछ तेल का, या तेल की खोज। हमारे पास तो कोई नहीं था तरीका। तो हमने इधर-उधर से तलाश की कुछ थोड़े से नौजवान जो geologists थे, कुछ MSc लड़के मिले, कुछ लड़कियाँ भी, जो अच्छे मालूम हुए, सौ-दो सौ को जमा किया, उनको खास तालीम देनी शुरू की कुछ तेल की। सालभर बाद मैंने उनको देखा।...³²⁹ बहुत उन्होंने महज़ तरक्की नहीं की थी, बल्कि काम कर रहे थे और काम से सीख रहे थे, कहीं ज्यादा अच्छा, एक जोश से, उत्साह से। जो उनको देखे, मिले, खुश हो, जैसे कि मैं खुश होता हूँ। मैं अपने science की laboratories में जाऊँ और वहाँ देखूँ जो लड़के-लड़कियाँ काम कर रहे हैं, हजारों कर रहे हैं, अच्छा science का काम कर रहे हैं, और यह जड़ डाल रहे हैं आइन्दा वो science की तरक्की की जो जरूरी चीज है हिन्दुस्तान के लिए।

मैं अपने फौजी नौजवानों को देखता हूँ, बहुत मुझपर अच्छा असर होता है। अच्छे चुने हुये लोग, और लोग भी हैं इस तरह से। दूसरी तरफ अक्सर मैं ऐसे लोगों को भी देखता हूँ कि जिससे कुछ ना-उम्मीदी हो जाती है, हर किस्म के लोग होते हैं मुल्क में। लेकिन एक जो बात मैं आपसे कहूँ कि यह अजीब आजकल का हिन्दुस्तान, या दुनिया भी, लेकिन खासकर आजकल के हिन्दुस्तान से मुझे, आपको, मतलब है। वह ऐसी जगह, ऐसी चीज है जिससे दरवाजे चारों तरफ से खुलते जाते हैं काबलियत के लिये और adventure के लिये, हिम्मत के लिये, जोकि हर एक जानदार शख्स भी मौका चाहे उसके लिये तो उसके लिये आप अपने को तैयार करें, अपने दिमाग को और तरह से। मुझे नहीं अच्छा लगता, एक पेशा हो गया यहाँ इस मुल्क में, हो गया क्या कहूँ, कुछ हाय-हाय करने का। जिसको अंग्रेज़ी में कहते हैं न, अंग्रेज़ी का तर्जुमा करूँ, तर्जुमा है वह अजीब सा मालूम होता है, लेकिन तर्जुमा है याद रखिये-हम सब लोग कुतों को जा रहे हैं। (हँसी) मामूली फिकरा है। इस कदर यह हालत हो गयी है लम्बे-लम्बे चेहरे निकालकर और एक आह, आह करना, क्या मुसीबत में पड़े, मुल्क जा रहा, तबाह हो रहा है, दुनिया तबाह हो रही है, दुनिया तबाह हो रही है। शायद मुमकिन हर जमाने में ऐसे लोग कुछ होते हों लेकिन मुझे मालूम होता है कि आजकल के जमाने में कुछ ज्यादा है हिन्दुस्तान में। कुछ सियासी वजूहात से नुक्ताचीनी निकालते हैं, पार्टीबाजी की वजह से, कुछ और भी। यह तो अच्छा है, नुक्ताचीनी करना, ऐब निकालना अच्छा है क्योंकि आँखें बन्द कर लेना अपनी कमजोरियों से बिलकुल गलत है। वो तो दूसरी बात है, लेकिन हर वक्त उसको कहना और अच्छी बातों को न देखना और एक हवा पैदा करना, निराश होने की, ना-उम्मीदी की, यह तो कभी अच्छी नहीं हो सकती है बात।

329. At the office of the ONGC in Dehra Dun on 2 August 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/ pp. 161-163.

आपमें से कुछ गये होंगे, नहीं गये हों तो जाएँ, जहाँ नुमाइश हो रही है— India 1958³³⁰
कोई सारा हिन्दुस्तान तो वहाँ आ नहीं गया है, लेकिन बहरसूरत हिन्दुस्तान के, आजकल हिन्दुस्तान के छोटे से हिस्से की तस्वीर है। और आप देखें क्या-क्या हो रहा है। मैं बहुत कुछ जानता हूँ, क्या हो रहा है। मैं भी वहाँ गया था। कुछ ताज्जुब हुआ, खुशी हुई, हिम्मत बढ़ी। हज़ारों बातें हो रही हैं। और उसके तरफ आपको देखना है और कमजोरियों की तरफ भी देखना है उसको हटाने के लिए, लेकिन हर वक़्त ऐसी बातें करना, कहना, जिससे एक लोगों की उम्मीद कम हो और एक दूसरे को हम बुरा कहें वो अच्छी बात नहीं है, हिम्मत की बात नहीं। न इससे आप किसी को मदद करते हैं, न अपनी, न किसी और की।

बहरसूरत, आप यहाँ आये पाँचवें साल और एक बहुत जरूरी काम आप यहाँ करेंगे, नाचेंगे, गायेंगे और जाने क्या-क्या करेंगे, मुझे मालूम नहीं। वो तो करेंगे, ठीक है। अभी डा. श्रीमाली को सुन रहा था तो उन्होंने कहा कि तजवीज़ आई है कि दिल्ली के बाहर भी यह हुआ करे। मैं उस तजवीज़ की मैं बहुत जोरों से तार्द करता हूँ। मुझे अच्छा नहीं लगता के लोग दिल्ली में जमा हुआ करें। और हिस्सों में हिन्दुस्तान के, दक्षिण में हो, पूर्व में हो, पश्चिम में हो, बारी-बारी से आप भी जायें, लोगों को मौका भी मिले हिन्दुस्तान के अलग-अलग हिस्सों को देखने का। एक बड़ी अच्छी बात हो गयी है, आजकल भारत दर्शन के दौर बहुत होते हैं, रेलें आती हैं। उसमें विद्यार्थी भी आते हैं, किसान भी आते हैं, तरह-तरह के लोग आते हैं। बहुत अच्छा है। तो अच्छा हो इस तरह से अलग-अलग जगहों में हो और यह तजुर्बा हिन्दुस्तान के हर हिस्से को हासिल हो।

बहरसूरत अब जो कुछ आप करें, इस हफ्ते में, मालूम नहीं कितने आप रहते हैं, मैं भूल गया, दस रोज। मुझे उम्मीद है कि यह आखिरी दौर है lectures का और speeches का।

जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins]

Dr Shrimali³³¹ and the youth,

The first question that arises is what should I talk to you about? So I shall start by telling you what I have been doing today. I was in Hyderabad until this morning.³³² I left Hyderabad by plane at seven o'clock and arrived here a little after ten o'clock. Almost directly I went to Vigyan Bhavan. A big conference of the international services of world airlines is being held there.³³³ So I had to spend some time there, and had to speak and to listen to. [Laughter] Again I

330. Nehru inaugurated the India 1958 exhibition in New Delhi on 8 October 1958. For his speech on the occasion, see item 7.

331. See fn 322 in this section.

332. See fn 323 in this section.

333. See fn 324 in this section.

went to Palam directly from there because a new kind of aircraft has arrived there for trial from the United States—actually not for trial but demonstration. It travels fast, at about four hundred miles an hour, and it is comfortable. So I flew in that aircraft for about half an hour and went up to Haridwar this morning.³³⁴ [Laughter] Thereafter, from Palam, I had to again go back practically straight to Vigyan Bhavan for another conference on panchayats and local self-government.³³⁵ I have come here straight from that conference. So this is what I have done since morning. That does not mean that I wanted to show how busy I keep from morning until evening. Not that; but I wanted to tell you about the various kinds of tasks and activities in this world that require my own involvement and that of others and also about the different facets of this world.

When I went to the conference of the international air transport services—I do not remember the exact name—I reminded them that the history of the world has been recorded in different ways. The old method was of making a list of kings and emperors, and the wars that were fought. Dates were recorded and a chronology was maintained. Then other methods evolved, like recording the economic conditions, etc. I said that there may be another appropriate way of recording the history of the world, especially the history of world civilisation, and that is to record how the means of communications have evolved right from the beginning—the different modes of travel, communication, etc. I told the people present there that they were in charge of running the international air services, which are the main modes of travel and transportation of goods today. The means of sending messages are even faster. As you know, there is the radio and the radar and they, in fact, work instantly. If you go back a hundred or two hundred years or even a hundred and fifty years, what were the modes of travel or communication? Today we have all become accustomed to the telephone, the telegraph, the radio, railways, aircraft, motor cars, etc. However, a hundred and fifty years ago, or 1,500 years ago, the fastest mode of travel or communication used to be horseback. The world had been going on for thousands of years at the same pace, in spite of certain changes which undoubtedly had occurred. Then, all of a sudden, about a hundred and fifty years ago, something happened which revolutionised the speed of communications; it turned everything topsy-turvy.

Do you know what those new forces were, or rather, what were the forces of nature that man began to harness? These were things which were

334. See fn 325 in this section.

335. See fn 326 in this section.

always present in nature: the train, after all, runs on steam, and steam has always been there in India and in the world; similarly, electricity has always been there. Well, they understood it and learnt how to use it. Nowadays, atomic energy is much in the news. Even that is not a new thing, but it had not been understood. These things have revolutionised everything in the world. So it would be extremely interesting if the history of the world were to be written in this way.

Then I told them about my visit three weeks back to a neighbour country, Bhutan, where, leave aside aircraft, no wheeled vehicle of any kind has ever appeared. Even there are no roads there. It is not that the people of Bhutan are backward; they are strong and sturdy, and intelligent. If they were to be educated in your colleges, they would undoubtedly be successful, and possibly even more successful than you. There is no lack of ability in them. But they happened to be enclosed within the Himalayas and remained cut off from the rest of the world. They deliberately kept themselves isolated because they were afraid that if their country were easily accessible, people from outside would come and subjugate them. This was a legitimate fear because in the earlier times empires of the great powers were spreading all around. Imperialism spread in India and in other countries. Anyhow, I went to Bhutan and, as I said, this morning I flew more than nine hundred miles from Hyderabad in three hours, whereas it had taken me five days to cover a distance of seventy to eighty miles to reach Bhutan. I made that journey mostly on horseback, sometimes walking and at other times on the back of yaks, and I was transported to a different world. As I said, the human beings were no different there but it was a world similar to what India or any other country must have been like several hundred years back. Yes, there were certain things there, like the radio, the telegraph and the wireless. We had a radio set with us and we also received wireless messages there. But apart from these things, there was no other difference... So I told them about the difference between the two countries, although both belong to the same world.

Now, changes continue to take place at a rapid pace. Sometimes you read of attempts at creating a "new" moon³³⁶ and sometimes of attempts to go to the "old" moon. These things are happening almost every day. It may seem absurd today but the day will undoubtedly come when all this will become a reality—if not in my lifetime, certainly in yours. If you look at my life, it has been a long journey. But the system of flying had originated in my lifetime and it has reached its present stage now. I remember when I was in school [in England] I was

336. See fn 327 in this section.

very much interested in this development. I read then about some trial flights in America, where aircraft would fly for a short distance, about a hundred to two hundred yards. I was fascinated by this. In fact, I was so excited that I wrote to my father³³⁷ that soon I would fly to meet him. Well, that did not happen so quickly, though it would have been possible later. I remember visiting an aeronautical exhibition in 1910 in Germany where planes would take off after running down on a slope. They would fly for a few hundred yards and then fall down. It was in the early days; they could not fly farther—not more than two or three hundred yards. Then gradually things began to improve and have reached thus far. So I have seen this entire process happening over a period of about fifty years.

Nobody knows what your experiences of your country and of the world would be in thirty or forty years' time, when you would be as old as I am now, provided you observed how rapidly the world is changing. And a changing world means that you are changing, and I am changing, the new generations are changing, because lifestyles affect human beings. If you live in Bhutan, where there is not much change, it is obvious that your lifestyle would be of a certain kind, and your way of thinking would also be different because that is determined by your lifestyle. This is how things proceed in the world. If you are living in the age of air travel, your attitude and lifestyle will be of a particular kind even if you have not travelled by air. So people's thinking keeps changing. I do not mean to say that change means great progress. For instance, who can claim that the man who drives an engine knows everything about the engine or a motor mechanic about the motor? I am not prepared to say that he is more intelligent than our ancient sages who wrote the Upanishads or more intelligent than Plato? That is on a different level. But what I mean to say is that the common people's thinking is affected by their environment, their society. That is obvious. Those of you, who have read about socialism, must be aware of its fundamental principle that new methods [of production] have an impact on society.

Now, I am in a dilemma. I have lived, and am still living, in a world which has its roots in the 19th Century. And now it is the middle of the 20th Century. There is a huge difference in the times between my world and yours, and the difference is not merely because an age has passed but also because new developments have taken place. How is one to bridge the gap between these two worlds at the intellectual level? It has nothing to do with our mutual relationship. You hold me in affection and have confidence in me and I have

337. See fn 328 in this section.

similar feelings towards you. That is my good fortune. But I face one peculiar problem. It relates to the transformation that the world is undergoing and I have been experiencing this phenomenon very strongly. I am myself a witness to the changes that have taken place. Indeed, everyone is aware of their impact on the people, on their thinking, and, in fact, on all aspects of society. I realise that the youth and children of today are growing up in a different world. I try to sound their minds in order to have a glimpse into their emotions and feelings. The fact of the matter is it is very difficult to gauge these things. Then I try to recall what my own thinking was when I was your age and what I thought of the chasm between me and my elders. I thought there was a chasm. Surely you must also be thinking the same. I meet my grandsons—and it is a very close relationship and there is much affection between us; but their world is different; their ways are different. They belong to the modern world whereas I belong to a period which is fifty years old. This poses a problem.

That is why I was wondering, when I began my address, as to what I should speak to you about. This was my dilemma. It is possible to offer superficial advice of different kinds and that advice may be very good too. But it is quite a different thing to peep into another person's heart and mind. I do not wish to praise myself but I do have a knack to relate to other people at the level of their hearts and minds. Why and how I acquired this ability? This might have come with experience; I do not know. But it works even with people with whom I may have no close relationship, I mean at the intellectual level. Take, for instance, the peasants of India. I have never been a farmer myself nor have I ever owned even a yard of land. Yes, I have read books on farming and observed peasants working on their land and have thought about these matters. But I have no personal experience like a peasant's. That cannot happen unless one works in the fields. It cannot be acquired through books. And my education was of a totally different kind. Yet if I am able to have a bond of affection with India's peasants, and if I can establish it because of some special ability of mine, or whatever it is, that is a big thing for me.

So I am in a bit of a dilemma; and the matter is quite complex. Let me tell you that very few people—whether they are young or old—can appreciate the existence of the gulf between different generations, especially in a changing world. There was a time when the world was not undergoing changes; it was static. So there was not so much gulf between the generations because everyone followed traditions generation after generation. But when there are changes in the world, each generation is affected by them and a gulf is created. It can be seen in abundant measure in India. Apart from that, schools and colleges are now having entrants of a different stock—I mean people whose fathers and grandfathers had never been to school or college. Well, this is a very happy

development; we want everybody to enrol. However, this also creates a new atmosphere, a new thinking and new patterns. These are matters which are constantly in my mind.

I wrote a book, *Discovery of India*, fifteen to sixteen years ago. That exercise of discovery still continues. What does the discovery of India mean? It amounts to the discovery of Indians. There are other things also; there are so many things in India, apart from its present inhabitants, and I am interested in all of them and, more especially, the youth of India: how they are shaping up and what their thinking is. I have been moulded by special circumstances, a very major part of which had to do with our freedom movement, the struggle for freedom, and with Gandhiji. To you, all that happened in those years would seem like stories and fables. Very few of you may have seen Gandhiji, from afar or at close quarters, but most of you may have never seen him. In any case, there would hardly be anyone among you who had a close relationship with him, or anyone whose heart and mind has been overwhelmingly influenced by India's freedom struggle. But we certainly were, for good or bad, because for ten, twenty, thirty, forty years layer upon layer of his influence kept piling up over us. It was no story for us; it was a matter of personal experience, and whatever we are today is as a result of that. Each one of us did not develop in the same fashion, but there was a common experience which all of us shared.

As I said, all these things would seem like stories and fables to you. It is obvious that you would have respect for Gandhiji's name, and for others also, our elders who are no longer with us. You may also have respect, and even affection, for the few who are still around. But their world is quite different from yours, which is merely due to the circumstances. I am not saying that anyone is to blame for this. Your environment is different and it will continue to change from day to day. Therefore, in this situation, it does not appeal to me that I should dictate as to what you ought to do or what not to do, although I believe I can advise you on many matters and that advice will be appropriate also. You will hear me, and do so with respect, but even then you will forget it because what one remembers is not what one simply hears with one's ears; what stays in one's memory is some experience that has affected a person in a forceful way. That leaves an impress and moulds that person. But how does something that one remembers affects that person? Once I was talking with a young man. He said he remembered that I had gone to see him when he was ill ten to twelve years ago. He was sixteen or eighteen years of age at that time. He told me, "You had come to see me when I was ill and your visit made a great impression on me because I had heard of you, and the day you visited me has become a very important day for me. But now those days are gone: you are

in a different world and I am in another.” He had written this to me, and so I drew your attention to this question.

Though it is rather strange, but the history of a nation or a country is like a river which keeps flowing. The water may appear to be stationary, but all of it is continuously changing. The Ganga remains the Ganga but its water is being replaced all the time by different water. Similarly, nations and countries continue to exist but their inner content keeps changing, and it is quite right that there is change. If water does not flow down the river, it becomes stagnant. As you know, stagnant water is never fresh; it gets stale. We had been stagnant for a long time, for centuries, and the country had lost its vigour, its creativeness, its ability to produce something new, and in a sense it had lost the flame, the spark. It had grown stale and lifeless. The nation had become pale after remaining under pressure and facing adversity for a long time. Anyhow, we emerged out of that situation, though we had to pay a price. It is by paying the price that human beings develop. Anything that comes free of cost is not valued and may soon slip away. Anyhow, we paid the price, and it was a good price.

Now, [atomic power] has given rise to a fear that can destroy the world. On the other hand, this power can also bring about a lot of development in the world. But can it? It is only a means by which a human being raises himself, his nation, his country. A savage does not become a better person if he gets a gun in his hand and starts shooting. Ultimately a nation raises itself by its quality. India will grow if we have quality which can come in various ways, but its biggest source definitely is our students coming out of schools and colleges and universities. That means going to institutions like universities for learning and becoming quality-oriented. It is a matter of crucial importance as to what extent we are able to raise the level of quality. This is important for the future. There is no doubt that it is enhancing. But there are factors which suppress it, and there is a tussle between the forces of progress and those of regression. So these are the major questions before us. I am sure all of you must be pondering over these issues in your own way. I do not want you to think too much; there is no need to tax your mind. You must keep your mind fresh and light for as long as possible. It is not desirable to burden yourself with worries at an early stage; there will be plenty of opportunities for that later. [Laughter] In fact you won't be able to escape them. But as of now, if you can afford to keep your mind light, you must do so, though that does not mean that the mind should be empty!

I have talked to you about various things and drawn your attention to certain matters. There is also the need for human beings and nations to have a balanced approach in their life. There are myriad dimensions of a nation's progress and it has to advance on all of them. There are thousands of kinds of

people: they are in different occupations, and each human being has several facets. You are studying in universities, and participate in games and sports and there are other activities also. Well, all that is necessary. However, if you merely study for the sake of your university examination, you will possibly pass that examination, but you may later fail in the real examination of life. The test of life is more authentic. The examinations in colleges and universities are relatively easier. You must bear in mind that all that you learn in school, college, and university in a sense prepares you to be successful in life. You might pass an examination, by fair means or foul, or through learning by rote, or in a way that does not show that you are really competent. So you are actually incompetent, and soon, though not immediately, you would be proved worthless in the test of life, and whatever efforts you made would go waste. So these things have to be kept in mind.

The entire world, including our country, is passing through strange times. It is a powerful, revolutionary period of change. On the one hand, there is large-scale unemployment and, on the other hand, the field is opening up for talented people and there are abundant opportunities for them. It is obvious that new and fresh opportunities are bound to grow in a country that is on the path of development. Now, if you come to me in a delegation asking for government jobs, I cannot help you. A few of you may get into the IAS or be selected by the Public Service Commission for some jobs. Everyone cannot be accommodated in the few avenues that are traditionally there. Other avenues have to be explored and these are, in fact, opening up in the fields of science, technology and industry, including small industries.

We have recently embarked on a new project that is prospecting for oil. We had no expertise in that field earlier. But we looked around and got together some young geologists, about a hundred to two hundred promising boys and girls who had done MSc, and started giving them training in prospecting for oil. I met them after a year.³³⁸ They had not just made progress; they were working on projects with enthusiasm and gusto and were learning as well. Anyone who met them would be filled with happiness. This happens with me when I go to science laboratories and see thousands of young men and women working diligently on scientific projects. They are laying the foundations of the future progress of science which is so essential for India's development.

I feel gratified when I look at our young men in the armed forces. They are good quality. Similarly, there are good people in various other fields also. On the other hand, I often see people who fill me with despair. There are different

338. See fn 329 in this section.

kinds of people in any country. However, I would like to tell you that in the India of today, and in the world too, though we are concerned especially with India, new avenues are opening up on all sides for talented and spirited people possessing a sense of adventure and grit. You have to prepare yourselves for these opportunities by moulding your minds and in other ways. I do not like the tendency among the people of this country who make outcries like, as they say in English, and I will translate it for you, "We are going to the dogs." It is an ordinary expression, and rather awkward. People go about with long faces and keep moaning and groaning that things are going wrong and that the country is going to rack and ruin, or that the world is going downhill. It has become a profession with them. Maybe in every age some people feel this way. But I think that this tendency is slightly more conspicuous in India at present. Partly it is due to political reasons, criticising others on party basis, and also due to other reasons. It is a good thing to assess ourselves critically because it is harmful to turn a blind eye to our own faults. But to keep harping on the negative things, ignoring the positive things, and to create an atmosphere of despair and frustration is not at all a good thing.

Some of you may have visited the India 1958 Exhibition.³³⁹ If not, then you must see it. While it is not fully representative of what India stands for, it does provide a glimpse of a small segment of present-day India. You can gauge from it what a variety of things are happening in the country. To a large extent I am aware of what is under way and so when I went there I was pleasantly surprised and it heartened me to see thousands of things happening in the country. So you should look at all that, not only at the weaknesses but at the overall picture. We should, of course, do whatever we can to remove our shortcomings. But to constantly harp on things which demoralise people and create negativity and frustration and to constantly deride ourselves is not an act of courage. It does not help anyone, neither us nor others.

Well, you have been coming here for the last five years and you will be doing some essential things like singing and dancing and whatnot. I was listening to Dr Shrimali just now. He said that a suggestion has been made that these events should be held outside Delhi also. I strongly endorse this suggestion. I do not like it that people should assemble every time in Delhi. These events should be held by turn in other parts of India also, in the East, West and South, so that people get opportunity to see different parts of India. Nowadays one good thing that is happening is that people are going in large numbers for Bharat Darshan. Trains come loaded with students, farmers, in fact, people

339. See fn 330 in this section.

from all walks of life. This is an excellent development. And it will be better if these events are held in different places so that every corner of India may experience these things.

Anyhow, you will be doing many things this week. I do not know for how many days you are here—I have forgotten. For ten days. I do hope this is the last round of speeches and lectures.

Jai Hind.

[Translation ends]

233. To M.S. Thacker³⁴⁰

October 28, 1958

My dear Thacker,³⁴¹

I have mentioned on several occasions that it would be very desirable for our heads of National Laboratories to be connected with universities. That would be good for them and for the universities. They need not give very much time for this purpose. Thus, I should like Dr Krishnan³⁴² to be associated with the University of Delhi in an honorary capacity. He can go there, perhaps, two or three times a month, and speak to the science students. I am sure that this would be greatly appreciated by the students, who will profit by it much.

I would like you to take some steps in this matter. You can discuss it with Dr Krishnan and, later, write to the Delhi University. We should also suggest this to the other heads.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

340. File No. 17(273)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

341. Secretary, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and Director-General, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

342. K.S. Krishnan, Director, National Physical Laboratory, Delhi.

234. Sending Students Abroad for Research in Sociology³⁴³

I confess that I do not quite understand these proposals. If the two foreign Professors are required here, they may come. But the idea of sending 12 Indians abroad for PhD degree in Sociology does not appeal to me. Sociology is a subject, partly of human interest everywhere, but more especially relating to the particular conditions in a country. I do not see how our people will help much by foreign study for future work in India. Of course any kind of additional knowledge is helpful. The only question is whether it is worthwhile for this particular purpose.

I should like the Minister of Community Development³⁴⁴ to see these papers. If he is anxious to proceed with his proposals, I shall agree.

(g) Culture

235. To Bhagwat Saran Upadhyaya³⁴⁵

September 1, 1958

Dear Shri Upadhyaya,³⁴⁶

Thank you for your letter of August 25.³⁴⁷ I am very happy to learn that the National Encyclopaedia in Hindi is under preparation.³⁴⁸ It has always surprised me that our National Language should not have such an encyclopaedia. Some of the other languages of India possess good encyclopaedias.

343. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 30 October 1958. JN Collection.

344. S.K. Dey.

345. JN Collection.

346. Bhagwat Saran Upadhyaya (1910-1982); archaeologist and historian; Head of Archaeology, Allahabad and Lucknow Museums; Professor of History, Vikram University, Ujjain; wrote more than 75 books; edited *Hindi Encyclopaedia* (Varanasi: Nagari Pracharani Sabha, 1963). Vol. 3; High Commissioner to Mauritius, May 1981-August 1982.

347. Bhagwat Saran Upadhyaya's letter to Nehru has not been traced.

348. हिन्दी विश्वकोश (*Hindi Encyclopaedia*), sponsored by the Ministry of Education, GOI, was published by Nagari Pracharani Sabha, Varanasi, in twelve volumes between 1960 and 1970.

But I am afraid it is quite beyond my capacity to find time to write for the encyclopaedia. Also, I could not possibly write on the subject you have mentioned because I could not treat it objectively having regard to the position I occupy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

236. To B.V. Keskar³⁴⁹

September 2, 1958

My dear Balakrishna,³⁵⁰

Thank you for your letter of September 1st.³⁵¹ I have read the long note attached to it, which deals with pricing of publications.

You need not have taken all this trouble to send me this material. I have no particular grievance against your pricing policy. The only thing that struck me was that books sent abroad were priced too low.

Reading the note you sent, I feel largely in agreement with the policy that is being pursued now,³⁵² and I have hardly any comments to make. I am all in favour of cheap books, so that they can have a larger market. In fact, I have been talking about this repeatedly in public and suggesting that cheap editions of 50,000 copies priced at, say, one rupee or a little more should be brought out of well-known classics. To some extent, a beginning appears to have been made by some publishers in Bombay.

I would like the Publications Division to price their books as low as possible consistently with efficiency. Of course, they should be made to pay their way, otherwise this would be an unbusiness like procedure. I quite agree that a large

349. File No. 43(95)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

350. Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.

351. Nehru had commented often that the Publications Division's books were priced very low. Keskar set out the general principles and complained that Nehru's observations had demoralised the officers of the Division and that they needed his advice to improve.

352. The note sent by Keskar is not available. In his letter Keskar divided the publications into two categories: i) those for mass circulation; and ii) quality publications. In the second category, he wrote, they followed different strategies: either a) the private publishers' policy of a high priced edition of 1,500 to 2,000 copies followed by a cheaper one depending on demand, or b) a large edition for the educated middle classes. He added that the Publications Division had sold a larger number of copies of books on general culture than it could ever be possible for a private producer.

edition low priced brings greater profit than a small edition at a high price. Further, it reaches far more people. We have to cultivate the reading habit in India, and we can only do so by cheap books.

You have divided books into two classes: A and B. In regard to A, I agree entirely with what is said. In regard to B, I agree generally, but, even here, there is no need to fix a too high price simply because that is the commercial method. If, in your judgement, a lower price would have a larger sale and would not involve us in loss, then that is desirable.

In other words, I agree that the economics of publishing by Government (or, indeed, by private publishers) should be worked out on the basis of large print orders.

I see that you are pricing books sent to foreign countries separately. That is as it should be.

I am glad that there is separation of accounts of general publications. I do not know how this is done. But I would like not only the accounts to be kept separately, but a sum allotted for publishing to be kept apart and to be used in a revolving way. That is to say, it should not get mixed up with the rest of your accounts. If you are making profits, then it is not necessary for you to have a special allocation for publishing from year to year, because the original sum should be more than ample. If the profits are considerable, a part of them can be turned over to the Government or to such other purpose as may be considered desirable. I do not know if the Finance Ministry will agree to this procedure.

I am returning the note to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

237. To M.S. Sugandhi³⁵³

3rd September 1958

Dear Shri Sugandhi,³⁵⁴

I have your letter of the 1st September about the Kannada Advisory Committee.³⁵⁵ I can obviously be no judge myself about the merits of a book in the Kannada language. The matter is considered, I believe, by our Executive Committee and they decide according to their best judgement.

While I can offer no opinion about the particular book you mention, I think that a book should be judged on literary merits and freedom of expression of opinion should be allowed. We do not want such literature to be restricted or suppressed because people may have different opinions about contents.³⁵⁶

In any event I cannot overrule our Executive Committee or the General Council of the Sahitya Akademi. I am forwarding your letter to them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

353. File No. 40(7)/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

354. (1899-1979); businessman, farmer and politician from Bijapur in Mysore; President, Karnatak Chamber of Commerce, Hubli, for ten years; associated with the Congress Party between 1935 and 1949; participated in the freedom struggle; Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly 1937-43; Independent Member of the Lok Sabha, 1957-62.

355. Sugandhi had some reservations about the Sahitya Akademi publishing Masti Venkatesa Iyengar's historical novel *Chenna Basava Nayaka* (1949). It dealt with court politics of the Veersaiva Nayaka state of Bidanur in Mysore during Hyder Ali's rise to power. In March 1956, the Sahitya Akademi's Advisory Board for Kannada unanimously recommended it for translation into other Indian languages, and it was being translated into Hindi and Telugu. Nehru was the President of the Sahitya Akademi.

356. From late 1957, members of the Veersaiva community had agitated against the book for defaming the community. In June 1958, the Advisory Board for Kannada unanimously rejected these charges.

238. To Humayun Kabir³⁵⁷

September 6, 1958

My dear Humayun,³⁵⁸

I had a visit today from Ramachandra Rao³⁵⁹ (I think this was his name, but I am not sure). He is the man who has written a book about Nagarjun from the archaeological and historical point of view. He said that further enquiries and excavations³⁶⁰ had brought out, even more than before, the extreme importance of this site. It had now been demonstrated that this port on the Krishna river was in intimate contact with Ceylon, South East Asia, etc. Thus, many important cultural links in the art history of India had been discovered. There was a school of craftsmanship there. I remember seeing this myself.

He said that the work of excavation, etc., should be expedited, so that it can be completed before the great reservoir swallows up everything. Further, that this was not merely a question of preserving old sculptures, but finding out all we can from there about the ancient cultural traditions. Thus, the whole problem should be approached in terms of scholarship and knowledge.

I pass this on to you. I am myself greatly interested in Nagarjunkunda,³⁶¹ and I remember writing repeatedly about it to Maulana Saheb,³⁶² and he was good enough to agree. Hiren Mukerji, the Communist MP, was also deeply

357. File No. 40(21)/56-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

358. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

359. P.R. Ramachandra Rao (d. 2007); advocate, writer and artist; senior advocate, Supreme Court of India; legal adviser, German Embassy in India; wrote several books including *Art of Nagarjunkunda* (Madras: Rachana, 1956) which won the President's Award, 1956; produced documentaries on historical themes.

360. The Government of India decided to excavate the site of the old Buddhist town of Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh and remove the remains and ruins existing there to a safer place as the proposed dam on the Krishna river would submerge the Nagarjunakonda valley. The foundation of the dam was laid by Nehru on 10 December 1955.

361. Nehru had been taking interest in the excavation work in Nagarjunakonda since 1955. See SWJN/SS/30/pp. 220-221, SWJN/SS/31/p. 3, pp. 9-14, p. 103, p. 106 & pp. 108-109, SWJN/SS/32/pp. 95-96, SWJN/SS/36/p. 184 and SWJN/SS/38/pp. 176-177.

362. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, former Union Minister for Education and Scientific Research, died February 1958. Culture was a responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research until the creation of the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs in March 1958.

interested in this and, in fact, begged us to give up the whole project so as to preserve this site. That could not be done, but we gave assurances that every effort will be made to remove properly every article of interest there.³⁶³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

239. To Suresh Singh³⁶⁴

सितम्बर 14, 1958

प्रिय सुरेश सिंह जी,³⁶⁵

कुछ दिन हुए मेरे पास आपकी नई पुस्तक जीव-जगत³⁶⁶ आई थी। यह किताब मुझे बहुत अच्छी मालूम हुई। और मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि हिन्दी में ऐसी किताब निकली।

आपका
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins]

September 14, 1958

Dear Suresh Singhji,³⁶⁷

Some days ago I received your new book *Jeev-Jagat*.³⁶⁸ I think it is a very good book. I am glad that such a book has been written in Hindi.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

[Translation ends]

363. Humayun Kabir replied on 7 September that the Ministry had created a special division and had sent T.N. Ramachandran, former Joint Director General of Archaeology, to Nagarjunakonda to speed up the work.

364. Papers of Suresh Singh of Kalakankar, NMML.

365. (b. 1910); Hindi journalist and writer from Kalakankar, in Uttar Pradesh; wrote books in Hindi on subjects like animals, birds and nature.

366. Literally, "The World of Living Beings".

367. See fn 365 in this section.

368. See fn 366 in this section.

240. To R.K. Khadilkar³⁶⁹

7th October, 1958

Dear Shri Khadilkar,³⁷⁰

I have received a letter signed by you and a number of other MPs about Dr Ambedkar's library.³⁷¹ In this it is suggested that Government should acquire this library.

It is always a pity for a good library to be broken up and I should therefore like Dr Ambedkar's library to be kept together. But I would hesitate very much in dealing with a matter which is under litigation. This is always embarrassing and leads to complications.

Secondly, I have no idea of the nature of the contents of the library and the possible cost of acquisition.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

241. To R.R. Diwakar³⁷²

10th October, 1958

My dear Diwakar,³⁷³

Thank you for your letter of the 4th October about the Children's Film Society.³⁷⁴

I am, of course, in full sympathy with the object of this Children's Film Society and I think we should pay particular attention to the production of good films for children. But, I think, it is better for me not to be associated, as far as possible, as patron or in any other capacity, with societies and

369. File No. 40(162)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

370. Mazdoor Kisan Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Ahmednagar, Bombay State.

371. It was reported that the personal library of the late B.R. Ambedkar was to be put up for public auction.

372. JN Collection.

373. President, Children's Film Society of India.

374. The Children's Film Society was established in May 1955, on the recommendations of the Film Inquiry Committee (1949), with the aim of providing the children with clean and healthy entertainment.

organisations doing various types of work. If I accept one, it becomes a little difficult for me to refuse another case.

I hope therefore you will excuse me, but you have my good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

242. To K.L. Shrimali³⁷⁵

October 23, 1958

My dear Shrimali,³⁷⁶

Many months ago, Mulk Raj Anand³⁷⁷ sent me a letter in which he made various suggestions to introduce some kind of a spiritual dynamic in our Plan publicity. Some of them were not important; some others had some value.

I have had this letter with me for nearly ten months, not knowing quite what to do with it. I am now sending it to you.

I would like to draw your attention more to the postscript of the letter than to the main body of it. Also to the suggestion about the dance drama group.

In the postscript, it is suggested that there might be some kind of an Arts Council, a liaison body between the three academies.³⁷⁸ I am not quite clear about this but, on the whole, I feel attracted to the proposal.

Secondly, there is the suggestion to have a History of Indian Art. I think it is perfectly true that our knowledge of Indian art comes largely from books written by Western scholars. Some of these books are good, but after all, their approach is of the West. Could we get some Indian scholar to undertake this work? First of all, it should be on a rather small scale, say a book of 250 pages—a broad survey. I do not mean a tourist survey, as many of our publications are, but with something deeper in it. If this is done satisfactorily, one could think of a bigger history of Indian Art.³⁷⁹

375. File No. 43(38)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

376. Union Minister of State for Education.

377. Writer, novelist and art critic writing in English; taught at Indian universities from 1948 to 1966.

378. Namely, Sahitya Akademi, Lalit Kala Akademi and Sangeet Natak Akademi.

379. Shrimali replied that a committee of artists and art critics had observed that there was no book in English on the subject, that one in an Indian language could be identified and used as a text book in schools offering fine arts courses. Or else, one could be chosen through a competition.

Thirdly, what has been said about open air theatres deserves consideration. Our villagers are just waking to consciousness of the wider world. If we provide these open air theatres, which should not cost much, then more opportunities would be given to them to see films, dance troupes, dramas, etc.³⁸⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(h) Architecture and Town Planning

243. Gandhi Memorial at Rajghat³⁸¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: The honourable Member³⁸² who has just spoken has criticised the Government for the delay in putting up any suitable memorial or monument. He is justified in criticising the Government. But at the same time this question has been one of extraordinary difficulty. Opinions have differed very greatly and one can understand the reason for that difference. On the one hand some people imagined that to do honour to a great man, one must put up some kind of ornate, huge structure. On the other hand, people thought it to be highly inappropriate and improper to put up an ornate structure. It was felt that it should be as the green grass and flowers do honour to a man who was essentially, if I may say so, more suited to the green grass of this land and the flowers of this land than to ornate buildings. So, this conflict remained and many proposals were made and considered and ultimately not accepted.

Meanwhile, something was done there. Some trees were planted; some kind of platforms were made. The trees are attractive enough; but I must confess that the platform and the minor structures there are by no means attractive or artistic. However, they have continued simply because we were waiting for some suitable change.

380. Shrimali said that the Ministry of Education was considering open air theatres in villages as part of its Social Education Programme.

381. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 3 September 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XIX, cols 4542-4549.

K.C. Reddy, Minister of Works, Housing & Supply, had moved a motion to amend the Rajghat Samadhi Act of 1951 to ensure better administration of the Samadhi.

382. N.G. Ranga.

Then we invited artists, in fact from beyond India too; I believe, I am not quite sure, it was not merely confined to India. A committee was appointed to choose and we gave prizes—I forget exactly the amount—about Rs 10,000 or so for the first prize. Many proposals came, and I think, from other countries too. As is the habit, a choice is made without knowing who has sent the proposal so that there may be no partisanship; the names of the people who sent them were closed. Something was thus chosen. It was from an Indian architect³⁸³ which appealed to us. We examined it thoroughly. We consulted, apart from the committee, many other people here. Most of them liked it but some did not. We suggested some slight changes in it and those changes were also made; it took many months for the architect to do that. Ultimately, we have approved, as the honourable Member probably knows, of a certain design which is divided up into several phases and it shall take probably some years to complete. It is in a sense a simple enough design, at the same time, rather unusual. I cannot say straight off if everyone who sees it will like it immediately or not but it did, after very considerable thought and discussion, seem to us a suitable and appropriate one for Gandhiji, not ornate and yet having a certain touch of dignity and symbolism about it. There it is.

In answer to some questions, it was stated that it would cost about Rs 50, 60 or 70 lakhs; I forget. Most of this money was really going to be spent on earthen work. Subsequently we asked the architect to change that so that it need not be quite so high. I believe it has resulted in reducing the cost of the structure by more than half. I feel that, personally speaking, for myself, it is a suitable thing which will not hurt—if I may use the word—the chaste memory of Gandhiji by some unjust and ornate design. Some people suggested marble steps, a marble mausoleum.

S.M. Banerjee:³⁸⁴ We do not want another Birla temple;³⁸⁵ it should be simple.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Some people suggested marble steps leading to the Jamuna and all that. That seemed to me, in this connection, rather hard suggestions. I do not know whatever other people think. Anyhow something has been decided. There has been delay no doubt but it was a thing which essentially was not necessarily a very urgent matter. Why should we hurry and put up something which afterwards we may regret? I believe very soon the first phase will start.....

383. Vanu G. Bhuta.

384. Independent Member from Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh.

385. On Mandir Marg near Connaught Place in New Delhi, Birla Temple is the popular name of the Laxminarayan Temple built by G.D. Birla.

C. Krishnan Nair:³⁸⁶ You will not be there to regret; many of us may not be there to regret. Let us hurry up.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Anyhow, I hope we are not building there something only for the present generation; it is also for the other generations to come.

C. Krishnan Nair: That is another condemnation of our generation.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand this haste in putting up a memorial of this type. I am anxious enough too. Anyhow, I believe it is far more important that a suitable and proper thing should be put up there than something should be put up in haste.

If the House will forgive my saying so—I am not referring to this House but to conditions in India today—the artistic taste has gone down. I am not talking about artists and architects but I am talking about the general artistic taste of the public; it is not of a very high order because we have been brought up from childhood in very inaesthetic [sic] and unartistic surroundings, partly because of British rule where architecture was an amorphous and ugly type that was developed and partly because of our moneyed people having a total absence of taste; they built expensive structures either to house themselves or even temples and others. There is a famous temple in Delhi which is not a model of artistic taste, whatever else it may be.

So, we have somehow to get over this difficulty. People come to us and want to put up those very ornate structures, big tombs and marbles and all that and think it is very beautiful. First of all it may or may not be beautiful. But it is certainly totally inappropriate so far as Gandhiji was concerned. Anyhow, we thought that it was necessary to put it up. Some even thought that there should be no structure at all. I for one thought that nothing should be done, except that there should be an open space, properly arranged, a park if you like but there should be no structure at all. There were other conflicting opinions. I am not yet sure that it is a good thing to have anything. However, we have decided on something which is not a big structure. In fact except for the second phase of it where a rather big type of structure comes in the rest is—I cannot describe it really but any honourable Member can see the model. I believe the models are accessible to those who like to see them; it can be made accessible; it cannot be brought to Parliament House; it is too big but I am sure that my honourable colleague will have it placed somewhere where it can be seen. Anyhow, I hope that the first phase of it, that is, the central arrangement, can begin and will

386. Congress Member from Outer Delhi.

begin soon. That work is largely one of earth work and a lot of earth will have to be moved.

It has been suggested—I think it is a good suggestion—that when this work starts and during the course of this work, it should not only be done in the normal way as things are done, but that each one of us, each citizen of Delhi and outside, should have the privilege of participating in that work to some extent—not to save money in that, although there is money, but by voluntary labour to be rather associated with this work. After that first stage work is over, although we have accepted the whole scheme, we shall again look at the first phase before going on to the second phase.

C. Krishnan Nair: What does the Prime Minister think about the desirability of removing that site if you are going to spend a few lakhs of rupees? Because of the vagaries of Jamuna, it does not permit us and it may not last 50 or 100 years; it will all be washed away. Why not we have the site changed to the Ridge site where Gandhiji was living, behind that place?³⁸⁷

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand this removing of the site. First of all, as I have just stated, this whole idea is to create a hillock there. If it is a hillock, well, it survives the Jamuna. The whole idea is to raise it; we have other protective works too, to protect it from the Jamuna.

But I confess—I had not thought—I thought that the site had a certain value in it, a certain sentiment about it.³⁸⁸ You can put up a monument anywhere in India. But whatever else you might put up, that site also should be preserved in a proper way.

C. Krishnan Nair: Bhangi Colony had the same sentiment.

S.M. Banerjee: We were told that some of the renowned artists, men like Jamini Roy, Nandlal Bose and Vakil were consulted about it and they have given certain design. I contacted one of those artists and I hear that the designs placed by certain architects are being considered, but those simple designs given by these artists are not being considered.

K.C. Reddy: They have all been considered.

387. C.K. Nair had, earlier in the debate, warned that the Samadhi was exposed to flooding on the banks of the Jamuna, hence his preference for a site on the Ridge, behind Bhangi Colony, where Mahatma Gandhi used to live when in Delhi.

388. Mahatma Gandhi was cremated at the site of Rajghat.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Many of these artists have been constantly consulted about this matter. At the present moment, an artist is very important, but when you are looking at a big scheme, it is more the architect plus the artist that comes in. And both of them have been considered. In fact, in the scheme, it is suggested that at various places there should be big friezes. There we have consulted the artists already for those friezes.

नवल प्रभाकर:³⁸⁹ इसके एक तरफ तो गन्दा नाला है, दूसरी तरफ गन्दी बस्ती है और साथ ही साथ म्युनिसिपैलिटी का रिफ्यूडल [sic] भी एक तरफ को पड़ता है। इनका भी कोई इन्तिज़ाम आपने सोचा है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: जाहिर है, इसका भी इन्तिज़ाम करना होगा, इसको भी हटाना होगा।...³⁹⁰

[Translation begins]

Naval Prabhakar:³⁹¹ On the one side of this site is the sewage drain and on the other side are slums. Have you thought of any solution of this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously, we shall have to think about it. These will have to be removed...³⁹²

[Translation ends]

May I say a word about the name? Honourable Member suggested that the name should be changed. There is no particular virtue in changing the name. I suggest that the name should not be changed. You don't increase Gandhiji's fame or repute by calling it something else. It is the Gandhi Memorial at Rajghat. Now, to change the name—practically all Delhi and all India has heard of Rajghat, maybe other parts outside India too—there is nothing wrong about Rajghat. It is an old name. It is the name of the place. It is the Gandhi Memorial at Rajghat. By calling this Bill the Gandhi Memorial Bill—or whatever it is—at Rajghat, it does not make very much difference. But speaking for myself, my preference is for the name to remain as it is.

389. Congress Member from Outer Delhi (Reserved constituency).

390. Interventions by some Members requesting allotment of more time for discussion on this subject have been omitted.

391. See fn 389 in this section.

392. See fn 390 in this section.

Prabhat Kar:³⁹³ It can be called the Gandhi Memorial at Rajghat Bill. Now it is Rajghat Samadhi.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But why is it necessary? The statute does not count. It is the name of the place, not the statute.

244. To K.C. Reddy³⁹⁴

September 10, 1958

My dear Reddy,³⁹⁵

Your letter of September 10 about the rent for Vigyan Bhavan.³⁹⁶ I agree that you may for the present adhere to the revised rents. I think, however, that the rent charged by Sapru House and the All India Fine Arts & Crafts Society is much too high.

I do not see why we should reserve Vigyan Bhavan for official use. That is rather a waste of a fine hall and building. Surely there cannot be much wear and tear because of increased use and in any event the income from it will more than compensate for wear and tear. I am however thinking not so much of income but the halls and committee rooms like this should be used more.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

393. CPI Member from Hoogly, West Bengal.

394. File No. 28(21)/56-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

395. Union Minister of Works, Housing & Supply.

396. Vigyan Bhavan was built in 1956 as the principal convention centre of the Government of India in New Delhi.

245. To K. Kamaraj Nadar³⁹⁷

Paro, Bhutan
26th September, 1958

My dear Kamaraj,³⁹⁸

Many years ago, the then Governor of Madras, Lord Pentland,³⁹⁹ invited Patrick Geddes⁴⁰⁰ to come and advise on planning in Madras Province.⁴⁰¹ Patrick Geddes was a remarkable man and his ideas on Planning with the least possible upset to existing conditions and at the same time keeping the cultural features and the way of life of the people intact were extraordinarily good. He made various plans for cities and villages in Madras State, also in UP and some other parts of India. I have just seen a book containing extracts from his planning notes. This book is called *Patrick Geddes in India*, edited by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt.⁴⁰² It was published by Humphries of London in 1947.

I should like you to collect, as far as possible, his notes on this planning in Madras State. They must be available in some of the Municipalities. These notes might be helpful to your Government, both for those places and elsewhere. Among the places about which he wrote notes were Trichinopoly. Perhaps your Local Self-Government Department could address the various Municipalities and ask them if they have any such notes.

397. File No. 17(312)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

398. Chief Minister of Madras.

399. John Sinclair, Baron Pentland (1860-1925); Scottish politician; Member of British Parliament, 1892-95 and 1897-1909; Secretary for Scotland, 1905-12; Governor of Madras, 1912-19.

400. Scottish Biologist, sociologist and pioneering town planner; lectured and worked with Indian surveyors during his visit to India in 1915. Nehru had written to Indira Gandhi on 5 July 1935 on Geddes's educational ideas. See SWJN/FS/6/pp. 385-392.

401. Geddes conducted an exhibition on Cities and Town Planning in Madras University in January 1915 and spent a few months thereafter touring Madras Presidency.

402. Mary Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1905-1983); British landscape architect and town planner, academic and author; instrumental in bringing Geddes's town-planning theories to a wider audience long after his death in 1932; edited *Patrick Geddes in India* (London: Humphries, 1947); lectured in Canada and USA; acted as UN consultant on housing and education programme; in 1976, at the Habitat gathering in Vancouver, she emphasised the validity of Geddes's theories for contemporary town planning.

I find that Patrick Geddes prepared reports on the following towns. A number of these are now in Andhra Pradesh:

Bellary	Conjeeveram
Bezwada	Guntur
Concanada	Madura
Coimbatore	Nellore
Salem	Trichinopoly
Tanjore	Vizagapatnam
Tiruvattiswarenpet	

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

246. Patrick Geddes and Slums⁴⁰³

I am sending you a small but very interesting book *Patrick Geddes in India*. This contains various extracts from his notes on planning in a number of Indian towns and villages. These notes date back to 1915-19, but there is much in them which is illuminating. Patrick Geddes was a pioneer of great note in planning on a human basis, keeping the background of the people before him. He called this "conservative surgery" instead of the usual engineer's way which often ignores the human aspect, the old cultural aspect as well as expense. Since Patrick Geddes wrote his notes, much has happened and planning has proceeded on a more sensible basis and many of his views have been adopted in Europe and elsewhere.

2. It is probably true that much of what he has written applies to small towns and perhaps not so much to Delhi. But even in Delhi the question of slums could be approached in this way. Apart from the main arteries of traffic, there is no need at all for straight roads ignoring all other factors.

3. I should like you to read through this book and show it to your colleagues in Planning. The book has to be returned to me afterwards.

403. Note, written at Paro, Bhutan, 26 September 1958, for G. Mukharji, Chairman, Town Planning Organisation, GOI. File No. 17(312)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

247. To Sampurnanand⁴⁰⁴

Paro, Bhutan

26th September, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,⁴⁰⁵

I wonder if you remember Patrick Geddes who came to India roundabout 1915 or so. He was a town planner of genius who thought in terms of the human element and old cultural traditions in addition to modern planning. I think he wrote notes about the planning of Allahabad, Lucknow, Balrampur and some other places in UP. It would be worthwhile your trying to get the original notes from these Municipalities. I think they will be helpful in our approach to planning and especially slum conditions. I think he made a note about Banaras also.

I have just been reading a small book called *Patrick Geddes in India*, edited by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and published by Humphries of London in 1947. This gives extracts from many of the notes of his with pictures. It will be worthwhile your trying to get a copy of this book. My copy has been lent [sic] to me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

404. File No. 17(312)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

405. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

248. To B.C. Roy⁴⁰⁶

Paro, Bhutan

26th September, 1958

My dear Bidhan,⁴⁰⁷

I have just been reading a little interesting book called *Patrick Geddes in India*, edited by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and published by Humphries of London in 1947. You will remember that Patrick Geddes came out here about forty years ago or more. He was a man of genius in planning and many of his ideas have subsequently been adopted. He kept the human element always before him as well as the cultural aspect and did not want to uproot people. He wrote numerous notes which I think include some notes about Bengal and Calcutta planning. I wonder if this book is available in your libraries. In any event, you might find in the files of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation his old notes of 1915-19. In particular his ideas are helpful in dealing with slum areas.⁴⁰⁸

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

406. File No. 17(312)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

407. Chief Minister of West Bengal.

408. B.C. Roy replied on 10 October that he knew about Geddes, had probably met him in Calcutta, and had now read the book on Nehru's reference; also, the Calcutta Municipality had discussed his improvement plans in 1915-1919 and had as a result widened roads and laid out parks.

249. To Y.B. Chavan⁴⁰⁹

Paro, Bhutan
26th September, 1958

My dear Chavan,⁴¹⁰

In 1915 or thereabouts, Patrick Geddes, a pioneer in town planning, was invited to India. He always thought of the human aspect of planning and observation of cultural traditions. He visited various parts of India, including the then Bombay Province and drew up notes recommending various methods of approaching the question of planning in towns and villages. These notes were extraordinarily good. A small book has come out called *Patrick Geddes in India*, edited by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and published by Humphries of London in 1947. Possibly you have this book in one of your libraries. If not, then it is worthwhile obtaining it.

I will suggest to you to try to find out from the Bombay Corporation or maybe some other Municipalities if you can find his original notes. He was particularly helpful in dealing with slum areas.⁴¹¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

409. File No. 17(312)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

410. Chief Minister of Bombay.

411. Y.B. Chavan replied on 16 October 1958 that Patrick Geddes's original notes on town planning in the towns of Nadiad, Broach, Thana and Surat were available and those on Ahmedabad, Bombay, Baroda and Nagpur were being located. He added that "all these notes were submitted to Government during the years 1915-1916, but Government considered them as of little value compared to the money paid to Patrick Geddes for writing them. It appears that though they were published, they were not widely circulated and it was specifically stated 'that Government wish to be understood clearly that there are many statements in Geddes's notes with which they do not agree'." Chavan asked whether Nehru wished to see the original notes. Nehru replied on 20 October telling Chavan not to send him the notes. He added, "You might consider, however, the desirability of printing those old notes of Geddes in pamphlet form, or suitable extracts from them, as these might be useful to your municipalities as well as others."

250. Reducing Construction Costs⁴¹²

The President has been pleased to send me two notes after his return from Japan.⁴¹³

2. One of these notes relates to the considerable part of the investment on any plant going into buildings.⁴¹⁴ The other deals with the amount of space wasted by us in railway tracks, big railway stations and platforms, etc.⁴¹⁵ Also with the desirability of using every small vacant space for growing something edible. Further that two or three crops might be raised at the same time from the same plot of land.

3. I am sending these notes to all the Ministers for their consideration and such action as maybe feasible.

4. My own impression is that we spend too much on construction work. Apart from the actual construction, there is rather heavy expenditure on so-called amenities like air-conditioners. Sometimes two or three air-conditioners are put up in each room. All this increases the cost of structures greatly. Our standards appear to be American or Western European, although they hardly fit in with conditions in India. Japan is a much better example for us to learn from.

412. Note, 7 October, 1958, File No. 95/CF/58, Cabinet Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

413. President Rajendra Prasad went on an eight-day goodwill visit to Japan in the last week of September.

414. In his note of 6 October, Rajendra Prasad wrote that his impression about Japanese industry was "that greater emphasis is laid on the essential part than on that portion of the building which serves as a façade." He suggested that if their system was adopted, considerable saving in investment might be effected with consequent reduction in the cost of production and price of the article produced. In his view there was room for reducing investment on the building part of the factories both in the public and the private sectors in India. As regards investment on the residence of workers of all grades, he said it should not be treated as a part of investment on the industry, but an expenditure on social welfare.

415. Rajendra Prasad wrote, "There is not one inch more of land taken for the railways [in Japan] than is absolutely necessary for running them. For example... in the countryside, every inch right up to the rail track is cultivated. Their platforms are narrow and not very long. They do not believe in providing accommodation for large numbers of people waiting for trains on the platforms or in waiting rooms at railway stations. They prefer to run more trains so that no one has to wait long for a train. The platforms also are not very showy but are scrupulously clean and reasonably comfortable for the number of people expected to be on them."

5. Even in regard to schools, I have repeatedly said that we should save money on constructions.

6. It is more important for us to start the productive apparatus of the country functioning even though the buildings put up are not lasting. We can improve the buildings later. In West Germany, after the last war, plants were set right before anything else was done.

7. I would particularly invite the attention of the Ministers of Works, Housing & Supply,⁴¹⁶ Food & Agriculture⁴¹⁷ and Railways⁴¹⁸ to what the President has been pleased to say.

8. I am sending copies of these notes to Chief Ministers of States also.

251. To K.C. Reddy⁴¹⁹

October 11, 1958

My dear Reddy,⁴²⁰

During the Bank Conference in Delhi, our visitors from abroad had been much impressed by the Vigyan Bhavan and the Ashoka Hotel.⁴²¹ But a few of them have quietly pointed out that in some ways the work on both these big buildings lacked finish and indeed was slightly shoddy. The wood-work appeared to be cracking up and even the ceiling showed hasty work and faults were now appearing. I do not know about this, but I am merely passing this on to you so that your Engineers could examine this.

416. K.C. Reddy.

417. Ajit Prasad Jain.

418. Jagjivan Ram.

419. JN Collection.

420. Union Minister of Works, Housing & Supply.

421. Ashoka Hotel was built in 1956 by the Government of India as the first major hotel in the public sector.

G.D. Birla, who entertained the delegates and guests from abroad attending the bank conferences held from 6 to 10 October, wrote to Nehru on 9 October: "Often people form impressions not so much by the financial and the economic events as with the surroundings in which they work and the treatment that they receive. From this angle when the guests find themselves deliberating in a first-class Hall better than any they have in Washington, living in a hotel most modern and comfortable and observing the orderliness, the cleanliness and the consideration that they find in all our arrangements, naturally it indicates to them the reflection of the Indian mind."

The criticism was that while we can do very good work, we are apt to slacken and not finish it off properly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

252. To S.K. Patil⁴²²

14th October, 1958

My dear SK,⁴²³

Mulraj Kersondas⁴²⁴ spoke to me about another matter also today. I gather that he has discussed this with you some days or weeks ago. This is about a scheme for building flats on the marshy land from Sion Bridge right up to the aerodrome in Bombay. This would require filling in of that marshy land. This can easily be done now because of the scheme of the Communications Ministry to pull down some of the hill tops nearby. To use that earth in filling this place up would mean double saving.

Flats in Bombay, of course, are in great demand and any such scheme would undoubtedly serve a very useful purpose.

Mulraj thought that it would be a good thing if the Congressmen could take it up and it should not be difficult to raise the money for it.

I am no judge of these schemes, but *prima facie* what he said appeared to me to be worthwhile. Perhaps you could give some thought to this matter and discuss it with him and K.K. Shah.⁴²⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

422. JN Collection.

423. Union Minister of Transport and Communications and a Congress leader from Bombay.

424. An entrepreneur from Bombay.

425. President, Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

253. Construction of Jallianwala Bagh Memorial⁴²⁶

Shri Amrit Kaur⁴²⁷ briefly explained to the Chairman the circumstances in which it was proposed to allot to Messrs Dholpur Stone Agency the work for completion of the construction of the Memorial left over by the previous contractor who unfortunately died recently. She said that this was a firm of repute and was responsible for the execution of the stone work of the Supreme Court, Vigyan Bhavan and the multi-storeyed buildings⁴²⁸ at Queen Victoria Road. The firm was agreeable to undertake the entire building work on the same terms and conditions as were agreed to with the previous contractor. Shri Rijhwani⁴²⁸ said that this firm were the suppliers of stone for the construction of the buildings mentioned above and were not entrusted with the actual construction. He had, however, no objection to giving the work to them if the Architects were satisfied with their performance. This was accepted.

2. In the note circulated with the agenda, there was an item of expenditure of Rs 20,000/- on account of "a clerk of works and his assistant". The Chairman questioned the inclusion of this item in the statement of expenditure. Both Shri Mehandru⁴²⁹ and Shri Rijhwani explained that this was in accordance with the terms of the agreement and was the liability of the employer.

3. Shri Mehandru then briefly explained the reasons for an increase of Rs 2,63,859 in the estimated expenditure. The Chairman said that, since the original estimate of Rs 6 lakhs for the construction of the Memorial was sanctioned by the Cabinet, it would be necessary to obtain Cabinet's approval

426. Minutes of a meeting of the Construction Sub-Committee of the trustees of the Jallianwala Bagh National Memorial Trust, New Delhi, 16 October 1958. File No. G-28(A), AICC Papers, NMML. Extracts. Jawaharlal Nehru was the Chairman of the Trust.

The Jallianwala Bagh National Memorial Trust had approved the design of a martyrs' memorial in 1956. The design was prepared jointly by Benjamin Polk, an American architect, and T.R. Mehandru, an Indian architect.

427. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Trustee, Jallianwala Bagh National Memorial Trust.

428. J.M. Rijhwani; Chief Engineer, Central Public Works Department; member, Comfort Survey Committee on Low Cost Houses constituted under the Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply (National Buildings Organisation), August 1954; member, committee for planning measures against floods and similar calamities in Delhi, 1958; chairman, technical committee appointed by GOI to recommend measures for stabilising and augmenting Delhi's water supply, 1959.

429. T.R. Mehandru; architect and consulting engineer; practised as an architect in Lahore and later in Delhi.

to the revised estimate also and that in view of this increase in the estimate, the revised figures of expenditure should be carefully examined by Shri Rijhwani and a note prepared for submission to the Cabinet justifying the increase.

4. The Chairman then wanted to know the actual amount required for expenditure during the current financial year. It was pointed out that the payments so far made amounted to Rs 3 lakhs and that the Ministry of Scientific Research & Cultural Affairs had already made a budget provision of Rs 2 lakhs to meet requirements during the year. Shri Mehandru said that he needed a sum of Rs 4 lakhs during the remaining part of the year in order to ensure that the work was completed by the end of March 1959. The Chairman said, and the Committee agreed, that it would not be proper to make payments in excess of the amount of Rs 6 lakhs actually sanctioned. Shri Mehandru agreed that a payment of Rs 2 lakhs should be made for the present and that he would in the meantime reassess his actual requirements during the current financial year and then approach the Committee for more funds, if necessary. This he would do only after the additional expenditure of Rs 2,63,859 was sanctioned by the Cabinet. It was decided that the Ministry of Scientific Research & Cultural Affairs should be asked to place a sum of Rs 2 lakhs at the disposal of the Secretary, Jallianwala Bagh National Memorial Trust, to meet their immediate needs...⁴³⁰

Signed. S.C. Mukerji
Secretary

Signed. Jawaharlal Nehru
Chairman

254. To K.C. Reddy⁴³¹

October 21, 1958

My dear Reddy,

I have received a note from the Town Planning Organisation⁴³² on "Optimum Development of Central Secretariat Complex". I presume you have received a copy of this note also. If not, you should obtain it from the Town Planning Organisation or, rather, from the Health Ministry.

I have briefly looked into this note and, more especially, in their summing up. From this, it appears that we have to pay immediate attention to the proposed

430. The memorial was eventually built at a cost of Rs 9.25 lakhs.

431. File No. 2(175)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

432. The Town Planning Organisation was set up in December 1955 by the Government of India, Ministry of Health, and was placed under the administrative control of the Chairman, Delhi Improvement Trust.

expansion of the Central Vista.⁴³³ This has to be controlled, otherwise it will lead to all manner of complications. I should like to draw your particular attention to the suggestion and proposals made in this note, both in regard to having less density of population in some places, and greater density in other places which are thinly populated now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

255. Decoration of Public Spaces⁴³⁴

For some time past a kind of an arch has been put up at the meeting of Kitchner Road⁴³⁵ and Willingdon Crescent.⁴³⁶ Presumably, this was put up as some part of a decoration in honour of eminent visitors and guests from abroad.

2. Originally, this was some kind of a rather crude effort creating, I think, something fortlike effect. Lately, just before the President's return from Japan, the arch was covered with evergreens and it became a pleasing sight. Today I noticed with horror that the evergreens have been removed and the bare scaffolding of wood and bamboos has been left. On this stretches out a banner of welcome to the delegates of some conference that is going to take place.

3. I should like to know who is responsible for all this type of decoration on the roads and in particular for this arch. Why was a rather beautiful thing converted into something that is ugly and painful to look at? Even if the old greenery on the arch was fading, it was still a pleasing sight and would have continued to be so for a considerable time. In any event, to remove it and leave the bare wooden framework like some scaffolding is an extreme lack of wisdom. The fact that a banner of welcome is put up there does not add to the beauty of it.

433. The open spaces on both sides of Rajpath, the two-mile-long avenue from Rashtrapati Bhavan to India Gate.

434. Note to M.R.A. Baig, Chief of Protocol, MEA, 21 October 1958, File No. 2(285)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

435. Now Sardar Patel Marg.

436. Now Mother Teresa Crescent.

4. I should like you to be good enough to enquire into this. Either that framework should be covered quickly with evergreens again or it should be removed completely. The scaffolding should not be left. I might add that covering it with cloth or something is generally not desirable nor aesthetic. Nothing is more graceful and charming to the eyesight than greenery.

5. I find that in our decoration the importance of greenery is not adequately realised and it is considered that something of tinsel work is beautiful. I wish that the person in charge should develop a more artistic and aesthetic sense.

256. To K.N. Katju⁴³⁷

October 23, 1958

My dear Kailas Nath,⁴³⁸

I have received copies of letters that Kamta Prasad has addressed to you, about the construction of the new Secretariat and Vidhan Sabha Bhavan⁴³⁹ in Bhopal. I do not attach much importance to what Kamta Prasad says, but I do think that we should avoid putting up elaborate and showy buildings at this stage. I suppose you have considered this matter.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

437. JN Collection.

438. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

439. The Legislative Assembly hall.

(i) Health

257. Tuberculosis Control Programme⁴⁴⁰

Dr P.V. Benjamin⁴⁴¹ came to see me today, and I discussed with him the Tuberculosis control programme in India. Shri V.K.B. Pillai, Secretary of the Health Ministry, also sent me a note on the anti-Tuberculosis schemes under the Second Five Year Plan. From this note, it appears that certain equipment and machines were supplied earlier this year to a number of States. In many of these States, equipment is still lying in packing cases and unused. Of the 59 machines supplied, only 23 have been installed. This is a poor record which does not do credit to us or to the States.

2. I imagine that this delay in utilisation of these machines has been due to the lack of trained personnel. As always, what counts most is the trained individual, and not so much the machine. What steps then are we taking for such training?

3. I gather that the original scheme for T.B. control in India was estimated to cost Rs 117 lakhs. This involved foreign exchange for equipment for Rs 75 lakhs. WHO and UNICEF offered to give full equipment for this scheme, which apparently covered not only Rs 75 lakhs of foreign exchange, but probably Rs 10 lakhs or more. Thus, the original scheme of Rs 117 lakhs was reduced by Rs 75 lakhs to Rs 42 lakhs. This now involved no foreign exchange.

4. But WHO insisted that there should be a T.B. National Training Centre to train persons to man the clinics which we were establishing—doctors, public health nurses, laboratory technicians, X-ray specialists, etc. Such a Training Centre is estimated to cost about Rs 30 lakhs. This figure includes the running expenses till the end of the Second Plan.

5. Thus, the present position is that if we agree to what WHO says, this will mean an expenditure of Rs 72 lakhs for this scheme by the Government of

440. Note to D.P. Karmarkar, Union Minister of State for Health, 1 September 1958. File No. 28/57/58-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

441. (1896-1972); physician and Tuberculosis expert; medical superintendant, Union Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Arogyavaram (Gift of Health), Chittoor, Andhra Pradesh; Tuberculosis Adviser to the Government of India, 1947-62; Technical Adviser to the Tuberculosis Association of India; first Indian physician to receive Sir Robert Philip Memorial Medal given by the Council of the British National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis; co-editor, *The Indian Journal of Tuberculosis*.

India (involving no foreign exchange) and Rs 75 to Rs 85 lakhs of equipment supplied by WHO and UNICEF. The amount we spend is considerably less than Rs 117 lakhs in the original scheme, and involves no foreign exchange.

6. It is not clear to me why this matter has got held up. This means not only that we cannot take advantage of the generous offer of WHO and UNICEF, but the whole scheme is postponed. Because of the lack of trained people also our existing equipment is not being used in many States.

7. I should like to know why this delay is taking place and why we cannot expedite this scheme and take advantage of the offer of WHO and UNICEF.

8. I am addressing the States where equipment has been sent and has not yet been installed, and enquiring from them why they have failed to take advantage of it.

258. To D.P. Karmarkar⁴⁴²

September 1, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,

I saw Dr Benjamin today. As a result of the talk I had with him, and the paper which Pillai sent me, I have written a note⁴⁴³ to you. I am also communicating with the States which have received equipment and have not used it yet.

I wish these matters should not be held up. We must come to decisions rapidly in everything that we take up. If we cannot do something, we should say so.

I was rather distressed to find that Dr Benjamin was very frustrated. In fact, he said he had practically nothing to do and had indicated his desire to go back to South India. As I wrote to you previously, I have a high regard for Dr Benjamin. Indeed, he has a very considerable international reputation. It would be a pity for us to lose him. There was some talk of giving him some kind of an extension for a year.⁴⁴⁴ There does not appear to me any particular point in an extension for a year when he is in the middle of a scheme. Some time ago, the Cabinet decided that extensions of this type to scientists and experts should normally be for two years. I think that Dr Benjamin should be assured that we want him here till the end of the Second Five Year Plan. It is only then that we

442. File No. 28/57/58-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

443. See item 257.

444. The retirement age of Government officials at the time was 55 years.

can expect good work from him. If he is uncertain of his future, he cannot do much continuous work.

Our Scientific Departments and Health Ministry have to deal with high class scientists and experts. They are a class apart from our Administrative Service. They are much rarer than the administrators. We have to take advantage of them to the utmost extent because, as a matter of fact, they are not easily replaceable.⁴⁴⁵ We lack first-class men in that respect. We can only get good work out of them if we give them full opportunity to do it and treat them with consideration. The whole purpose of our scientific policy resolution⁴⁴⁶ was this. It is unfortunate that a man like Benjamin should feel unhappy and frustrated and want to leave his work here. Any international organisation would gladly pick him up if it had the chance.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

259. Eradication of Malaria⁴⁴⁷

I welcome this little book on the eradication of Malaria.⁴⁴⁸ Our country suffers from many diseases which take their toll of lives from year to year. Gradually, the fight against them progresses, and their incidence decreases. The rapid lowering of our death rate is evidence of the success we are achieving in public health and our struggle against disease. A time will come, I hope, when we shall have abolished these major diseases from India.

Malaria may not appear to be as frightful as some other diseases which act more swiftly. But, perhaps, it has been more widespread, more far-reaching

445. Recommending two years' extension for S.P. Sinha, Chief Director of the National Sample Survey, Nehru stated in a note to the Cabinet Secretary on 5 October 1958: "It is clear that if Shri S.P. Sinha is really an expert at his work, which is of a highly technical kind, then there can be no question of his retirement whatever the age. I thought we had made this quite clear in the Cabinet." S.P. Sinha was being asked to retire having attained the age of fifty-six. In fact he retired in September 1957 but was re-employed. For Nehru's letter of 1 November 1957 to the then Cabinet Secretary regarding Sinha's extension, see SWJN/SS/40/pp. 306-307.

446. Nehru presented the Government's Scientific Policy Resolution of 4 March 1958 in the Lok Sabha on 13 March 1958.

447. Message, 1 September 1958. JN Collection.

448. Dr D.K. Viswanathan, *The Conquest of Malaria: An Indo-American Cooperative Effort* (Madras: Company Institute Press, 1958).

and has affected a larger number of people than any other disease. It lowers the vitality of a nation and its capacity for work and progress. It has been, and is, one of our most formidable problems. I think that one of the major victories of our post-independence period has been the success we have attained in the progressive eradication of Malaria from various parts of India. The National Malaria Control Programme of India⁴⁴⁹ started in 1952, and gradually gathered momentum by 1955. In this brief period since then, the results achieved have been significant. I look forward to the day, not far distant, when this programme of the eradication of Malaria will be completed, and the people of India will free themselves from this scourge.

260. Cable to Walter Nash⁴⁵⁰

Thank you for your letter of 23rd September⁴⁵¹ and your offer to make a further capital grant this year of the order of about £100,000 to assist in the completion of the Institute of Medical Sciences in Delhi.

2. We are grateful for this offer and will put up a formal request in the usual manner for further Colombo Plan assistance for the Institute of Medical Sciences.

449. In 1952, the Scientific Advisory Board of the Indian Council of Medical Research supported the Malaria Control Programme recommended by the Bhore Committee in 1946. The programme was launched in April 1953 by the Malaria Institute of India with the cooperation of the World Health Organisation, UNICEF, Rockefeller Foundation, Technical Cooperation Mission (USA) and State malariologists. In 1958, the objective of the programme was changed from control to total eradication of malaria.

450. 9 October 1958. JN Collection.

451. Walter Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand, had made the offer after visiting the All India Institute of Medical Sciences in March 1958.

261. To M.D.D. Gilder⁴⁵²

October 15, 1958

My dear Gilder,⁴⁵³

I have your letter of October 14. I do not quite know what message to send you for your Institute of Scientific Studies for the Prevention of Alcoholism. It seems to me that the best way to approach this subject is through scientific studies. A mere sentimental approach does not take one far. Therefore, I am glad that this scientific approach is being made, and I hope it will yield success.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(j) Science and Technology

262. Understanding Scientific Advances⁴⁵⁴

Mr Chairman, friends,

I was wondering how far any of you assembled here, apart from a very few experts sitting on the table or perhaps elsewhere, could write a little essay on radar or indeed could write even a page about it in an understanding and illuminating way. My colleague, Mr S.K. Patil,⁴⁵⁵ has confessed that he does not know much about it. I associate myself with him in that confession.

It is extraordinary how today we utilise scientific advances and take them almost for granted, without understanding them in the least. It shows that scientific advance is going far ahead of normal human understanding. After all, scientific advance comes from the human mind; it does not drop down from heaven but comes from the human mind and it spreads to others who take advantage of that. But the fact is that the great mass of humanity, which lives

452. JN Collection.

453. Physician from Bombay actively associated with the cause of temperance.

454. Speech while commissioning a storm-warning radar near Safdarjung Airport, New Delhi, 13 September 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

The Raytheon Radar unit, provided by the US Technical Cooperation Mission, could forecast storms four hours in advance.

455. S.K. Patil, the Union Minister of Transport and Communications.

in this scientific age and takes advantage of it, has no real grasp of these achievements of science. Hence I suppose the difficulties that have arisen, the difficulties of our adapting ourselves mentally to this scientific age; physically we try to do so, not mentally, hence the difficulties of scientific advances being used, or the threat of their use, for human destruction on a wide scale. After all, a scientific advance means a peep into nature's ways and understanding of nature, a utilisation of nature's forces, or nature's great power. We don't produce something out of nothing; it is only that we discover more and more some aspects of this tremendous and manifold variety of nature.

What is radar?—A means of communication. Suppose you have to write a history of the growth of communications in the world from the very beginning. Probably, it will be not only a fascinating story, but it will give us a little greater insight into history, and what we normally read about long succession of kings and generals and dates and battles. I hope that history now largely ignores the kings and the generals and the battles, and thinks of the other achievements of the human race, the great achievements through which man has gradually advanced, gradually gained some understanding of nature and utilised that understanding for his own advancement.

The story of communications, I do not know where to begin. But I suppose one of the earliest things was a very common thing—a wheel. But just imagine that man, that great genius who invented the wheel. When there had been no wheel ever, he invented the wheel. These are basic and tremendous discoveries which have really affected human history, like the discovery of fire, and so many other things, which everyone takes for granted. It is easier now to make advances in science step by step on the basis of what we have got, far easier than the discovery of wheel, than the discovery of fire and how to use fire, than the discovery of agriculture, how to grow these things from mother earth. Or let us come to another field, the tremendous field of mathematics, which is so closely associated with scientific advance, and with any understanding of the physical world today. How did mathematics, well, find its way, if I may say so? Now, can you imagine mathematics advancing if we have to deal always with what are called Roman numerals? Terrible! If you deal with Roman numerals, you could never even do a big sum of addition or some other sum easily. Then some genius arose who invented what is now known as the international form of numerals, which, you perhaps know well enough, arose in India. Take the other great genius who first had the conception of zero. It is a tremendous conception which changed the whole face of human numerical and mathematical thinking. We don't know who he was, except that the conception arose in India. Some Indian genius of old time also invented the basis of the decimal system, out of which it grew.

Well, I have said that so far as communications go, one might for the moment call the inventor of the wheel the great scientist who gave the push to communications. Then there was a tremendous lag, the wheel remained a wheel and nothing more happened. The only power that the wheel had was either human power pushing or pulling it, or later, trained animals, domesticated animals pushing or pulling it. And probably for thousands of years the fastest means of communication was a horse. You could ride it or could pull some kind of a carriage. Riding probably was fastest; that was the fastest way of sending a message.

Now, look at this long period of history, thousands of years, when essentially human beings depended on the wheel on the one side, or on the horse, horsepower in the real sense of the word. And no other progress was made in that direction. Then, long afterwards, came steam and then came electricity, and then various other developments which we know so well, and the telegraph and telephone through electricity and the wireless and the radio and so on and so forth and ultimately, and at least ultimately up till now, the radar. So this is a series of developments in communications. We think today of the radar as a very useful thing. It found its origin in war, under the stresses and strains of war, and it was immediately adapted to the uses of peace.

I have no doubt that this will develop even more or other ways of utilising nature's forces and energy will be found because the pace of change and the pace of advance today is very, very fast. We don't have to wait for 2,000 years for manpower or horsepower to give place to some other power, steam power or electric power and various atomic powers. If we are advancing at this terrific pace, advancing so fast and advancing through the human mind but advancing so fast that the vast multitude of human minds are left behind, we cannot grasp the significance of these things. Of course, their use may get into railway train or aircraft or we may use the radar, or use so many other things, without really understanding the rationale of it or the pace of it. If we are to progress, we cannot progress without knowing the reason behind things, not merely just reading some kind of a simple explanation in a pamphlet or a book and getting hold of some broad generalisations, but understanding the real reason behind the particular scientific development, so that we might ourselves carry a stage further and adapt gradually our life to this changing scene in science. These are big questions and I merely mentioned them to you because even in the brief period I sat here thinking of what to say to you, these ideas occurred to me.

Well, here we are any way at the installation of this radar set which is going to be of great use no doubt to our pilots, aircraft and our meteorological department, which fulfil such a useful function both in leading and misleading

people. Fortunately people do not rely upon it too much; therefore, they cannot be misled too much. However, with the help of this radar, the element of misleading will grow less and less, and the lead given or the information given will be much more accurate and helpful, certainly for our pilots, and certainly it does not matter if we get rain or not but it does matter a very great deal whether a pilot and his aircraft get tied up or get in trouble because of storms and clouds.⁴⁵⁶ So we welcome this, and I am thankful to the Technical Cooperation Mission, who have kindly presented this to us, and I hope that our engineers and others will not only use it, not only understand it, but understand the inner significance of such things, so that further advances in the progress of radar, or other scientific achievements, will be done by them in common with other scientists in the world. And I now presume, I shall press a button and something will happen.

263. Production of Heavy Water⁴⁵⁷

I have just, at midnight, received a letter from Dr Homi Bhabha⁴⁵⁸ with a note attached. I am sending this on to you. As I am leaving early tomorrow morning for Bhutan, I want you to deal with this matter.

From this letter and note I find that the Planning Commission and the Department of Economic Affairs are doubtful about the need for heavy water production. I had not heard of this previously and I took it for granted that it had been finally decided for us to produce heavy water. The project indeed was a joint one—for heavy water and fertiliser. If this matter was being considered afresh, I might have been informed. Apart from my interest in this, I am supposed to be in charge of this department of Atomic Energy.⁴⁵⁹

The note that Dr Homi Bhabha, Dr Krishnan⁴⁶⁰ and Shri Thapar⁴⁶¹ have sent jointly states the case for our producing heavy water concisely and I need

456. The country's first radar—the British Decca—was installed at Dum Dum Airport in Calcutta in September 1954. Another radar station had also been opened at Santa Cruz Airport in Bombay.

457. Note to Vishnu Sahay, the Cabinet Secretary, 15 September 1958. JN Collection.

458. Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission of India, and Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, Government of India.

459. Nehru was Minister of Atomic Energy from August 1954.

460. K.S. Krishnan, Member, Atomic Energy Commission of India. He was also the Director, National Physical Laboratory of India, at this time.

461. Prem Nath Thapar, Member for Finance and Administration, Atomic Energy Commission, and Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India.

not add anything to it. It is obvious that our entire atomic energy programme largely depends upon the production of heavy water. If this is not undertaken, that programme will not only suffer and be delayed, but we shall have to spend much larger sums of money to buy heavy water from abroad. Further we shall continue to be dependent on others.

It seems to me therefore that there is no escape for us in this matter and we have inevitably to proceed with our project for the production of heavy water.

In Dr Bhabha's letter it is stated that an offer by Linde⁴⁶² is remarkably good and this offer is only open till the 30th September. I cannot judge of this offer and I have to take Dr Bhabha's word for it. In any event we have to accept the advice of our experts in such matters. For us to allow a good offer to lapse would be most unfortunate. If we are to proceed with our atomic energy developments, as the Planning Commission decided on the last occasion it considered it when I was present, we have to abide by the advice of our experts. It is opposed to all canons of good sense to have such experts and then override their advice in matters of which only they are the real judges. Naturally the financial aspect has to be considered and is important. But even this appears to be in favour of their proposal.

Will you please take up this matter with the Planning Commission and the Department of Economic Affairs?

I am writing this note after midnight as I shall be leaving in the early morning.⁴⁶³ I shall not return till October 2nd. It is obvious that it might be too late then if the time for the acceptance of the offer is September 30. Hence the need for early action.⁴⁶⁴

462. A German engineering company.

463. Nehru left for Bhutan on the morning of 16 September.

464. Nehru reassured Homi Bhabha on 13 September: "I was rather surprised to read in it about the doubts that had arisen in regard to the Heavy Water plant. I have immediately referred this to the Cabinet Secretary and asked him to take it up with both the Planning Commission and the Department of Economic Affairs. I agree with you that we should proceed with this plant."

264. To K. Kamaraj Nadar⁴⁶⁵

October 9, 1958

My dear Kamaraj,⁴⁶⁶

Your letter of September 27 came when I was away in Bhutan. Hence the delay in replying. This letter deals with the establishment of an atomic power station in Madras State.

I shall, of course, forward your letter to Dr Bhabha, but for the present and for some time to come, we shall have to go rather slow with these atomic power stations. The first station,⁴⁶⁷ in the nature of things, will be rather experimental. The site chosen for it will have to be from the point of view of the greatest advantage. Once we get going with one station, then, of course, it will be easier to put them up in other places.

Meanwhile, even the financing of the first station is not an easy matter. But we certainly propose to go ahead with it.⁴⁶⁸

As I have said above, I am sending your letter to Dr Bhabha.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

465. File No. 17(278)/57-60-PMS.

466. Chief Minister of Madras.

467. India's first atomic power station was set up at Tarapur in Bombay.

468. Union Home Minister Govind Ballabh Pant announced at Trivandrum on 27 October that the Government of India was planning to establish an atomic power station in Madras State.

265. To R.R. Diwakar⁴⁶⁹

October 11, 1958

My dear Diwakar,⁴⁷⁰

Your letter of the 9th October about C.V. Raman's Institute.⁴⁷¹ Raman has not mentioned this matter to me at any time, as far as I can remember. It is clear to me, however, that his Institute, worthy of support as it is, cannot be helped by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.⁴⁷² Apart from this, as you know, we have no large sums left at our disposal in the Nidhi.

I do not think that the Raman Institute will suffer for lack of money. That is to say, it is a charge on Government. The real thing is how far it will function adequately after Raman has gone, from the point of view of eminent persons running it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

266. Message to the Mysore Serum Institute⁴⁷³

I send my good wishes to the Mysore Serum Institute on the completion of its twenty-five years of work and service. This work is of great importance to the country. People in India are reputed to be kind and gentle to animals. That is so. But, at the same time, they are also rather callous about them. Sentiment takes the place of organised knowledge and care. It is through the scientific approach alone that we can deal with these problems.

469. File No. 17(284)58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

470. Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Trust).

471. Diwakar reported that Raman, having turned 70, was anxious about his legacy and wanted an endowment fund of about Rs 25 lakhs for the Research Institute he had founded in Bangalore in 1948. He had already poured into it the monies of both his Nobel Prize (1930) and the Lenin Peace Prize (1957). Diwakar had explained to Raman why the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi could not help.

472. Nehru was a founder-trustee of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, established by the Indian National Congress in 1948 to promote the constructive activities with which Mahatma Gandhi was associated, and generally his ideals.

473. 16 October 1958. JN Collection.

The Mysore Serum Institute is now called the Institute of Animal Health and Veterinary Biologicals and is located in Bangalore.

267. Transition to the Technological Age in India⁴⁷⁴

Industrial Growth—Prime Minister's Appraisal "Insatiable Need for Engineers"

Hyderabad, Oct. 25. Prime Minister Nehru said here today that with the ushering in of the atomic age they were in the midst of "revolutionary upsurges" for which they needed great qualities.

The Prime Minister, who was laying the foundation stone of a new building for the Hyderabad Polytechnic at Amberpet this morning, explained that he did not use the word "revolution" in a narrow sense of "breaking heads" but in the larger sense of human development and betterment. Mr Nehru made it clear that "the ultimate need for engineers in India is insatiable". "We are getting into the habit of thinking in terms of giant schemes which appeal to the sense of importance and growth, but thousands of smaller schemes may be of greater benefit to India", the Prime Minister said. "However there was essentially no conflict between the two".

Mr Nehru said he was naturally interested in this type of institution anywhere in India and added humorously that he was asked by the organisers to do something, which he did not normally do. He did not remember having done it on any other occasion. That was to agree to become the Chief Patron of the institution. "What that means, I do not know", he remarked amidst laughter and added, "possibly it shows one's goodwill for, association with and appreciation for the institution".

Referring to the doubts expressed by the Chief Minister, Mr Sanjiva Reddi, about absorbing the trained personnel that would come out of the Institute, for the reason that there were no big plans of industrial development in the State, the Prime Minister said this "is rather a limited view. There are some things which can be absorbed, in whatever the quantity it is produced in India in the near future. For instance, power is one such [thing]. It will not only be absorbed, it will not be sufficient. A few years ago, I remember calculations being made about the Hirakud and the Damodar Valley projects whether all the power produced would be utilised. Our engineers making these calculations found

474. Report of speech while laying the foundation stone of the Hyderabad Polytechnic. Hyderabad, 25 October 1958. *The Hindu*, 26 October 1958.

The polytechnic had been started with a donation of Rs 50,000 and seven acres of land by Akbar Ali Khan, Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Andhra Pradesh.

that even long before the power was there, it was totally insufficient for the needs of that area because the hunger for power is so great all over India that you cannot satisfy it even within the course of the next generation. In fact, it is because of that hunger and the utter need for power that my friend and colleague, Dr Bhabha, talks about supplementing it with atomic power."

"This is indeed a power age", the Prime Minister continued. "I think it is someone, probably Mr Henry Ford, who said that our modern material civilisation is entirely dependent and has grown with the growth of power resources. Power is one thing of which you can never have enough in this country no matter what you do. If power is going to grow in India as it must, then the people who organise that power must necessarily grow. It is inevitable. The engineers and the like are necessary".

"We talk about industrialisation. We are in for it inevitably and I think rightly. Industrialisation means above all engineers, not so much as even the administrators, though administrators are required. Really speaking, even the administrator will have to be normally the engineer. So, the ultimate need for engineers in India is insatiable. We cannot fulfill it. It does not matter how many polytechnics and institutions you start in India; but still you are likely to fall short. Of course, it may be difficult sometimes to fit in everybody due to lack of adequate planning for the whole of India. But the basic fact is that it does not matter how many engineers you produce in India. They will ultimately fall short of the needs of the country".

Census of Engineers

"About two or three years ago, a census was taken of engineers. To our surprise we found that there were 72,000 engineers in India of various grades. It was a fair number. I did not expect so many. Then we calculated how many we were likely to require in regard to our Five-Year Plan. This is what is called perspective planning. We found that if we want to go ahead, as we want to in our planning to build up industries in India, we will require a far larger number of engineers than we are producing or are likely to produce in the near future. In the last two or three years, I know a large number of institutions of various kinds have been started in many parts of India and old institutions have been expanded. Do not be afraid that work will be lacking for properly trained personnel. It may be, of course, that some kind of employment is not offered to you on a platter of silver or gold. At the moment, it is not easy always to fit in thousands. But no doubt trained personnel in these lines will have plenty to do not only in the various Government undertakings that will inevitably grow, but otherwise too. "We are entering pretty fast the industrial age. It is really a new age in this

country. It does not take place suddenly. But it is taking place at a fair speed in this country. It involves various things—growth of industry and the teaching apparatus, schools, colleges and universities, fitting in with the industrial age—not giving up other essentials of education, like cultural, literary values, character building and the like. The fact remains that we are entering a new age, which in India is a scientific, technological and industrial age.”

“We may perhaps find lack of employment for some time among those who are not technically trained in India. But you will not find any lack of employment for those who are technically trained in future. Anyhow, we are entering this new age with all its new possibilities, promises, and its risks and dangers. There have to be risks and dangers in the shift-over to the new type of industrial life. I realise, however, that the vast majority of the peasantry will take a mighty long time to shift-over to the new age. Parts of them will go into this, but millions of people are not going to change over suddenly. A large number of them in India are already changing over and they are the catalytic agents to change the temper and atmosphere in the country. That will affect our agriculture and small industries.

“While we talk about our great big schemes, every State would like to have as much of them as possible. The fact remains that while the big schemes are very important, nevertheless it is the vast number of small schemes that will make a difference to the face of India and not a few big ones. I refer to small irrigation projects and small industries spread out in towns and villages. It will make a greater difference to the country than the mighty schemes, although the mighty schemes are symbolic and important. We are getting into the habit of thinking in terms of giant schemes which appeal to the sense of importance and growth. Nevertheless, most certainly, thousands of smaller schemes may be of greater benefit to India than one Bhakra-Nangal Dam. Really there is no conflict between the two. I do want to lay stress on these small schemes, whether it is irrigation or power. In every hill, there are water resources, which could be converted into electric power for serving half a dozen villages. It is very extraordinary that we, who have been trained in Gandhiji’s time to think in terms of decentralised small industries, jump over to big giant schemes and skip over all the small schemes. Let us think of the innumerable small schemes, which we can implement with no foreign exchange, our own personnel, our own experts and our own resources. All the hills can be dotted with small electric plants for serving one or more villages without much expenditure. If we think in these terms of tens of thousands of these small plants of various types, small industries growing within the country, we see an enormous future for the persons coming out of the polytechnics. You cannot wait for the Andhra Pradesh Government to find jobs for them. A man who does that is no good as

he had not the essential qualities. This waiting for jobs—I do not say there is anything dishonourable about it—is rather pathetic and not very encouraging.

Need to Keep Pace with World

“We are on the threshold of a new industrial age when in large parts of the world, it is merging with the atomic power age. We have to keep pace with it too. We are very behind in the development of atomic energy. And by and large we are pretty good in our atomic science and production of atomic energy for civil purposes. We are standing at a revolutionary moment in the history of the world. First of all, we gained independence, but that paved the way for releasing the great energies of the nation for advancement, social, industrial and economic. We are advancing, stumbling sometimes, falling down and getting up and going further again. We are in the midst of revolutionary surges in the world—I use the word not in the narrow sense of a revolution in which heads are broken but in the new sense of atomic energy or industrial revolution, a bigger revolution. In order to keep pace with it we require many qualities. Only a first rate national with a first rate mind, discipline and capacity to work can keep pace with it. It is quite essential in this age to have scientists and technicians in vast numbers to change the temper of the country. All institutions that help in this are not only to be welcomed but they also fulfil the vital needs of the country.”

268. To Humayun Kabir⁴⁷⁵

October 31, 1958

My dear Humayun,⁴⁷⁶

Your letter of the 31st October about technical terms in Hindi.⁴⁷⁷ I entirely agree with what you have written. I wish that some procedure might be adopted to revise these terms.

475. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

476. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

477. Humayun Kabir wrote:

“The Cabinet Secretariat has circulated a list of technical terms in Hindi along with its memorandum No. 197/CF/50 dated the 4th October, 1958. Since the terms have been completed according to prescribed procedure, I have no comments on this particular act.

I however thought I would write to you as the question of technical terms is closely linked up with the progress of scientific education and research in the country and a state has perhaps been reached when the position needs to be reviewed. When the Board of

As for my referring to this in my inaugural address, you will have to remind me at the time or a little before it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Scientific Terminology was set up, it was agreed that international scientific terms need not be translated. Translations would be made only in the case of terms which are not international or where the terms are also used in common speech. The various committees have by and large followed this principle but there is a great deal of variation in actual implementation. I had given the present set of terms to [M.S.] Thacker [Secretary, Scientific Research, GOI] and he said that in some cases the proposed terms were difficult for even a Hindi-knowing person like him. Some committees have laid greater emphasis on transliteration and some on translation.

As I have gone round the country and visited different National Laboratories and scientific institutions, I have felt more and more concerned in the matter. Progress in science today depends not so much on text books or even on standard works as on the journals and research papers that are being published throughout the world. According to UNESCO estimates, about 50% of the total research papers published in the world are in English with German and Russian competing for the second and third place with about 18% in each language. As such knowledge of English is quite indispensable for scientific research and every ambitious student must in addition know some German and Russian. Fortunately, the scientific terms and the formulae are largely common and are increasingly becoming so.

We have to think of our terminology in this background. If our boys and girls learn a different set of terms in school, they will have to learn over again terms which are in use in European languages as soon as they come to college, and even more so when they are in a position to read research publications. Apart from the duplication of effort involved in this, there will also be this disadvantage that terms which are learnt in childhood and adolescence become a part of the mental make-up of a young man or woman while terms which are learnt after adolescence will always remain comparatively alien and [un]familiar. There is also the point that though these scientific and technical terms are intended primarily for Hindi, they should find acceptance in other parts of the country. If the major languages of India could agree at least upon common terms in scientific and technical matters, one of the major difficulties in transfer of students and teachers from one University to another would be lessened.

Since the major advances in science in recent [centuries] have been in European countries it seems to me that we will have to adopt terms which are in common use in Europe. I think the Science Congress has also been concerned over this question of terminology and teaching of science in schools and colleges. May I respectfully suggest that in your inaugural address, you may ask them to pay some attention to this problem which is assuming greater importance every day? [The 46th annual session of the Indian Science Congress opened in Delhi on 21 January 1959.]”

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) Pakistan

269. Agenda for Talks with the Prime Minister of Pakistan¹

I have read your note² and the other papers attached to it. The various issues are rather complicated. In regard to some of them, I have clear ideas. In regard to others, I should like to consider them more thoroughly.

2. It will hardly be possible for the two Prime Ministers to consider these numerous border disputes on the East and the West in the course of their two-day meetings. I do not quite know how we should proceed about these then. It might be preferable to deal with as many of the relatively minor disputes as possible first, and then proceed to the major border disputes. You will, of course, prepare a full list of these disputes for the PMs' meeting.

3. Reading through your papers, it seems to me clear that the most we can hope for at the PMs' meeting is settlement of some minor disputes. The major ones will remain. I think that we should agree to a reference of all unsettled border disputes to some kind of a tribunal.

4. We should determine the kind of tribunal we shall have, the status and level of it. It should presumably be a high level tribunal, that is, either Supreme Court or High court judges. How will we choose the third judge? It is easy to say that the third person should be chosen by the Indian and Pakistani representatives on the tribunal. But they are not likely to agree to either an Indian or a Pakistani being the third judge. Are we then to bring in an outsider? This fact should be considered by us.

5. I agree that a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee should take place before the Prime Minister of Pakistan comes here.³ The next few days

1. Note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 3 September 1958. JN Collection.
2. M.J. Desai led an Indian delegation to Karachi from 30 August to 2 September to discuss the agenda for Nehru's forthcoming meeting with Pakistan Prime Minister Firoz Khan Noon in New Delhi. He reported on 3 September that Pakistanis were utterly rigid about the western border, fearing domestic criticism in case of any concessions and wanted the joint communiqué to mention the principle of the reference of unresolved disputes to an impartial tribunal.
3. Desai asked whether Nehru wanted a prior meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet and to invite Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, the Minister for Irrigation and Power, since Noon would also raise the canal waters and the Kashmir disputes. "Actually, the latter are, to my mind, the principal reasons for his visit," Desai added.

are very full for me. Perhaps, we could meet on Saturday, the 6th September (which is presumably a holiday, Janam Ashtami) at about 3 p.m. or 3.30 p.m. I have an important engagement at 5.30 p.m.

6. The only other possible day is Monday. I have an engagement at 5 p.m. We could possibly meet at 3.30 p.m. that day, if the other members of the Foreign Affairs Committee are free. We should especially try to meet the convenience of the Home Minister.⁴ Please find out from him which of these two times would suit him and then fix it.

7. You should send a copy of your note to the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee. I do not think it is necessary to send all the minutes of your meetings to them.

8. The Minister for Irrigation & Power should be invited to the meeting.

9. I do not myself see how canal waters and Kashmir disputes can be brought up for discussion. As it is, the time is limited even for the border disputes.

10. There are two other minor points to be considered. Who is to meet the Prime Ministers of Pakistan apart from me? Possibly, he might like to have some separate talks with me. But, when we are discussing border disputes, it will be necessary to have others.

11. Where are we to meet? If a number of people have to meet, with papers, etc., we should have a round table discussion. I could arrange this at my house.

270. To B.P. Chaliha⁵

September 8, 1958

My dear Chaliha,⁶

I have received your telegram of today's date, in which you say that you have been visiting the Assam-East Pakistan boundary in Cachar district. You suggest again that we should take steps to capture Tokergram.⁷

I can well appreciate your feeling in this matter. But I wish you would also appreciate the realities of the situation. Tokergram is so situated that it would

4. Govind Ballabh Pant.

5. JN Collection.

6. Chief Minister of Assam.

7. Pakistani troops had occupied the Indian village of Tokergram (on Kushiya river) during the night of 6-7 August 1958. Tokergram changed hands several times during the following three weeks.

require a major military effort and practically an invasion force to capture it. Any such attempt would inevitably bring about a state of military conflict all along the border, perhaps, in a big way.

As you know, I am meeting the Prime Minister of Pakistan tomorrow and going to have talks with him for two days. It is obvious that we cannot take military action in this way while I am meeting him.⁸ What we do afterwards will depend on conditions then existing. Even so, I doubt much if it will be right for us to make this major military effort about Tokergram. Its situation is such that even if we occupy it, it is difficult to defend. It does not provide a natural boundary at all. We cannot, because of sentiment or what is called public resentment, take a step which may be very harmful to Assam's interests as well as those of India.

I hope you will appreciate this and explain it privately to others.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

271. Export of Groundnut Seeds to East Pakistan⁹

I have seen these papers.¹⁰ I think that in the balance, it would be advisable to supply some groundnut seeds to East Pakistan as a special case. The question of future competition does not seem to me important at this stage. Perhaps, therefore, the Minister of Food & Agriculture¹¹ will consider this matter afresh.

8. M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, in his note of 3 September 1958 on his meetings with Pakistan officials in Karachi, reported that he had pointed out to M.S.A. Baig, Pakistan Foreign Secretary, the seriousness of the Pakistani action in Tokergram and the need to undo it before the Prime Ministers' meeting. Baig agreed but Desai had his doubts.
9. Note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 8 September 1958. File No. 34-7/58-Pak II, MEA.
10. On 21 August 1958, the Pakistan High Commission had asked for 10,000 maunds of groundnut seeds for sowing in East Bengal. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture recommended declining the request. M.J. Desai pointed out, in his note of 8 September, that Pakistan had periodically asked for this since 1951, that India had granted permission in 1955, 1956, and 1957, but they had not actually imported the groundnut seeds in those years. Desai recommended reconsideration.
11. A.P. Jain, Minister for Food and Agriculture, agreed on 11 September to permit export of 6,000 maunds of groundnut seeds to Pakistan.

272. To Humayun Kabir¹²

September 9, 1958

My dear Humayun,¹³

I have your letter of today's date about Mr Jinnah's house in Bombay.¹⁴ I cannot take action suggested by you without the Cabinet's approval. As a matter of fact, the Cabinet considered this matter previously and, as far as I remember, was opposed to any such step by us.¹⁵ I cannot, therefore, go against the Cabinet decision arrived at in this way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

273. Talks with Firoz Khan Noon¹⁶

In the course of my talk with the Prime Minister of Pakistan today, I asked him if he was thinking of going to New York this year for the UN General Assembly session.¹⁷ He replied that he had no such intention. There was not anything of special interest to Pakistan during this session and he had no intention of bringing up subjects like Kashmir and Canal Waters. He did not at all like the idea of having these subjects discussed there and mutual recrimination taking place. He felt that we should deal directly with each other instead of going to the United Nations or elsewhere.

2. In this connection, he said that Pakistan had spent a lot of money—I think he said it was five million dollars—over this Canal Waters case in Washington, etc. It would have been much better if we had dealt directly with each other instead of wasting this money as well as time.

12. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

13. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

14. To produce a good effect during Noon's forthcoming visit, Humayun Kabir had proposed gifting M.A. Jinnah's house in Bombay to Pakistan, as recommended more than once by C.C. Desai, the outgoing High Commissioner of India in Pakistan.

15. Nehru had proposed the gift on 7 March 1955, but the Cabinet was divided. See SWJN/SS/28/p. 595 and SWJN/SS/31/pp. 375-376.

16. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, Defence Minister, N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, and M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 10 September 1958. JN Collection.

17. The 13th Session of the UN General Assembly opened in New York on 16 September 1958.

3. In this connection, he expressed the hope that we shall be able to come to some arrangement in the near future about Canal Waters. He referred to the new proposals which had been sent to us, and he hoped that I would look into them.¹⁸

4. There was no other reference to Kashmir or Canal Waters in the course of our conversations.

5. He said that he had wanted to talk to me about foreign affairs generally, but we had had no time. We had about ten minutes conversation after lunch today, in which we discussed briefly the Arab World, President Nasser, Lebanon and Jordan. He said that the obstructions put in the way of the Arabs by the Western countries, and more especially the propaganda against Nasser, etc., had the opposite effect and brought the Arabs together. If the Arabs were left to themselves, they would probably fall out, more especially, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya would not like to be under Nasser's domination.

6. I told him that my own impression was that the UAR or Egypt or President Nasser had been playing a very moderating role, more especially recently, and they wanted to settle down. They had not been very keen even on the union with Syria. They were certainly not keen now on a union with Iraq or Jordan at this stage. Of course, they wanted close and cooperative relations with them. As for Lebanon, no important person in Egypt or Lebanon was keen on a union, which would produce complications in the Lebanon because of the Christian population there.

7. He said that the moment British troops were withdrawn from Jordan, King Husein would collapse.

274. Offer of Rice from Pakistan¹⁹

As I told you, the Prime Minister of Pakistan more than once said to me that they were in a position to supply rice to us from Lahore directly. The quality of the rice could be either superior or the more ordinary varieties. This would save us from getting it from long distances and paying heavy freight. Pakistan was, in fact, exporting rice, and there was much demand for it. What they did was to export their rice from West Pakistan and buy rice from Burma for East Pakistan.

18. See item 282.

19. Note to A.P. Jain, Minister of Food and Agriculture, 10 September 1958. File No. 3-35/58-Pak II, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. I do not know if you had any talk with the Pakistan Prime Minister on this subject this evening. If you wish to purchase any rice from Pakistan, we might try to get more particulars about it either through their High Commissioner²⁰ here or through our High Commission in Karachi.²¹

275. Joint Communiqué with Firoz Khan Noon²²

On the invitation of the Prime Minister of India, the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited New Delhi from September 9 to 11. During this visit, the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India discussed various Indo-Pakistan border problems with a view to removing causes of tension and establishing peaceful conditions along the Indo-Pakistan border areas.

The Prime Ministers had frank and friendly discussions about these border problems. They arrived at agreed settlements in regard to most of the border disputes in the eastern region. They also agreed to an exchange of enclaves of the former Cooch-Bihar state in Pakistan and Pakistan enclaves in India.

Some of the border disputes, namely, two regarding the Radcliffe and Bagge awards²³ in the eastern region, and five in the western region, require further consideration.

The Prime Ministers agreed to issue necessary instructions to their survey staff to expedite demarcation in the light of the settlements arrived at and to consider further methods of settling the disputes that are still unresolved. In regard to the Hussainiwala and Suleimanki disputes,²⁴ the Foreign Secretary²⁵ of the Government of Pakistan and the Commonwealth Secretary of the Government of India, will, in consultation with their engineers, submit proposals to the Prime Ministers.

20. Mian Ziauddin.

21. Also see item 281.

22. Issued on 11 September 1958. Published in the newspapers on 12 September 1958.

23. The Radcliffe Award of 17 August 1947 drew the boundary between India and Pakistan; the Indo-Pakistan Boundary Dispute Tribunal of 1949 (also called the Bagge Tribunal after its chairman, Algot Fredrick Johan Bagge, a former Judge of the Supreme Court of Sweden) adjudicated on disputes arising out of the Radcliffe Award, and announced its award on 4 February 1950.

24. Referring to disputes over the Hussainiwala and Suleimanki canal headworks on the Punjab-West Pakistan border.

25. M.S.A. Baig.

The Prime Ministers agreed that when areas are exchanged, on agreed dates, as a result of settlement and demarcation of these disputed areas, an appeal should be made to the people in the areas exchanged to continue staying in their present homes as nationals of the state to which the areas are transferred. The Prime Ministers further agreed that, pending the settlement of unresolved disputes and the demarcation and exchange of territory by mutual agreement, there should be no disturbance of the status quo by force and peaceful conditions must be maintained in the border regions. Necessary instructions in this regard will be issued to the respective states and to the local authorities on the border.

The Prime Ministers agreed to keep in touch with each other with a view to considering various steps to be taken to further their common objective of maintaining and developing friendly and cooperative relations between their two countries.

276. To Firoz Khan Noon²⁶

September 12, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,

As desired by you, I am sending you some information about

- (1) the delegation of powers by the Finance Ministry to the administrative Ministries;
- (2) the manner of giving Central assistance to States; and
- (3) a pamphlet issued by our Planning Commission showing what assistance is given for schemes for agricultural improvement, irrigation, transport, etc.

I trust that this will be of some help to you.

It was a great pleasure to have you and Begam Noon as our guests here.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

277. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim²⁷

September 12, 1958

My dear Hafizji,²⁸

You wrote to me on the 5th September on the Canal Waters dispute. Since then we have had a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee where this matter was discussed.

At that meeting one point was made clear. I should like to repeat it here lest there is any misapprehension.

On no account can we agree to any scheme which raises the political issue of Kashmir, that is, we cannot agree to any proposal which involves any part of the territory of Jammu & Kashmir State, even such part as might be occupied by Pakistan, to be used for Pakistan's purposes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

278. Results of Talks with Firoz Khan Noon²⁹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker,³⁰ as the House knows the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited Delhi at our invitation. He came here on the 9th of this month and left yesterday morning.

In the course of his stay here, we had talks with each other in regard to border problems principally. At the end of his stay here, a brief statement³¹ was issued which has already appeared in the daily press this morning. If you wish I can lay a copy of that statement on the Table.

Speaker: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That statement states that a number of border problems relating to the eastern region have been solved, or agreements have been arrived

27. JN Collection.

28. Union Minister for Irrigation and Power.

29. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 12 September 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XX, cols 6200-6210. Nehru's statement was in response to a calling attention motion by S.M. Banerjee, Independent Member from Kanpur, on the results of talks held between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan in New Delhi on 9 and 10 September 1958.

30. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

31. See item 275.

at. Some other matters still remain for further consideration, and some procedures have been laid down.

I am not quite sure if it will be easy for me to explain, and for the House to understand, the specific border problems of villages here and there. Nevertheless, I shall endeavour to refer to them.

In the eastern region there was a boundary dispute between West Bengal and Pakistan, between the district of Murshidabad and the district of Rajshahi including the thanas of Nawabganj, Pakistan, and Shivganj, which was earlier, in the pre-partition days, Malda District. This was No. 1 of the Bagge Award.

I might mention here that just before the actual partition took place, Mr Justice Radcliffe was appointed to determine the exact line of partition of the frontier. He did so, and that was very largely accepted, but some disputes arose as to the interpretation of the Radcliffe Award. Some time thereafter, another tribunal was appointed presided over by Mr Justice Bagge and having a Judge from India³² and a Judge from Pakistan.³³ This Bagge Tribunal considered the disputes in the eastern region, and made certain recommendations or awards rather. Again, most of these were accepted and acted upon. But, unfortunately, some doubts still persisted, and some arguments and controversies went on in regard to some areas, and that has continued all these years. So, on this occasion, we considered some of these disputes still persisting. And one of the decisions arrived at was in regard to this, what is called, Bagge Award No. 1, which I have just related, and another one, Bagge Award No. 2 between West Bengal and Pakistan, concerning the common boundary between a point on the River Ganges where the channel of the river Matabhanga takes off according to the Radcliffe Award and the northernmost point where the channel meets the boundary between the thanas of Daulatpur and Karimpur; this has been decided previously; it has been settled that exchange of these territories should take place by the 15th January.

Then, there was a dispute called the Hili dispute, also between West Bengal and Pakistan. Pakistan gave up or dropped this dispute, and, therefore, the position has been decided and remains in favour of India.

The fourth was the Berubari Union No. 12. That is also between West Bengal and Pakistan. It was decided to divide the area under dispute by half and half, half going to India and half going to Pakistan.

The next one is about two Cooch-Bihar chitlands, on the border of West Bengal, which, it has been decided, should go to West Bengal.

32. Justice Chandrasekhara Aiyar, retired judge of the Madras High Court.

33. Justice Shahabuddin of the Dacca High Court.

The next was some disputes about that border between the 24-Parganas in Khulna and the 24-Parganas in Jessore. It was decided again here that the mean position should be adopted in both these, taking the river Ichamati as a guide that is, as far as possible, pursuing this river. These are in regard to the border disputes between West Bengal and Eastern Pakistan.

Then comes the dispute between Assam and Eastern Pakistan. There was the Bholaganj dispute. In regard to this, Pakistan gave up its claim.

Then, there are the two rivers, the Piyain river and the Surma river. It has been decided to have a demarcation made according to notifications made, that is, previous notifications; therefore, we cannot be sure where this demarcation will be, but it has been decided that wherever the demarcation may be, full facility of navigation should be given to both sides. That is, in regard to navigation in these rivers.

Then, we go to the Tripura-Pakistan border. There was a small bit of territory, a few acres, near the railway, where the railway passes. We have agreed to give this small territory to Pakistan because it is near their railway.

Another Tripura dispute is about the Feni river. This has been decided to be dealt with separately. The course is being laid down.

There is one thing more, which has been long causing us, and I believe Pakistan, a great deal of trouble. These are the Cooch-Bihar enclaves. The Cooch-Bihar State had little bits of territory all over, and some of those fell in Pakistan and some in India on partition, as Cooch-Bihar State itself. Therefore, the result is that we have some territory in Pakistan, little enclaves, little islands, and they have some here, which is very awkward. They cannot deal with their territory inside India, and we cannot deal with our territory inside Pakistan. In fact, nobody deals with those territories. In law, we cannot, in practice, we cannot, and they are just odd bits, usually the home of smugglers and other fugitives from the law. So, it has been decided ultimately that we should just exchange them, that is, our Cooch-Bihar territory in Pakistan goes to Pakistan, and their enclaves in India come to India.

All these changes involve some exchanges of territory; in some cases, India gains a little territory, and in others, they gain it. These are more or less the decisions arrived at.

Then, I might mention those problems that are left over for decision. One is the Patharia hill reserve forest in the eastern region. According to us, of course, that belongs to us. But there has, nevertheless, been some dispute there. We have decided that we should ask the two conservators of forests, that is, of Assam and of East Pakistan, together with the two Chief Secretaries, to meet to draw up provisionally some line there, even previous to a settlement of that dispute, so that there might not be friction. As a matter of fact, nobody

lives in this forest. Disputes arise because of timber; people go over in the other area. So, in order to avoid this overlapping, some temporary line may be drawn till such time as we can settle that matter.

Then, there is another matter, and probably one of the more important ones in Assam, on the Assam-East Pakistan border. This was also referred, like the Patharia reserve forest, to the Bagge Tribunal. This is in regard to the course of the Kushiya river. The Bagge Tribunal decided about the course of the Kushiya river, but, according to us, some points have not been cleared up and are due to some confusion about maps, etc. And this point has remained. It is an area, containing, I believe, or consisting of, about 30 villages. That is in our possession at present, and has been, in fact, all along in our possession. These will have to be decided, that is, both these matters which pertain to the eastern region—in fact, these are the only matters pertaining to the eastern region—have to be decided still, apart from one of the small ones.

On the western side, the points to be determined are these; in effect we did not decide anything about the west. There are the Suleimanki and Hussainiwala areas. Both deal with headworks, canal headworks. It is not a question of any large area, but nevertheless, dealing with how the headworks are to be worked, and who should have the bunds. And they are of certain importance not in area but otherwise. In regard to these two, we have suggested that the two Secretaries should consult their respective engineers and the two Secretaries meaning the Commonwealth Secretary of India and the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, and after joint consultation with the engineers, should report to us. Then, there is a small area of three villages in the Lahore-Amritsar border, Sarja Marja, etc. And another matter which we had not considered was in dispute. But, nevertheless, Pakistan has referred to that. It is... No, I beg your pardon. There is one matter which concerns Chak Ladheke, a small tongue of land there in the Punjab area. Then, there is Chad bet in Kutch; Pakistan raised this question two or three years ago;³⁴ and we did not do anything; we thought that there was no dispute about it, and we sent them a rather lengthy reply to which their answer really came about ten days ago, after two years. Anyhow, because they claimed something, this is also a matter to be considered. Therefore, the position is this. Quite a number of matters which were leading to irritation between the two countries have been disposed of. Naturally, that is a matter for satisfaction, for each little thing creates confusion on the border and people there suffer.

In regard to one—which might be called somewhat—bigger matter, of Assam, that is, following the course of the river Kushiya, that is yet to be

34. In February 1956.

considered by us. The Patharia Forest question is really not a difficult one, but because the one to which I have just referred, the 'Kushiara' has not yet been settled. Pakistan wanted to attach that also for consideration in future. On the western side, there are these headworks, etc., and some bits of land.

We thought, and we still think, that the best course to decide any remaining matter, which cannot be decided by talks between ourselves, is to refer it to some independent party—tribunal—to decide, because there is no other way. Either we come to an agreement ourselves or ask somebody else to advise and we will accept whatever decision is arrived at, whether it is in our favour or against us. For the present, the Pakistan Prime Minister was not agreeable to this being done in regard to one particular matter. But the matter is open for consideration. In our statement that has appeared in the Press, it is said that these matters are reserved for future consideration between us.

There are two other things. One is that we have said in regard to the exchange of small territories that we do not want migration from them, as far as possible, and we advise the people to continue living where they are...

An Honourable Member: It is impossible.

Jawaharlal Nehru: ...and accept the country to which they will now belong.³⁵ In any event, it is not a question of large numbers. But we see no reason why this idea of people migrating should be encouraged there.³⁶

Further, we have said that we hope to keep in touch with each other and try to reduce the areas of difference in this way and find out some way of deciding the points that remain. On the whole, therefore, I think that the result of our meeting has been satisfactory.

I also lay on the Table a copy of the communiqué issued after the talks. (Placed in Library. See No. LT-917/58.)

Renu Chakravarty:³⁷ May I ask one question on a point of information? I want to know whether any discussion took place regarding exchange of prisoners. We had heard that on the 9th there would be exchange of

35. This was stated in the joint communiqué issued by the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan. See item 275.

36. On 13 September, the Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha in New Delhi noted that the Hindu population in territories ceded to Pakistan would suffer, and that the 10,000 refugees in the Cooch-Bihar enclaves would be forced back into Pakistan and be subject to atrocities once again.

37. CPI Member from Basirhat, West Bengal.

prisoners. But except in Tripura, we have not heard of any exchange of those who have been arrested along the borders.

Jawaharlal Nehru: My impression was that the exchange of prisoners had taken place. I really do not know if it has actually taken place.

Renu Chakravartty: Those who were arrested and taken away—have they all been released?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I will try to find out. The lists exchanged between Pakistan and India about prisoners were not identical, that is to say, according to us, if they had 15, according to them, they had only 10. The admitted ones were released. In regard to the others, those that are mentioned in our lists, we will try and find out. Those that were mentioned in both the lists were released. The point is of finding them out.

Renu Chakravartty: The honourable Prime Minister knows that we have been trying to negotiate for certain people along the 24-Parganas border who were arrested over the last five or six months. They have not yet been released. That was why I asked this question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know about some old prisoners, how they are affected. The honourable lady Member says that they were arrested six months ago. Anyhow, I will try to find out and let her know.

Hem Barua:³⁸ On a point of information...

Speaker: It is not usual to ask questions after a statement is made in reply to a Calling Attention notice. Honourable Members will kindly read the statement of the honourable Prime Minister.

A.C. Guha:³⁹ I want a clarification just in regard to one village Tukergram. It was under Pakistan occupation. Nothing has been stated about that. What is the position of Tukergram village?

38. PSP Member from Gauhati, Assam.

39. Congress Member from Barasat, West Bengal.

N.R. Ghosh:⁴⁰ Half of Beru Bari is going to be given to Pakistan. That portion is inhabited by 10,000 people who migrated from Pakistan and who were rehabilitated there. What will happen to them? In the exchange of enclaves, could that not be adjusted?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Half of what? I could not follow what the honourable Member said.

N.R. Ghosh: When the enclaves were exchanged, we were to get a bigger area as our enclaves are much bigger than theirs. We are now going to make over half of the Beru Bari to them. This half is actually inhabited by 10,000 refugees who migrated from Boda and other areas now in East Pakistan. They had rehabilitated themselves there by their own efforts. These people are going to be refugees again.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot answer that question.

The first question presumably relates to the so-called Cooch-Bihar enclaves.

A.C. Guha: No, Sir. It is not in Cooch-Bihar enclaves.

N.R. Ghosh: Half of Beru Bari is being given to Pakistan. This is in the Jalpaiguri Thana. This portion was alleged to belong to Pakistan. When this area was being given to Pakistan, could this not have been adjusted against the surplus area which we were to get by the exchange of enclaves without making a gift of the surplus area to Pakistan? What will happen to these 10,000 refugees?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The honourable Member, when he uses the word 'enclaves' refers to Cooch-Bihar enclaves. It is true that the area of the Cooch-Bihar enclaves is about 11 square miles of territory or so. There is more of it in the enclaves we give. But in some of the other enclaves that I have referred to, we get more land from Pakistan. It has been, to some extent, adjusted, not precisely and exactly. We get more in some of these exchanges and they get more in others. There is no other way of coming to an agreement.

N.R. Ghosh: That portion actually was not occupied by any refugees, but this portion of Beru Bari is inhabited by refugees.

40. Congress Member from Cooch-Bihar, West Bengal.

Mahendra Pratap:⁴¹ May I ask why did not the honourable Prime Minister take advantage of this opportunity to settle the border question, and do away with the frontiers altogether?

Some honourable Members rose—

Speaker: I am not going to allow any questions.

Raghunath Singh⁴² rose —

Speaker: Order, order. Honourable Members know that after a Call Attention Motion has been answered, there are no questions allowed. If any honourable Member has got a doubt and wants to ask some questions, I will allow them later on in the usual course; the questions will come up if they are of very great importance.

रघुनाथ सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कोई सवाल नहीं पूछना चाहता हूँ। मैं एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि कम से कम दो घंटे के लिये इस विषय पर यहाँ डिबेट होनी चाहिये ताकि हम लोग अपने विचार इस पर प्रकट कर सकें।

[Translation begins]

Raghunath Singh: Mr Speaker, I do not want to ask any question. I want to make a request that there should be a debate for at least two hours on this matter so that we may express our views on it.

[Translation ends]

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not quite know whether the honourable Member wanted a debate on this, on what I have read out. The honourable Member also wanted debates on one or two other matters in the course of the last half hour! I do not know what there is to debate about this. Of course, if the House wants to have any more clarification, I am prepared to give it. But the House will realise that we have come to an agreement and I have to honour that agreement—we have to honour that agreement. If I have made mistakes, I can be censured. But I have got to honour it, so far as I am concerned.

41. Independent Member from Mathura, UP.

42. Congress Member from Varanasi, UP.

रघुनाथ सिंह: सेंशयोर करने का सवाल नहीं है। एग्रीमेंट में कुछ हिस्से हैं जो बाकी हैं और उनके बारे में हम लोग कुछ सजेशन देना चाहते हैं। हम कोई डिबेट करना नहीं चाहते, केवल सजेशन ही देना चाहते हैं।

[Translation begins]

Raghunath Singh: Censuring is not the issue. There are certain things which are not covered in the agreement on which we would like to make some suggestions. We do not wish to debate, we only want to make suggestions.

[Translation ends]

Speaker: Order, order. This is unusual of Shri Raghunath Singh.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Surely a debate in the House is the worst possible medium to give suggestions for future negotiations. I do not understand why honourable Members want a discussion on this like that on the canal waters. One does not, when one has to deal with another country, have a public debate as to how to negotiate.

Mahavir Tyagi:⁴³ On a point of order on the clarification (Interruptions). According to the Constitution, no territory of India could be transferred out without the sanction of the House. I, therefore, want a clarification on this issue as to whether all these agreements arrived at shall be put before the House for obtaining the approval of the House.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a constitutional matter which the honourable Member has raised. So far as boundary adjustments are concerned, all these are interpretations or the like of the Radcliffe Award or the Bagge Award. I do not think this would require any such thing. It may, I do not know how far, but so far as the Cooch-Bihar enclaves are concerned, they might, perhaps, require a kind of reference. I shall ask my colleague, the Law Minister⁴⁴ to look into that.

43. Congress Member from Dehra Dun, UP.

44. A.K. Sen.

279. Exchange of Cooch-Bihar Enclaves⁴⁵

Yesterday, when I made a statement about my talks with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, I was asked if the exchange of territory between West Bengal and East Pakistan necessitated some constitutional change. I said that so far as I knew, this cannot be treated as a cession of territory, but just an adjustment of the border in accordance with the Radcliffe and Bagge Awards.⁴⁶

However, the exchange of Cooch-Bihar enclaves was on a separate footing and I promised to consult our Law Ministry.

Will you please consult the Law Ministry about these exchanges as well as the other agreements we have arrived at. If necessary, the Attorney-General⁴⁷ might also be consulted later. You may see the report of the question and my answer in the Lok Sabha on this subject.

280. Telegram to B.P. Chaliha⁴⁸

Your telegram 12th September.⁴⁹ It is not true that we conceded Tokergram to Pakistan. Tokergram, however, was connected with one of the bigger disputes which will have to be settled later. Meanwhile, we pressed for its evacuation by Pakistan forces. Prime Minister of Pakistan was agreeable to this provided we sent no armed forces there, also if we withdrew our forward picket from Patharia Forest. It was informally agreed that Conservators of Forests and Chief Secretaries of Assam and East Pakistan should meet to draw provisional line in Patharia Forest so as to avoid any overlapping. If this is done, evacuation of Tokergram should follow.

2. So far as Patharia Forest is concerned, it is privately acknowledged that this should come to India. But, again, this is tied up with other disputed issue, and Pakistan people wish to take the two together.

3. I have already made a statement in the Lok Sabha. I do not think it is necessary to issue separate Press communiqué.

45. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, and M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 13 September 1958. JN Collection

46. Nehru said this in the Lok Sabha on 12 September 1958 in answer to a question by Mahavir Tyagi. See item 278.

47. M.C. Setalvad.

48. 14 September 1958. JN Collection.

49. Chaliha referred Nehru to a report in the *Assam Tribune* of 12 September that the GOI had conceded Tokergram and Piyain river to Pakistan; he requested a press communiqué.

281. To Ajit Prasad Jain⁵⁰

September 15, 1958

My dear Ajit,

I have received a letter from Firoz Khan Noon. In a postscript to this letter, he says:

"I have asked (and he has acted) the Food Minister⁵¹ to cable Delhi regarding sale of 100,000 tons of rice. I know this telegram has gone today."

I have not seen this telegram, but you will no doubt receive it. As I suggested to you on the telephone today, please keep in touch with our Commonwealth Secretary, M.J. Desai.⁵²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

282. The Canal Waters Dispute⁵³

Mr Black⁵⁴ and Mr Iliff⁵⁵ came to see me this afternoon. Mr Black referred to the Canal Waters dispute and said that Pakistan had presented their proposals last summer and they had passed them on to India's representatives.⁵⁶ They are now told that India rejects those proposals and is putting forward its own proposal. They would, of course, consider this proposal fully when they got it.

50. File No. 3-35/58-Pak-II, MEA.

51. Hafizur Rahman.

52. Firoz Khan Noon's letter to Nehru was dated 12 September and written in hand. Noon wrote: "This is to thank you for your kind hospitality and for the personal touch you gave to everything. I greatly appreciate your friendly approach to all we discussed and I have no doubt that we shall resolve our other border disputes also amicably. I am having all the remaining questions examined further."

53. Note, 11 October 1958. File No. F. 38(1)-CWD/51. Vol. XXI. Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section), 1958. Also available in JN Collection.

54. Eugene R. Black was the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).

55. William A.B. Iliff, Vice-President of IBRD, was associated with the Bank's mediatory role in the canal waters dispute between India and Pakistan.

56. At a meeting with the IBRD in Rome from 24 to 28 April 1958, Mueenuddin, the leader of the Pakistani delegation, agreed to submit a plan of works, construction, costs, and Indian withdrawals by 20 June 1958. It was presented at the next meeting in London on 7 July 1958. Details of the Rome and the London meetings in SWJN/SS/42/pp. 595-601 and SWJN/SS/43/pp. 527-528 respectively.

It was possible and even probable that the Pakistan Government might reject India's proposal. If so, what are we to do?

2. Mr Black said that they had been dealing with this matter for more than seven years now, and the Bank had spent over a million dollars. When he had made the proposal, he had done so rather naively, not realising the numerous complications that had arisen. Anyhow they had got tied up with it and it had taken up a great deal of their time. They were anxious to settle it. The only thing they could do in the circumstances, in the event of our rejecting the Pakistan proposal as we have done and Pakistan rejecting our proposal, was for the Bank to put forward its own proposal based on an engineering solution. Thus far, the Bank had not dealt directly with the engineering aspect of the matter. He asked me what I thought of this.

3. I told him that it was not quite correct to say that we had rejected Pakistan's proposal because it was none of our business to object to anything that Pakistan wanted to do in its own territory. But we were very much concerned with the financial burden that this might cast on us.⁵⁷ The proposal that we were making seemed to me not only a good one from the engineering point of view, but also the most economical. I did not myself see how Pakistan could validly object to it. It had been said that Pakistan's objection would be on the ground that this would put them at the mercy of India because some of the works were in Indian territory and India could refuse supplies if it so chose.

4. This objection seemed to me without any basis. First of all, any kind of an agreement would be in the nature of an international treaty not only with the World Bank behind it, but also perhaps the United Nations, with which the treaty would be registered. Any party to such a treaty which deliberately broke it would get into trouble. Secondly, in any event, the rivers flow from India to Pakistan, and if India wanted to create mischief in the future, it would do so and face the consequences. No arrangement or settlement could change the basic position of the rivers flowing through India.

5. I added further that Pakistan was interested in getting a certain quantum of water, called the historic supplies. If we agreed to give this, it was not for Pakistan to object as to how we did it. Suppose that when this controversy

57. Pakistan informed the London meeting that the link canal construction had already cost about Rs 26 crores, and future costs would exceed Rs 300 crores. On 10 October 1958, N.D. Gulhati, Chief Engineer (Special) and ex-officio Joint Secretary in the Union Ministry of Irrigation and Power, objected to such a new plan since the discussions in 1954 with the Bank engineers estimated costs of about Rs 70 crores, to be distributed between two countries "in proportion to 'benefit'." For Nehru's views on Pakistan's proposals, see his note of 16 August 1958, SWJN/SS/43/pp. 528-530.

arose early in 1948, we had said that we would continue to give this water, Pakistan could not have said that we must give it in a particular way or pay for various developments in Pakistan.

6. Thus the only questions, so far as we were concerned, were to supply a certain quantity of water and not to be saddled with too heavy a financial burden. The proposal we were making assured the supply of water and seemed to us the most economical. It was open to Pakistan to have any development schemes in their own territory, but we could not be asked to pay more than the sum required for the most economical way of replacing the waters.

7. Mr Black and Mr Iliff agreed with this broad proposition. Mr Iliff said that from the Bank point of view also they had to think of the most economical way of solving the problem. They could not ask the Bank or the US Government to supply large funds of money which were calculated on an extravagant basis.

8. Mr Iliff said that there was some controversy also about the quantum of water to be supplied. This might be calculated from the point of view of the quantity at the source or at the point of supply. He referred to what he called 'regeneration', that is, when waters in the canals are low and gradually underground water seeps into the canal later. He said that Pakistan wanted to ignore this completely while India appeared to think that there would be hundred per cent 'regeneration'. When either approach was correct, the figure would be somewhere in between. In this connection he said that Shri Gulhati was technically a first-class engineer and he had been very helpful to them. Indeed, it was a disadvantage to the Pakistanis not to have anyone on their side up to the standard of Shri Gulhati. But Shri Gulhati tended to take rather extreme views about such matters as 'regeneration', etc.

9. I said that I could not say much about a technical subject, but it seemed to me that a question like this would not raise any insuperable difficulty.

10. I referred briefly to the origin of this dispute early in 1948 when, unfortunately, the Punjab engineers had cut off the supply of water to Pakistan because of non-payment of dues. Immediately we heard of this, we had ordered resumption of supplies, and this indeed had been done within a few days. After that, there was a meeting between India and Pakistan in Delhi which had resulted in the agreement of the 4th May 1948.⁵⁸ This agreement between leading representatives of the two countries, was brought about in a friendly and cooperative atmosphere. We both realised that the need of each for the waters was great and wanted to approach this question from the point of view of mutual accommodation. Unfortunately that spirit was lacking later on. Indeed the Canal Waters question, like other questions between India and Pakistan,

58. For the agreement signed on 4 May 1948, see SWJN/SS/6/p. 66, pp. 69-70 and p. 73.

was bedevilled by the atmosphere of tension and suspicion which existed between the two countries. I repeated that the proposal we were making seemed to me fair, reasonable and satisfying fully the basic demands of Pakistan. Even this proposal cast a heavy burden on us, but we were prepared to shoulder that in the interest of a settlement and cooperation between the two countries. We could not agree to any proposal which involved a heavier burden on us. Mr Black said that it was important that any proposal must be as economical as possible. He did not say much about our present proposal (to which no precise reference was made in our talks), but both he and Mr Iliff seemed to indicate that this proposal was a reasonable one.

11. Mr Black then asked me what I thought of the new set-up in Pakistan.⁵⁹ Was it likely to be more amenable to a settlement with India than the previous one? I told him that it was difficult for me to say. President Mirza was not anti-Indian as many others in Pakistan were. And he might well like to have settlement with India on this issue. But I could not say what pressures might be brought to bear on him. Nor could I say what the attitude of General Ayub Khan might be. But, No. 3 there, that is Mr Aziz Ahmed, the Secretary-General and No. 2 Martial Law Administrator, was bitterly anti-Indian.

12. I talked for a little time about the background in Pakistan and how both politically and economically there had been progressive deterioration till practically there was a vacuum which President Mirza and General Ayub Khan were trying to fill. It may well be that for the time being this might have favourable reactions in Pakistan because people there were thoroughly fed up with political squabbles, corruption, high prices, etc. But, obviously, this arrangement could not lead basically to any improvement in the situation either politically or economically. At the same time, there appeared to be no alternative to the present set-up for the present and for some time to come. They could not go back to the old squabbles, etc., and so this martial law regime was likely to continue for many months, possibly a year. The more it continued, the more would the subsequent difficulties be. Obviously there could be no development of a country under such a regime. Indeed, the leaders of Pakistan now and even before had no real ideas about development. The Government was controlled by big landlords and the like who were basically opposed to any real reform. Thus the future did not appear to be promising.

13. Mr Iliff reminded me of what I had once said to the effect that it was difficult for us to come to a settlement with Pakistan because Pakistan did not want a settlement. He said that he was sure this was the case in regard to

59. Refers to the introduction of martial law in Pakistan. For details, see item 4, fn 32.

Mr Suhrawardy⁶⁰ who certainly did not want a settlement with India. Would that be the case with the present leaders? I said that it was perfectly true that Mr Suhrawardy wanted no settlement. As for what the present martial law regime in Pakistan might do, I could not say.

14. Mr Black said something about visiting India and Pakistan some few months later to discuss the latest developments in regard to this Canal Waters dispute with us here and with President Mirza in Karachi. He added that perhaps it was a good thing for this delay of two or three months as this would enable them to find out how the new set-up in Pakistan was functioning.

15. Mr Black then referred to his coming visit to Cairo to see President Nasser,⁶¹ and said that the Suez Canal was functioning very well indeed and far better than people had expected. He referred to the clearing up of the Suez Canal by General Wheeler.⁶² This has been estimated to cost forty million dollars. In fact, it had cost only eight million dollars, and General Wheeler had done a fine job of work. The canal was being run very efficiently and the revenue was considerable. They were now thinking of deepening the canal to enable bigger ships to go through.

16. I congratulated Mr Iliff on the success of his efforts for the settlement of the Suez Canal dues with Egypt. Mr Iliff modestly accepted this praise.

17. In the course of my talks, no reference was made to any Jammu and Kashmir State territory.

283. Introduction of Martial Law in Pakistan⁶³

I agree with you. It may be, and I think it is, correct to say that the action taken by Major General Iskander Mirza is unconstitutional or even illegal. In fact he has himself admitted this position and said that he has not acted according to any Constitution but according to his conscience. By abrogating the Constitution his own position as President also came to an end.

So far as we are concerned, we are not expressing any opinion about the legality or constitutionality of his act. We are merely accepting a fact and dealing

60. H.S. Suhrawardy was the Prime Minister of Pakistan, 1956-1957.

61. Gamal Abdel Nasser, the President of Egypt.

62. Raymond Albert Wheeler, a former Chief of US Army Corps of Engineers, was a consultant engineer with the World Bank and the Bank representative on the Indus Basin Working Party.

63. Note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 15 October 1958. JN Collection.

with the present government apparatus in Pakistan accordingly. There would have been no point and indeed it would have been most unwise for us to refuse to recognise on a de facto basis the present governing authorities in Pakistan. So far as I know, no other country has done this.

It would be wrong and unwise for us to encourage in any way the leaders or members of the Awami Party⁶⁴ or indeed any political or other groups in Pakistan, East or West. Our representative has to deal with the functioning Government in Pakistan, including East Pakistan. There is no question of cooperating or non-cooperating with that Government. We just deal with them as a functioning Government. We do not interfere with the internal affairs of the country.

284. Coup d'état in Pakistan and US Attitude⁶⁵

In the course of my talk with the American Ambassador⁶⁶ today, I referred to the recent developments in Pakistan. In fact he introduced this subject. He began by telling me that the second coup d'état⁶⁷ had come as a surprise and shock to them and the U.S. Ambassador Langley⁶⁸ in Pakistan knew nothing about it. He and some others were sent for at midnight to be informed of it.

2. I told him that I believed what he said but he would no doubt realise what the public impression of all these recent events in Pakistan must be. In view of the close relationship of Pakistan with the US and its dependence on the US, any kind of a coup d'état could hardly be organised there without the

64. The reference is to the National Awami Party which was founded by Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, an East Bengal politician with leftist leanings.

65. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, and M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 31 October 1958. JN Collection.

66. Ellsworth Bunker.

67. President Iskander Mirza formed a new Cabinet on 24 October and appointed General Ayub Khan as Prime Minister. On 28 October, Iskander Mirza surrendered power to Ayub Khan, who, as President, reappointed Iskander Mirza's Cabinet. Ayub Khan remained Chief Martial Law Administrator and appointed the commanders of the three defence services as Deputy Martial Law Administrators.

68. James McLellan Langley Sr (1894-1968); American expert in planning, newspaper publisher and diplomat; Chairman, New Hampshire State Planning and Development Commission; publisher and editor, *Concord Daily Monitor*; negotiator (with Filipino Senator Jose P. Laurel) of the 1954 Laurel-Langley trade agreements, which virtually eliminated quotas on Philippine goods entering the US; Ambassador to Pakistan, July 1957-July 1959.

chief actors feeling that they would have the support of the US. Having put an end to political parties, suppressed the press and then various other things, they could not possibly take the risk of the US Government turning its back on them. I did not imply that they got the specific approval of the US Government. But they must have assured themselves in some way about this, otherwise they would not have dared to act as they did.

3. A few days after this coup, the US Secretary for Defence⁶⁹ visited Pakistan and it was announced in the press that US military aid was not only to continue but would be speeded up. This was a clear indication, and at any rate the public took it as such, of US support of the new regime. The very day the US Secretary left Karachi, the second coup took place at night. Inevitably some people would think that his second coup took place either with the knowledge of the US Defence Secretary or at any rate in the assurance that this would not be displeasing to the US Government. I was prepared to accept that the US Government did not know anything about it but the fact remained that this impression would spread.

4. In any event it seems odd that the US Government should support a purely military dictatorship. Such a dictatorship may or may not be well-meaning but everything depended on the moods and whims of a military officer, the dictator. This naturally causes considerable concern. It was difficult to know what popular reactions were to all this because of the complete suppression of public opinion. The Pakistan papers had behaved with complete lack of dignity and integrity and had turned two somersaults within a few days.

5. It may be that the people of Pakistan for the present welcomed this change because they were thoroughly disgusted with their politicians and the like.⁷⁰ But it was clear that a military dictatorship was not going to solve any problem, more especially the economic problem, of Pakistan. Soon the people would realise this and opinion would turn. When that happened the dictator might think of some diversion or some adventure. This adventure could be against India. All these were possibilities which we had to take into account. The regrettable part was that the US Government became involved in these even though they did not wish it.

69. Neil H. McElroy.

70. On 7 October 1958, President Iskander Mirza of Pakistan deplored "the ruthless struggle for power, corruption, the shameful exploitation of our simple, honest, patriotic and industrious masses," "the prostitution of Islam for political ends", the endemic food crisis, the "low" "mentality of the political parties", and "the present chaotic internal situation" and stressed the need "to form a strong and stable government."

Chinese People's Government gave an assurance to our Prime Minister as was revealed on the floor of this House that this matter would be amicably settled. I think it has not yet been settled. In that case was the attention of the Chinese People's Government drawn to the international boundary, i.e., the Macmahon Line⁷⁷ that was drawn up in 1903 at the Simla Conference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as the broad boundary, the international frontier is concerned between India and the Chinese State including the Tibetan region, it is not a matter of dispute so far as we are concerned. It is a fixed thing. There is nothing to talk about.

Hem Barua: But that has been violated.

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I proceed?

When this matter was previously referred to here in this House, I said that we had nothing to discuss because it is an obviously known established frontier of ours. We saw no reason to ask for a discussion on a thing which required no further discussion. But apart from this broad boundary there are two or perhaps three specific cases of what might be called boundary disputes. These are very small ones. Somewhere in the mountains, whether it is two miles this side or two miles that side, there has been an argument—dispute is rather a big word—between the two countries and it has been decided that the matter should be settled by talking with each other. We have had talks and the talks no doubt will continue. There are one or two places in the UP frontier, Tibet and, I think Himachal Pradesh. There are two or three places like this. They are of no particular importance. The area concerned is very little and there is no other value. We came to a decision, rather we came to an informal agreement that these matters should be settled on the basis of long usage and to some extent natural boundaries, water sheds and the like. Honourable Members will remember that these places in high mountains are such that they are not easily accessible and in fact nobody can go there for six or seven months in the winter—only in summer months some people go for grazing purposes there.

Those minor matters are pending and we are discussing them some time. Our representative has met the Chinese People's representative and they have had talks. So far as major matters are concerned, there is nothing to discuss.

77. The correct spelling is McMahon; the line was drawn in 1914. See A.G. Noorani, *India-China Boundary Problem 1846-1947: History and Diplomacy* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 168 and generally chapter 10.

But when maps of this kind are issued we draw their attention to this and say that this is wrong. That we have done again in regard to this particular matter.

Hem Barua: What is the total mileage of territory in NEFA and Assam that has been shown as included within the Chinese borders in this map published in *China Pictorial*, July 1958 issue?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This map is on a very small scale, a tiny little map so that a line itself, just a line will cover 20 miles. I cannot say that. But, broadly speaking, it appears that fairly considerable parts of the North Eastern Frontier Agency, NEFA, are included, parts of Bhutan are included and parts of Ladakh are included in this, as I said roughly. You can't say. It may make a difference of 50 miles or more if the line is thick or thin.

Hem Barua: May I know if it is 1,700 miles in total?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I can't say. I have no idea.

287. Amount Outstanding against the Nationalist Government of China⁷⁸

M. Valiulla:⁷⁹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the amount outstanding against the Nationalist Government of China (KMT Government);
- (b) whether there is any hope of recovery of that amount from the Nationalist Government of China; and
- (c) if so, what?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) the former Government of China owed to the Government of India a sum of Rupees one million four hundred and ninety-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-two and forty np. The amount is still outstanding.

(b) and (c). The matter is still under negotiation with the Government of the People's Republic of China who are the successor Government. It is not possible to anticipate the final outcome of the correspondence.

78. Written reply to a question in the Rajya Sabha, 24 September 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXII, cols 4491-4492.

79. Mohamed Valiullah (1899-1960); Congressman from Mysore; Member, Mysore Constituent Assembly, 1948-50, Mysore Legislative Assembly, 1950-52, Rajya Sabha, 1952-58 and 1958-60.

The Ambassador said that he realised all this but he assured me that the US Government would exercise every restraint as they were entirely opposed to any such adventure.

285. Forthcoming Meeting in Washington on Canal Waters⁷¹

I think that it would be unwise for us to send a big delegation at this stage to Washington. It is quite possible that the new developments in Pakistan may come in the way of any real discussion there. A small delegation might perhaps go now. If necessity arises, others can be sent later. As a matter of fact I would suggest that a communication be sent to Mr Iliff enquiring from him whether, in view of the developments in Pakistan, our delegation should go now or wait for some time.

I agree with you that a meeting might be held to consider this matter after my return.⁷² Both 5th and 6th November are rather full up for me. But we might perhaps meet after the Cabinet on the 5th. The Cabinet is meeting at 3 p.m.

71. Note, 31 October 1958. File No. F. 23(5)-CWD/58. Vol. I, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section), 1958.

72. Nehru returned to Delhi on 4 November 1958 after a four-day tour of Bhopal, Baroda and Indore.

(b) China and Tibet

286. Indian Territory Shown in Chinese Maps⁷³

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult for me to answer that question⁷⁴ because the maps in China are not printed by us.

Hem Barua: But we can bring it to their notice.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes.

When attention was drawn to this matter first we were told that these were reproductions of old maps, coming down from the previous regime, when Marshal Chiang Kai-shek⁷⁵ was in authority in China, and they had had no time to revise them. So they were carrying on. Evidently, the People's Government in China has revised many things since Chiang Kai-shek's regime, but this matter has been left over.

N.G. Goray:⁷⁶ does it mean that though they have thrown out Chiang Kai-shek, they have kept his maps behind?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have been privately assured on some occasions that they attach no importance to these maps and they will revise them in time. That is where the matter stands. We have drawn their attention again to it.

Hem Barua: May I draw the attention of the honourable Prime Minister to a speech which he delivered in Lok Sabha some six years ago to the effect that when the question about the boundaries between China and India came up, that was referred to the Chinese People's Government and then the

73. Reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 4 September 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XIX, cols 4629-4632.

74. Hem Barua, PSP Member from Gauhati, Assam, had asked whether large parts of Northern Assam and NEFA were shown as within China in the July issue of *China Pictorial*, an official organ of the Chinese People's Republic. Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs, accepted that this was so and that the Chinese Government had been requested to correct such errors. Hem Barua referred to a similar map in the October 1954 issue of *People's China* and asked what action had been taken.

75. Head of the Nationalist Government of China, 1928-49.

76. PSP Member from Poona, Bombay State.

288. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon⁸⁰

I have seen *New York Times* report of what I said at Palam on conditions in Tibet.⁸¹ This report is mixture of what I said and certain other facts and inferences.

2. When asked about conditions in Tibet, I replied that I could not say anything after spending just a day or so there, but from various reports it would appear that conditions were not fully normal yet in some parts.⁸²

3. For your personal information, conditions are rather difficult in some parts of Tibet and only recently, while I was in Bhutan, a big convoy of Chinese going from Yangtse to Lhasa was destroyed completely by Khampa rebels.

4. In Yatung general appearance of foreign military occupation.

289. Entry of Khampa Rebels into India⁸³

I agree that no further precautionary steps are at present necessary or need be taken. Obviously it is not practicable to keep a large concentration of force in a remote area on our NEFA border.

I see that reference is made to what I wrote in June 1954 in regard to Tibetan refugees coming to India. I said then that such persons have every right to live in India or to seek asylum in India, provided that they do not use our territory as a base of operations against the Chinese.⁸⁴

This general proposition holds in regard to odd individuals seeking asylum, but the question of Khampa rebels⁸⁵ or any other large group of rebels stands on a different footing altogether. What I had written in June 1954 was intended

80. 5 October 1958. JN Collection.

81. The *New York Times* of 3 October 1958 reported Nehru saying on 2 October, "Obviously conditions in Tibet, from such reports one gets, are not fully normal." The newspaper added: "Mr Nehru was to have visited Lhasa, capital of Tibet, at the invitation of the Dalai Lama, spiritual ruler of Tibet. But he postponed journey there because of reported uprisings in eastern Tibet. Instead, he decided to go to the hermit kingdom of Bhutan." It went on: "It was considered possible by observers here (New Delhi) that Mr Nehru might have gained his impression of Tibet in the course of his brief stopover at Yatung."

82. For Nehru's talk with pressmen at Palam Airport, Delhi, on 2 October 1958, see item 10.

83. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 8 October 1958. JN Collection.

84. See Nehru's note of 18 June 1954, SWJN/SS/26/pp. 476-480.

85. According to *The Times of India* of 13 October 1958, China had suspended commercial traffic on the India-Lhasa highway owing to mounting Khampa rebel activity.

to apply to odd individuals seeking asylum. If, however, an armed group of active rebels, such as the Khampas, try to enter India, I think that we should endeavour to stop them from entering. Their presence in India is bound to be very embarrassing for us not only from the point of view of the Chinese Government, but also for internal reasons.

It may, of course, be a little difficult to stop such persons from entering India because we cannot have adequate forces on all the points of entry. That may be so. But the policy, nevertheless, should be to stop armed groups from entering India. Should, however, they enter, the next step to be taken should be to disarm them and they should be asked to go back to Tibet. Such cases should really be reported to us in case any difficulties arise.

I have given similar advice to the Bhutan Government, that is to say, that if Khampa rebels try to cross into Bhutan, they should be checked.

It should be remembered that Khampas, though Tibetans, do not belong to Tibet proper in the literal sense of the word. The Khampa region was included in China long before the People's Government of China came to power. These Khampas have never taken kindly to any overlord. Previously the old Tibetan Governments could not control them. Now the present Chinese Government has come up against the same difficulty in a much more severe form. Being considered part of China (and not Tibet), various changes in regard to land, etc., have been sought to be introduced in the Khampa region even though in Tibet proper these changes have not been introduced. The Khampas have resisted these with vigour.

Whether the Khampas form part of Tibet proper or not, there is no doubt that they are of Tibetan stock and there is a good deal of sympathy for them in Tibet. At the same time, there is a good deal of apprehension in Tibet as to what they might do and lest they might get others into trouble.

(c) Taiwan and Offshore Islands

290. To Harold Macmillan⁸⁶

7 September 1958

My dear Harold Macmillan,⁸⁷

Thank you for your personal message which was delivered to me by your High Commissioner⁸⁸ on September 3rd. I am always happy to hear from you and to have your views on current events which press upon us so much from day to day. It is true that I survive them and I am even a little embarrassed occasionally at my good health in spite of circumstances.⁸⁹ About the middle of this month, I am thinking of paying a visit to Bhutan which presumably is now one of the very few remaining countries which are difficult of access. This will involve five days' hard trekking over the high mountains of our north-east border and crossing three passes of over 14,000 feet altitude. Thus, the mere journey there and back will take me twelve days, apart from my stay there for about four or five days.

I must thank you and your Government for the warm and cordial reception given to my colleague, Morarji Desai, in London and for your Government's generous response to our request for financial accommodation.

The passage in the UN Special Assembly of the resolution on the Middle East situation came as a great relief to all of us here.⁹⁰ The specially gratifying feature of this resolution was the unanimity and the goodwill accompanying it. I do not imagine that this puts an end to the tensions there or brings an era of goodwill. But it is certainly a good beginning and I think the Arab countries concerned deserve to be congratulated on their coming together and putting

86. JN Collection.

87. Prime Minister of the UK.

88. Malcolm Macdonald.

89. Macmillan said in his message that he was very glad to hear from Mrs Pandit, the High Commissioner of India to the UK, "that you were well and as ever the most vigorous member of your Government." He added, "I envy you your power of resistance to all the pressures of ministerial life."

90. An emergency special session of the UN General Assembly passed the resolution on 21 August 1958. See item I. Macmillan wrote that, "Faced with complete Anglo-American solidarity I think the Russians have decided to go a little more quietly there for a bit." Though he was optimistic about the West Asian situation, Macmillan wrote, "Nevertheless the new technique of propaganda, subversion and radio warfare is very alarming. It is difficult to answer and is almost as complete a breach of the decencies of international behaviour as open warfare. It is the problem of the age."

forward a resolution which was restrained and, from their point of view, moderate.

I quite agree with you that abusive propaganda by radio or otherwise is most unfortunate and to be deprecated. Unfortunately the atmosphere of cold war does not encourage the decencies of international behaviour to which you refer. But, before we could congratulate ourselves on the abatement of tension in West Asia, we have been overtaken by the crisis in the Far East.⁹¹ There can be no doubt that this is a situation of grave risk and unfortunately threats and counter-threats are being flung out daily by the parties concerned. Whatever the merits of the problem may be, I am convinced that no good comes from this type of approach.

You will remember that a crisis arose in the Far East in regard to these very offshore islands in 1955.⁹² Fortunately there was an easing of tension later. I remember well the discussion we had at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in the summer of 1955 about this Far Eastern crisis and the significant part played by the United Kingdom then in helping to bring about an easing of tension.⁹³

As you know, we have supported China's claim for Formosa. That was indeed inevitable because we recognise the People's Government of China and do not recognise the Formosan Government. But we have felt all along that this question should be settled peacefully and no military pressures should be exercised which might lead to a conflict. The question of the offshore islands stands on a somewhat separate footing as they are right on the threshold of the mainland and are a constant menace to the mainland. Even when I went to China some years ago,⁹⁴ Formosan aircraft were constantly flying over the mainland and creating incidents. I can well imagine the strong reaction of the Chinese Government to this continuing danger from islands which are barely a dozen miles off their coast. Anthony Eden, even in 1955, declared that these islands should go to China. If that had happened, the danger of constant incidents and crises would have been much less, even though the basic problem of Formosa

91. The People's Government of China began shelling the Taiwan-held islands of Quemoy and Matsu on 23 August 1958. Macmillan wrote in his message, "Naturally we are looking with some anxiety at the situation in the Far East. It is hard to tell how much reality and how much bluff there is."

92. The crisis had begun with Chinese bombardment of the island of Quemoy on 3 September 1954.

93. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, held in London from 31 January to 8 February 1955, ended on a general agreement that coastal islands off Taiwan should be turned over to China as soon as possible.

94. Nehru visited China in October 1954.

would not have been solved.

It is the same question of the offshore islands that has created this grave crisis today. War would be a tragedy in any event, but to think of the possibility of war over these offshore islands appears to me to be fantastic.

I really do not know what we can do about this matter. But I strongly feel that all of us should exercise such influence as we have to prevent this catastrophe from happening.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

291. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon⁹⁵

I returned from Bhutan tour last evening and received your telegram 264 of October 1st.⁹⁶ Also Parthasarathi's message 203 of October 3rd⁹⁷ which has been repeated to you.

2. In Parthasarathi's message some information required by you has been given. You will notice that Chou En-lai appears to be in no hurry for us to take

95. 3 October 1958. JN Collection. V.K. Krishna Menon, Defence Minister, led the Indian delegation to the UN General Assembly.

96. Krishna Menon reported that the Indian position on Taiwan and the offshore islands had won respect from most of the Assembly and was influencing even US opinion. He wanted a message sent to the Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai through G. Parthasarathi, the Ambassador of India to China, "to inform the Chinese about what in reality is taking place here and not go by votes alone. He should point out the remarkable change in trends in the UN. We want to know from him reaction of Chou En-lai to issue being brought into UN."

97. G. Parthasarathi reported about his recent talk with Chou En-lai. According to the Chinese Premier, China's basic stand was to recover sovereignty over Taiwan and all islands. He also made it clear that "any pledge of renunciation of force would apply only to international aspect, i.e., arranging for withdrawal of American forces from Taiwan", and to Peking's dealings with Taiwan. Chou En-lai "spoke bitterly of American military pressure tactics" and asserted that there had been no basic change in US attitude in the talks taking place in Warsaw between the Chinese and US Ambassadors. The Premier further said, 'Let her (the US) get more and more isolated. Then perhaps her attitude would change. We are Orientals and can wait. Please ask Mr Menon not to be in a hurry. At present there is not much scope for compromise as American policy has shown no signs of change.' He also wished Parthasarathi to convey to Krishna Menon his warm appreciation of his efforts.

any steps and has especially asked that you should wait a little as there is not much scope for compromise. We should therefore move a little warily and not make any proposal which might be rejected by Chou En-lai. Therefore, it is important to get Chou En-lai's agreement. We are repeating your message to Parthasarathi so that he might convey it to Chou En-lai and get his reactions.

3. I agree generally to what you say in paragraph 3 of your telegram.⁹⁸ Also your paragraph 7.⁹⁹ What you suggest about offshore islands seems obviously right. But I rather doubt if Chou En-lai will agree to what you say about Taiwan.

4. I agree to your paragraph 8.¹⁰⁰

5. Suggestion that you might go to Warsaw does not appeal to me at present.

6. We are asking Parthasarathi to repeat to you his answer to our new message.

98. Krishna Menon wrote that in his speech in the general debate scheduled for 6 September, he proposed to "state facts with restraint, pay tribute to US where possible, make the realities of the problem and the facts known both to US and world public, reiterate firmly our view that a peaceful approach to the problem of Taiwan proper can and should be made and that China has repeated her willingness to do this." He further said, "To leave our position in any doubt on coastal islands, apart from it casting doubts in our policy, will be misleading both our friends and 'opponents' in the present issue and will fail to arrest the drift to war."

99. Krishna Menon wrote that "Parthasarathi may perhaps convey as a message that it is our present intention to react publicly in the UN as we have done hitherto with helpful results." Krishna Menon added that in his speech on 6 September, he proposed to express the hope that the bombardment of the islands would be suspended to enable [the Nationalist] troops to get away if they begin to evacuate....I do not see why China should object to such an appeal." If Chou En-lai reacted favourably to this, Krishna Menon thought, "He will then successfully press home the advantage that China has gained in the last few days and help to turn the tide. I would however state realistically that any show by him of weakness on the one hand or placing the ultimate issue of Formosa in front of the present islands problem and the obtaining of evacuation de facto will be against China's case here."

100. Krishna Menon stated, "I would like your express permission to say that the Government and the people of India would as always exert their capacity though small and limited for a peaceful approach and atmosphere and continue to convey to China, as indeed we are doing to the West, their faith in this peaceful approach and its ultimate success, and that we are not asking and will not for any sacrifice of real principle."

292. Talks with the US Ambassador¹⁰¹

The United States Ambassador¹⁰² came to see me this afternoon. He spoke to me about the situation in the Formosa Straits and the offshore islands. He said that the People's Government of China had been giving in Peking a distorted version of the talks taking place at Warsaw, and so he wanted to put the record straight. He explained what had happened there. I need not repeat what he said because he gave me a memorandum on the subject, a copy of which I enclose. I am keeping the second copy with me for study.

(d) Japan

293. To C.S. Jha¹⁰³

September 2, 1958

My dear Jha,¹⁰⁴

You will be busy with the approaching visit of our President to Japan.¹⁰⁵ From some of your messages I gathered that you were rather worried about the President's food and other matters. There is no need to worry about this. The President is not rigid in these matters or, indeed, in anything else. All that he requires is vegetarian food which is not cooked with any so-called meat-stock. It seemed to me not feasible at all for a cook to be sent from here. Such a cook would not have fitted in in Japan. What could he have done in hotels and elsewhere where the President might go to? Everybody would have been embarrassed, and he would have had rather an upsetting effect. All that is necessary is for you to make it clear to the Japanese authorities that the vegetarian food for the President should be prepared in a vegetarian way, and not with any addition of meat-stock. I believe the President is taking some ghee with him, but ghee is not always necessary, provided the other stuff used is also vegetarian.

101. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, and M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 31 October 1958. JN Collection.

102. Ellsworth Bunker.

103. JN Collection.

104. Ambassador of India to Japan.

105. President Rajendra Prasad visited Japan from 27 September to 4 October 1958.

I am, however, writing to you about another matter. Do you remember Chaman Lal,¹⁰⁶ the journalist? Many years ago, he created a bit of a sensation in the then Legislative Assembly in Delhi by throwing an attaché case from the Press Gallery on to the Treasury benches. Since then, he has had a varied career and has wandered about the world a great deal, producing a number of books, which are certainly interesting, even though they might not be scholarly or accurate. He has written a book about Hindu America, tracing Hindu influence in Peru and other places. I think he has done the same thing about some parts of Western Asia or Egypt. And now, he has collected material about Japan more or less to the same effect. I do not know the value of this material, but it does look interesting.

He has also written a book about cottage industries in Japan, and a number of other books.

Some two or three years ago, he turned a Buddhist monk, a bhikshu. Whatever money he had at the time, he gave me for public purposes. He still wanders about writing books, speaking, etc. He is slightly cranky but, I believe, he is otherwise straight. Because he is cranky, I am a little afraid of getting tied up with anything that he does, lest it embarrasses me. At the same time, I help him from time to time in minor ways.

He is now very soon going to Japan for some months' stay. He says he is going to carry out his researches about Hindu influences in Japan. He is also interested in cottage industries and the like, about which he wrote at one time. He saw me today and asked me if you could see him and help him. I told him he could certainly do so and that you would probably be able to help him a little, though you could not directly sponsor his activities. When he goes to Japan, he will see you. You can tell him that such help as you can give him, will be available to him. You can even put him into touch with some people who might be able to help in the work he is doing.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

106. Chaman Lal, Bhikshu (1903-1976); journalist and writer; educated in Sargodha, now in Pakistan; member, Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Delhi; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; associated for two years with the *Vandemataram*, and with *The Hindustan Times* since 1924; special correspondent of *The Hindu* and *The Times of India* for many years; turned a Buddhist monk in 1955; wrote a number of books, including *Hindu America* (Bombay: New Book Co., 1940) and *India and Japan: Friends of Fourteen Centuries* (Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Punjab, 1959).

294. Saplings of the Bodhi Tree for Japan¹⁰⁷

A Japanese lady¹⁰⁸ came to see me today and talked to me about the President's visit to Japan. In particular, she said that quite a number of temples were looking forward to getting saplings of the Bodhi tree¹⁰⁹ from the President. I hope therefore that the President will take several such saplings, say five or six at least.¹¹⁰

295. To Zenryu Tsukamoto¹¹¹

October 16, 1958

Dear Mr Tsukamoto,¹¹²

Thank you for your letter of the 16th September.¹¹³ I am very grateful to you for sending me some volumes of your publication about the Yun Kang Caves. This is a very valuable publication which I appreciate.

I am not quite sure if I have received from you all the fifteen volumes to which you refer. I have been unable to trace Volumes II, III, V, XIII, XIV and XV.

107. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 13 September 1958. JN Collection.

108. Tomi Wada Kora, a member of the Japanese House of Councillors, upper chamber of Diet, was on a twelve-day study mission to India. Mrs Kora had translated into Japanese *Nehru on Gandhi* and collaborated in the translation of Nehru's *Discovery of India*.

109. According to tradition, the tree under which Siddhartha Gautama attained enlightenment at Bodh Gaya, near Gaya in Bihar, and came to be known as the Buddha. The tree now at the Mahabodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya is believed to be a descendent of the original one; it is therefore a Buddhist pilgrimage site.

110. The President carried with him six Bodhi saplings as gifts.

111. JN Collection.

112. (1898-1980); scholar of Buddhism; Director, Research Institute for Humanistic Sciences, Kyoto University, 1955-1959.

113. Zenryu Tsukamoto had, over the years, presented Nehru with 15 volumes of a 16-volume study on the Yun Kang Caves, and promised the last volume soon.

I have passed on your volumes to our Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, who will keep them in our Museum.

I have also asked him to send you copies of our Oriental studies for your collection.¹¹⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

296. The President's Impressions of his Visit to Japan¹¹⁵

The President has been good enough to send me a note giving some of his impressions of what he saw in Japan.¹¹⁶ I am sure you will be interested in reading this note which deals chiefly with practical problems and how the Japanese have dealt with them successfully. As the President says, we have much to learn from Japan. I suggest that we might profit by the President's observations and try to give effect to them in so far as we can.

114. Sending the volumes on the Yun Kang Caves to Humayun Kabir on 6 October, Nehru wrote, "These volumes appear to be a valuable production which we should send to our Museum or wherever such things are kept." Nehru added, "You will notice that they (Institute) enquire if we can send them some of our special studies or publications. I think we should certainly send them a good collection of them."

115. Note, 19 October 1958. Item No. XI/315, 1958, Confidential Section, Planning Commission. Also available in File No. 95/CF/58, Cabinet Secretariat, and JN Collection.

116. President Rajendra Prasad's note of 14 October stressed Japanese order, hygiene, punctuality, work ethic, and probity. As he said: "I have a feeling that if we look more to Japan, which has made such tremendous progress according to modern standards and still maintains its old traditions in many respects, we would be able to adjust things a little better. We would be able to do something to reduce the extent of our food problem. Even our industries could become more profitable, and perhaps we might be able to industrialise more quickly if we adopted what I consider to be their less expensive methods."

297. To C.S. Jha¹¹⁷

October 23, 1958

My dear Jha,

In looking through some old papers today, I came across your letter to Mathai,¹¹⁸ sent on February 14th, with which you sent me some poems of Mr Nobutsuna Sasaki,¹¹⁹ the well-known Japanese poet. I have no recollection whether I acknowledged these or not. I am sorry if I did not do so at the time.

The poems you have sent, are really very good and typical of good Japanese poetry, which suggests something gently and leaves the rest to your imagination. I hope that you have thanked Mr Sasaki for these poems. I should like you to convey to him my deep appreciation of them and my high regard for him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

298. To C.S. Jha¹²⁰

October 29, 1958

My dear Jha,

I have received a letter from Chaman Lal in which he tells me of what he calls wonderful evidence of links between India and Japan—temples, statues of Gods, Samadhis, portraits of Indian Teachers, etc.

He says that some of these places should be filmed lest they are destroyed or deteriorate. He further says that he has run short of money and cannot get this done himself. But, if Rs 5000/- was provided to him, he would be able to get these filmed in Japan. He would normally return to India on 15th November having exhausted his resources, but if money is sent to him, he would complete his work.

117. JN Collection.

118. M.O.Mathai, Special Assistant to Nehru.

119. (1872-1963); Japanese poet, scholar and critic; specialised in the literary genre *tanka* (short, lyrical poetry); leader of the literary society Chikuhaku-kai, which was founded for the purpose of reforming Japanese poetry and which published the journal *Kokoro no Hana* (Flower of the Heart) from 1898; taught at Tokyo Imperial University, 1905-1921; wrote several collections of poems and books on the history of Japanese poetry.

120. JN Collection.

Chaman Lal is, as I wrote to you, rather an eccentric individual full of enthusiasm but has not much balance.¹²¹ It is therefore difficult to accept his word for his judgment. Obviously I cannot suddenly produce Rs 5000/- for him. This would require further investigation. I would like you to find out from Chaman Lal and other sources how far what he has said is worth pursuing and spending money on. You can advance him a small sum if you think this is desirable. This sum might be Rs 500/-.

As for doing further work in filming, etc., you can get a list from him and find out particulars. If you tell us later that this work has to be done and send us some kind of an estimate, we shall consider this. Meanwhile, as I have said, you can give him Rs 500/- which I shall send you later.¹²²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

121. See item 293, and fn 122 to this item.

122. Referring to C.S. Jha's letter of 7 October to M.O. Mathai about Chaman Lal, Nehru had written to Jha on 15 October: "When I wrote to you about Chaman Lal, I mentioned, I think, that he was rather cranky. While I suggested that you might give him normal help and courtesies, I certainly did not want you to go out of your way to do something which you thought was not quite proper. You are quite right, therefore, in not fixing up interviews for him with the Prime Minister of Japan, etc."

299. A Realistic View of Arab-Israel Relations¹²³

I agree almost entirely with our Ambassador's analysis of the situation.¹²⁴ In fact that has been my view. So far as Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is concerned,¹²⁵ he has always been a strong advocate of Israel, rather aggressively so, and I have disagreed with him.

I think I am fully aware of Arab sentiment and feeling in this matter. I have discussed this with almost all the Arab leaders and I sympathise with it, though I do not go that far in some matters. I found that the Egyptian leaders and especially President Nasser takes a much more realistic view of the situation than some other Arab leaders.

President Nasser has told me and I entirely agree with him, that he cannot raise this question in the near future. I have myself made it clear that this question cannot be raised now. The time for raising it will be when Middle Eastern situation is somewhat clearer and the Arabs are surer of themselves.¹²⁶ The recent developments have tended that way.

123. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 9 September 1958. File No. 6(21)-WANA/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

124. R.K. Nehru, the Indian Ambassador to Egypt, sent his analysis of the Arab-Israeli situation to Subimal Dutt on 2 September 1958. It was after talking to leaders, especially Anwar el-Sadat, "one of the makers of the Revolution and a close associate of Nasser". They were friendly to India, respected Nehru, and accepted India's recognition of Israel, but felt their own position was not sufficiently appreciated. Arabs believed the time for a settlement with Israel had not arrived but it was not clear, according to the Ambassador, what the basis for it would be, other than accepting the fact that "Israel or Palestine from the Arab point of view is as much an integral part of the Eastern half of the Arab world as Goa is of India", and only extremists thought in terms of "driving Israelis into the sea."

125. During a dinner at the Ambassador's residence attended by Sadat and Jayaprakash Narayan, the latter asked about a peaceful settlement with Israel. When Sadat "spoke about the effect on Arab opinions of Israel's aggressive policies which had led... to the Arabs being deprived of their land, Jayaprakash said something to the effect that all land belongs to God." This did not go down well, especially with Mrs Sadat.

126. R.K. Nehru noted that Arabs were divided but united in their attitude to Israel; hence any suggestion about a settlement based on recognising Israel was unwelcome, especially from friends.

I avoid referring to Israel in public statements, etc. But when I am asked a question in a Press Conference, I have to reply and I cannot say something which is untrue according to my thinking.¹²⁷ Briefly my replies have been:

One, that my sympathies are very largely with the Arabs in regard to Palestine or Israel. I think that they have been badly treated. Further that Israel is a danger to them, at least so long as it continues to be, as today, an outpost of some big powers. Therefore, even apart from sentiment, I can understand the apprehension in the minds of the Arabs.

Secondly, that whatever our sentiments or feelings might be, a realistic view of the situation must lead us to think that it is not possible to liquidate Israel. Israel, by itself, though small, is strong in a military and scientific sense, probably stronger than any Arab country or even a number of them put together. It is a compact well-developed community, with a high degree of technical knowledge. Also the Great Powers, like the USA, UK, and France, will stand by Israel if an attempt is made to put an end to it. Therefore, for all practical purposes one has to recognise the fact that Israel will continue.

Thirdly, if Israel is to continue, some time or other some kind of arrangement or settlement will have to be arrived at between the Arab countries and Israel.¹²⁸ But this is no time for it. Also it is for the Arab countries to determine not only the time for it but the content of it.

I remember a message that was sent to Marshal Tito, President Nasser and me when we were at Brioni together.¹²⁹ This was sent informally, but came from the Prime Minister of Israel.¹³⁰ It was to the effect that Israel had made a mistake in leaning on the Western Powers. They were realising now more than ever that they were of Asia and must look to Asia. It is possible that this idea may grow in Israel and make it less aggressive and pugnacious towards the Arab countries.

But I repeat that these are long term developments and the question cannot be raised now in any form.

Perhaps you might send a copy of this note to our Ambassador.

127. For Nehru's reply to questions on Arab-Israel relations, see SWJN/SS/43/p. 626.

128. R.K. Nehru wrote to Dutt that Sadat had told him that the Arabs had accepted partition some years ago, "which means that they accepted Israel as a separate State." The Ambassador further reported that "Saadat [sic] seemed to be thinking in terms of an eventual settlement on the basis of the old frontiers."

129. On 18-19 July 1956.

130. David Ben-Gurion was the Prime Minister of Israel at the time.

300. India's Position on Israel¹³¹

I have clearly stated our position in regard to Israel in some of the recent statements I made.¹³² There is nothing more to add to it. I have not suggested that the Arab countries should recognise Israel. There can be no question of their recognising Israel in present circumstances. What I have said is that a peaceful settlement should be arrived at, but I have added that this is no time for that and it is for the Arab countries to decide what they should do.

2. As for Mrs Hutheesing's visit to Israel,¹³³ I do not know when she went and what she did there. The fact that Mrs Hutheesing is my sister obviously does not mean that she acts on my behalf or on our Government's behalf. In fact, she and her husband are bitter critics of the Government and her husband, Shri Hutheesing, has belonged to an Opposition Party here, the PSP, and has opposed Congress candidates. He writes frequently to the Press strongly criticising Government's foreign policy as well as domestic policy.

131. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 12 October 1958. File No. 6(21)-WANA/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

132. R.K. Nehru wrote to the Foreign Secretary on 6 October that Hassouna, Secretary-General of the Arab League, had informed him the previous night that propaganda pamphlets had been circulated at the League meeting in Cairo suggesting Nehru wanted Arabs to recognise Israel. R.K. Nehru believed that Pakistan was the source of such pamphlets. Subimal Dutt in his note of 11 October said, "The Government of India's attitude towards Israel was clearly stated by the Prime Minister to the deputation of Arab envoys led by the late Ambassador of Iraq and we were told that the envoys were fully satisfied."

133. R.K. Nehru reported that Hassouna had told him that, according to one of the pamphlets circulated to members of the Arab League, Mrs Krishna Hutheesing, during her recent visit to Israel, "had said something to the effect that she hoped she would be appointed as India's first representative to Israel." Subimal Dutt noted, "It is very unfortunate that Mrs Hutheesing paid a visit to Israel and talked rather airily with Israeli leaders. A photograph of hers with some of the Israeli Ministers was got hold of by the Pakistan Government and hundreds of copies were circulated in the Arab countries by Pakistani Missions. One is surprised to see however that the Arab Governments should ignore official statements about our views on Israel and lay so much importance on small instances like Mrs Hutheesing's visit."

301. To Abdul Karim Kassim¹³⁴

October 27, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,¹³⁵

I am happy to receive your letter of October 16, 1958, for which I thank you. I am glad to learn that the two senior Engineers that we sent to Iraq have been of some help to Your Excellency's Government. I entirely agree with you that cooperation between our countries should develop more and more and thus strengthen the friendly ties between us.

Assuring Your Excellency of my highest consideration,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(f) Algeria**302. Talks with the French Ambassador¹³⁶**

The French Ambassador¹³⁷ came to see me this morning. He spoke about Algeria and said that he had particularly come on behalf of his Government to find out what we proposed to do regarding the establishment of the so-called Provisional Government of Algeria.¹³⁸ He gave an account of the terroristic activities of the Liberation Movement there and pointed out how these had failed to win over the majority of the people, as shown by the results of the referendum.¹³⁹ It was absurd to say that the referendum represented military pressure. Quite a large number of people had voted. The Ambassador earnestly hoped that we would not encourage this new move.

134. JN Collection.

135. Abdul Karim Kassim was the Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq.

136. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, and Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 5 October 1958. JN Collection.

137. Stanislas Ostrorog.

138. A Provisional Government of the "Republic of Algeria" headed by Ferhat Abbas of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) was established in Cairo, in Egypt, on 19 September 1958. It was recognised immediately by the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Libya, Yemen, Tunisia and Morocco.

139. The referendum was held on 28 September 1958.

2. I told him that it was all very well to complain about the terroristic activities of some people in Algeria. But we knew how the army and other authorities in Algeria had indulged in terrorism. That was worse than the terrorism of individual groups. However, we had been anxious to see a solution of this problem and naturally we were in favour of Algerian independence. We did not thereby rule out some kind of a bond between an independent Algeria and France. We had hoped that some peaceful settlement would be arrived at. Even now we hope that this may be possible.

3. The Ambassador told me that the new elections under the Constitution just passed will take place early in November all over France and French overseas territories.

4. I told him finally that while we were firmly in favour of Algerian independence, we did not wish to make gestures. We had, therefore, not been in a hurry to come to a decision about this particular matter now and we would give full thought to all aspects of it including what he had said. Our object would remain some kind of a peaceful settlement. Anyhow, we would not act in a hurry.

303. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹⁴⁰

Algerian situation. I had hoped that you would let us have your views about new developments regarding Algeria, that is, announcement of formation of Provisional Government. My own feeling has been that we should not rush in recognition of this Provisional Government in spite of all our sympathy for Algerian independence which of course we should express. It is very unusual for an émigré government to be recognised in peace time. Also the consequences of such recognition by us might well be perhaps break with France.

2. French position has undoubtedly been strengthened by results of recent referendum, even though it might be said that voting was due to pressure tactics. Early next month new elections will take place in France as well as Algeria and other French territories.¹⁴¹ I do not think that French Government is likely to take any step till these new elections are over and new government formed.

140. 5 October 1958. JN Collection. V.K. Krishna Menon was in New York leading the Indian delegation to the United Nations General Assembly.

141. The first general elections of the Fifth Republic were held at the end of November in metropolitan France, Algeria, and the four overseas departments. The elections resulted in a sweeping victory for M. Soustelle's Union for the New Republic, the new Gaullist party which had succeeded the former Social Republican Party.

3. While, therefore, we sympathise fully with Algerian independence and would have liked to keep in line in this matter with our Arab friends, it does not seem to me quite right for us to recognise Provisional Government at this stage. What is your advice?

4. French Ambassador came to see me today on behalf of his Government and expressed hope of his Government that we would not give recognition to Algerian Provisional Government. He referred to referendum, etc. I told him that we had always been in favour of Algerian independence, though this did not rule out some mutual satisfactory bond between Algeria and France. We had always hoped for a peaceful settlement. Unfortunately, French Government delayed any proper approach and tried to crush nationalism. We still hoped that peaceful approaches would be made for a settlement. Meanwhile, we were not going to act in a hurry and we would give consideration to all aspects of the question.

5. If you agree, you may refer to Algeria in some such general way in your speech before General Assembly.

304. To Sadiq Ali¹⁴²

October 8, 1958

My dear Sadiq,¹⁴³

I am returning to you a letter which has been sent to me by your office.¹⁴⁴ Please tell Krishna that while we should always express ourselves strongly against nuclear tests, it hardly seems feasible to me for us to follow the programme laid down in Japan.

As for Algeria, we are all for Algerian independence. For us, however, to acknowledge at this stage the so-called Provisional Government of Algeria appears rather unrealistic. With all our sympathy for their cause, we want to be helpful and not merely demonstrative. Émigré Governments are not normally recognised except perhaps in war time. Therefore, as a Government, we shall wait and see developments. In that way, we might be able to help more. But we want to continue to keep touch informally with Algerian representatives.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

142. JN Collection.

143. General Secretary, AICC.

144. The letter has not been traced.

305. The Algerian Provisional Government's Request for Recognition¹⁴⁵

Paragraph 2 of your letter to Shri R.K. Nehru might run as follows:¹⁴⁶

The Prime Minister has carefully considered the request of Mr Ferhat Abbas for recognition by the Government of India of the Provisional Government of Algeria. It is well known that we have always been in favour of the independence of Algeria. But, as you yourself have stated, there are obvious difficulties in the way of our giving this recognition immediately.¹⁴⁷ By doing so, we would be creating serious difficulties in our relations with France. This would also detract from our capacity to be helpful to Algeria in her struggle for full independence or sovereignty. In effect, our recognition would be rather in the nature of a gesture. Such a gesture might have some temporary effect, but probably it would come in the way of any other effective action that we might take. The Prime Minister, therefore, suggests that you should send for the Minister of Culture of the new Provisional Government, who called on you on October 1st, and speak to him on the following lines. You should not give him a written note:

“The Prime Minister has received the two letters of the 19th and 28th September from Mr Ferhat Abbas. As the leaders of Algeria are aware, the Government of India have always supported the right of the people of Algeria to self-determination and independence. They have expressed their views repeatedly on the subject in the United Nations, in public statements and in diplomatic correspondence. They have been distressed at the great sufferings of the people of Algeria during their struggle for freedom. The Government of India are convinced that the Algerian people will achieve full independence or sovereignty.

“The question before the Government of India, to which they have given earnest attention, is how best they can help in this achievement. A mere gesture of recognition of the Provisional Government may not be very helpful at this stage and might well come in the way of any further

145. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 10 October 1958. File No. 2(12)-WANA/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

146. R.K. Nehru, the Ambassador of India to Egypt, had passed on requests by the Provisional Government of Algeria for Indian recognition.

147. On 21 September, R.K. Nehru had written to Subimal Dutt that while India fully sympathised with the Algerian movement for independence, recognition of a government in exile would be premature since i) India had recognised Algeria as part of France, and ii) it was not certain that the Provisional Government was in effective control of Algeria.

and more effective step. The question of recognition at this stage and under present circumstances therefore presents some difficulty, as it might come in the way of such further steps as might be considered feasible and helpful in the national struggle of the Algerian people.

"The Government of India, therefore, do not propose at present to accord formal recognition to the Provisional Government. They will, however, be glad to keep in touch with the new Government on an informal basis."

2. You might inform Shri R.K. Nehru that the French Ambassador came to see me two-three days ago on this subject and expressed the hope of the French Government that we would not accord recognition to this Provisional Government. I told him that we would consider every aspect of this question fully and would not take any decision in a hurry.¹⁴⁸

3. I am having a Press Conference on the 12th October morning when probably I shall be asked about the Provisional Government of Algeria. My answer will be on the lines of the statement above.¹⁴⁹

4. Shri R.K. Nehru should speak to the Egyptian Government also on the lines suggested.

306. French Premier's Invitation to the Leaders of the Algerian Liberation Movement¹⁵⁰

I think the newspapers had an item of news about the Provisional Government of Algeria refusing President de Gaulle's invitation.¹⁵¹ I am not quite sure of this. This might be verified.

2. It might be worthwhile for you to send the substance of Shri Panikkar's telegram¹⁵² attached to our Ambassador in Cairo. He may act informally and

148. For Nehru's talk with the French Ambassador, see item 302.

149. See item 11.

150. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, and Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 27 October 1958. JN Collection.

151. They were invited on 23 October for ceasefire negotiations and declined on 25 October.

152. K.M. Panikkar, Ambassador of India to France, informed Nehru by telegram on 26 October that Jean Henri Daridan, the Director General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had told him that the ceasefire negotiations were intended to be comprehensive discussions on the Algerian problem and that Ben Bella and other Algerian leaders would be released. Panikkar suggested that Nehru advise the Algerian leaders through the Indian Embassy in Cairo to respond positively.

confidentially according to his discretion, keeping the then position in view. If any kind of a hint is to be thrown out by us (subject always to this being not too late) it has to be considered whether this should be mentioned to the Egyptian Government or to the Algerian leaders.

(g) Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

307. To K.P.S. Menon¹⁵³

September 15, 1958

My dear K.P.S.,¹⁵⁴

For the last year or more there has been talk of a lawyers' delegation going from India to the Soviet Union. How this question arose, I do not remember. I think Chaman Lall¹⁵⁵ was involved in it and, possibly, he took the initiative in putting forward this idea. I did not particularly like this. However, when this matter came up before me, I agreed because I did not wish to come in the way at that stage.

Later, other things happened and Chaman Lall went off on his own account to the Stockholm Conference¹⁵⁶ and elsewhere. N.C. Chatterjee¹⁵⁷ also could not go then.

Anyhow, the matter appears to have been revived and in the latest communication from the Soviet Embassy here, they have said that they would be happy if our Law Minister¹⁵⁸ is a Member of the Delegation. The way they have brought in our Law Minister's name is a little casual, considering that he is one of our Cabinet Ministers. But I suppose they mean well. I have agreed to the Law Minister, Asoke Sen going as the leader of the delegation. One reason for my doing so is that we could not think of any other suitable person to lead

153. JN Collection.

154. Ambassador of India to the USSR.

155. Diwan Chaman Lall, Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Punjab.

156. The Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation met in Stockholm in the latter half of July 1958.

157. A prominent leader of the Hindu Mahasabha.

158. Asoke Sen.

it and I did not want N.C. Chatterjee, the Hindu Mahasabha man, to lead the delegation.¹⁵⁹

I think that Asoke Sen is thinking of going to the Soviet Union round about the 10th October and he wants to spend about twelve days there. He will naturally be interested in the apparatus of justice there.

In the Soviet invitation it was said that the Soviet Government would pay for expenses, etc., from Kabul onwards. That is presumably that the Soviet aircraft will take the delegation from Kabul. I do not mind that in Soviet territory. I have made it clear to the Lawyers' Delegation that they must not accept presents there except perhaps trifle souvenirs. Sometimes the Soviet Government also gives them some cash allowance on the plea that they may not have Russian currency. This kind of thing must not be encouraged.

If Asoke Sen wants any Russian currency, I suppose you will be able to give this to him from such monies as I may have in my account there. I presume you can draw upon that account. If there is any difficulty, let me know so that I can take steps to enable you to draw upon my rouble account in Moscow.

Early tomorrow morning I am going to Bhutan via Gangtok and Yatung. I am rather excited about this journey and am greatly looking forward to it. But it is going to be a strenuous affair as we have to cross through passes of round about 14,500 feet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

308. Scope for Consumer Goods Export to the USSR¹⁶⁰

I enclose a report of a recent visit to Moscow by Professor P.C. Mahalanobis.¹⁶¹ I have found this report interesting from a number of points of view. The changes taking place within the Soviet Union from year to year, are marked and interesting. If at any time they could turn their colossal production apparatus

159. A delegation of nine lawyers, led by Asoke Sen, left on 5 November for Moscow on a two-week visit of the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Supreme Court of the USSR. The other members of the delegation were: N.C. Chatterjee, Gian Chand Mathur, B. Das, M.M. Gharekhan, S.K. Acharya, S.K. Mukherjee, C.R. Pattabhiraman and Y. Kumar.

160. Note for Cabinet Ministers, 5 October 1958. JN Collection.

161. P.C. Mahalanobis was Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta; Honorary Statistical Advisor to the Government of India; and Member of the Planning Commission.

from big scale armaments to consumer goods, they would flood not only the Soviet Union but other countries also.

2. One thing to which special attention should be paid by us, and more particularly by the Commerce & Industry Ministry, is the great market for various types of consumer goods, including traditional articles like tea, shellac, hides as well as artistic handicrafts. I am told that even handwoven fabrics would be welcomed. In fact, incomes have risen considerably there, and articles are normally in short supply. We ought to be able to build up a fairly extensive export trade to the Soviet Union, in addition to what we may have already. Just at present, China is apparently flooding them with its petty consumer articles.

309. Cable to K.P.S. Menon¹⁶²

I have received message from London signed by large number of leading English writers and literary men and women drawing my attention to telegram they have sent to Soviet Union of Writers¹⁶³ and Khrushchev and requesting me to assist in effort to help Pasternak.¹⁶⁴

2. Telegram they have sent to Soviet Union of Writers and Khrushchev is as follows:

Begins. We are profoundly anxious about fate of one of the world's great poets and writers Boris Pasternak.¹⁶⁵ We consider his novel *Doctor Zhivago* a moving personal testimony and not political document. We appeal to you in the name of the great Russian literary tradition for which you stand not to dishonour it by victimising a writer revered throughout the entire civilised world.¹⁶⁶ Ends.

162. 30 October 1958. JN Collection. K.P.S. Menon was the Ambassador of India to the USSR.

163. Writers' Union of the USSR, formed in 1932, organised all professional Soviet writers into one large union.

164. Boris Pasternak (1890-1960); Russian poet, novelist and translator; studied music and philosophy; best known for his novel *Doctor Zhivago*; was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1958, but forced to decline it because of the Soviet Government's opposition to his work.

165. Pasternak, who had telegraphically conveyed his acceptance of the Nobel Prize to the Swedish Academy on 25 October, declined it four days later under pressure from Soviet authorities.

166. The telegram was signed by Maurice Bowra, Kenneth Clark, T.S. Eliot, E.M. Forster, Graham Greene, Aldous Huxley, Julian Huxley, Rose Macaulay, Somerset Maugham, J.B. Priestly, Alan Pryce-Jones, Herbert Read, Bertrand Russell, C.P. Snow, Stephen Spender and Rebecca West.

3. I do not know what you can do in this matter, and I leave this to your discretion. But I do feel that Pasternak is being unfairly treated and at the same time reputation of Soviet Union will suffer by this. We cannot interfere in any way formally, but it may be worthwhile for you informally to mention this to Soviet Minister of Culture and perhaps even to Khrushchev if you think it right.

4. I am addressing you more in my capacity as President of the Sahitya Akademi, our national academy for literature, than as Prime Minister.

310. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹⁶⁷

30th October, 1958

[Nan dear,]¹⁶⁸

I have just received a telegram,¹⁶⁹ a copy of which I enclose.

We cannot take any official formal action in this matter. That will be resented and may well have the opposite effect to that intended. But I have sent a message to our Ambassador in Moscow and asked him informally to approach the Minister of Culture there, and possibly Khrushchev, and convey to them our great concern about this matter.

You might inform anyone of the signatories of the telegram sent to me that I have received their message and I am equally concerned over this matter. We cannot act formally in such matters, but informally we are trying to do something. But I do not want my name to be mentioned publicly.

Even the action I am taking is more as President of our Sahitya Akademi which is our national Akademi of literature than as Prime Minister. A few days ago I received this book, *Doctor Zhivago*, by Pasternak. I am glad you sent it to me. I have not read it yet.

I have seen the letter you have sent to N.R. Pillai¹⁷⁰ about Prince Philip's visit here and whether you should come to India then or not. Prince Philip is

167. JN Collection.

168. High Commissioner of India to the UK.

169. See item 309.

170. Secretary General, MEA.

coming here not on a State visit, but as head of the British delegation to the Science Congress.¹⁷¹ I do not think it is necessary for you to come on this occasion.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

311. To K.P.S. Menon¹⁷²

October 31, 1958

My dear K.P.S.,

You may remember that when Bulganin and Khrushchev were in India,¹⁷³ they invited Yuvraj Karan Singh, Sadr-e-Riyasat of Jammu & Kashmir State, and his wife¹⁷⁴ to visit the Soviet Union. Khrushchev especially pressed him to go there. Subsequently he has also mentioned this and I think he has enquired from you as to when the Yuvraj can go there.¹⁷⁵

Karan Singh has been anxious to go there.¹⁷⁶ It was largely because of political developments in relation to Kashmir that I advised him to postpone the visit. He is in Delhi now to attend the Governors' Conference¹⁷⁷ and he asked me today if it would be possible for him to go to the Soviet Union early next year. I told him that I saw no objection to his doing so. Something or other will continue to happen in regard to Kashmir but we have to take these things in our stride and not upset our programmes because of them. The recent double coups d'état in Pakistan has caused us some concern, but I do not think even that need come in the way.

I feel, therefore, that Karan Singh and his wife can well go to the Soviet Union for, say, about three weeks, next year. Probably some time in April or

171. The 46th Session of the Indian Science Congress was held in New Delhi from 21 to 28 January 1959.

172. JN Collection.

173. During November-December 1955, N.A. Bulganin, the then Soviet Prime Minister, and Nikita Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had visited India. They also visited Srinagar during their stay in India.

174. Yasho Rajya Lakshmi.

175. In July 1956. See SWJN/SS/34/p. 215.

176. In June 1958, Karan Singh had sought Nehru's approval for a visit to the Soviet Union. See SWJN/SS/43/p. 418.

177. The Governors' Conference was held in New Delhi on 30-31 October 1958.

May would be suitable. If they go, they would naturally like to visit a number of places there and especially Tashkent and maybe one or two other places on the other side of Kashmir. I should like you to mention this informally to Khrushchev and find out his reactions. If these reactions are favourable, then you might enquire about a suitable time and let me know.¹⁷⁸

The Pakistan developments, though not wholly unexpected, have nevertheless been strange. The second coup has resulted in the purest form of military dictatorship. Most of the Generals at the top in Pakistan are well known to our senior men in the army who do not think much of their ability. But in this matter ability does not count much and trouble may be created for lack of ability. We are concerned, of course, and have made this clear to the Ambassador of the United States.¹⁷⁹ I have pointed out to him how these Generals in Pakistan depend almost entirely on US help and support and it is odd indeed that the US Government should be patrons of a military dictatorship.

I have deliberately in public and, as a matter of fact, in private, not indicated any great apprehension on our part. If any trouble arises we shall meet it. There is nothing to worry overmuch but we shall be prepared for anything.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

178. Karan Singh and his wife visited the Soviet Union from 23 April to 15 May 1959.

179. See item 284 for Nehru's note on his talk with Ellsworth Bunker, the US Ambassador, on 31 October 1958.

(h) United States of America

312. To D.P. Karmarkar¹⁸⁰

September 12, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,¹⁸¹

Your letter of the 9th September about the American organisation called "Wheat Associates".¹⁸² It is a little difficult to come to any conclusion about their offer without having further particulars. I would suggest to you that your Ministry might write to them for further particulars.

As far as I can judge, it will not be desirable for your Ministry to ask for help from them or to get entangled with them in any way. Writing to them, however, will not necessarily entangle you. It is possible that some organisation like the Child Welfare organisation,¹⁸³ might take some help from them in a small way if there are no strings attached, and see how this works out. Meanwhile, I suggest your sending a letter to them, acknowledging their previous letter. In this letter, it might be said that the Health Ministry does not usually take help of this kind, but it might be possible for some other organisation such as the Child Welfare organisation to do so. You can ask them to send further particulars for such purpose.

I am going to Bhutan in three days' time. On my return, you might perhaps write to me on this subject, and we can then consider it further.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

180. JN Collection.

181. Union Minister of State for Health.

182. Karmarkar's letter is not available. On 7 September, Nehru had written to Karmarkar: "There is an organisation called 'Wheat Associates' which appears to be associated with American interests. They have got some programme of giving financial help, etc., to promote the eating of wheat in India. I find that they had written a letter on June 4, 1958, to Dr Y.K. Subramaniam, Assistant Director General of Health Services. In this letter they had made various proposals." Nehru wanted to know what the Health Ministry had done about these proposals and whether a reply was sent to that letter, as the matter had come to him in another connection.

183. Indian Council for Child Welfare.

313. To Sadiq Ali¹⁸⁴

October 4, 1958

My dear Sadiq,¹⁸⁵

Sheel Bhadra Yajee,¹⁸⁶ MP, and I think a member of the AICC (he used to be in the Forward Bloc previously), has written a pamphlet called *True Face of American Monopolistic Democracy*,¹⁸⁷ published by Harsh Publications, Delhi. This pamphlet is, I feel, a very unbalanced and unfair one. Many of the things it says are true no doubt, just as many of the things that Katherine Mayo's book *Mother India* said were true. But the total effect is not true.¹⁸⁸ Apart from this, it does little good for our people to run down other countries. The general policy we adopt is not to condemn other countries.

I am merely writing to you about this so that you might mention it to the Congress President.¹⁸⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

184. JN Collection.

185. Sadiq Ali was General Secretary, AICC. He was also Chief Editor of the *AICC Economic Review*, 1958-62 and 1964-1969.

186. (1906-1996); politician, journalist and writer from Bihar; participated in the freedom struggle and was associated with the Indian National Army; one of the founders of the Congress Socialist Party, but resigned in 1939; co-founder of the All India Forward Bloc; Convener and General Secretary, All India United Left Front, 1947-49; Deputy Chairman, Chairman and Secretary General, All India Forward Block, till its merger with the Congress in 1955; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1957-58, 1958-64 and 1966-72; Chairman, Editorial Boards of the Hindi weeklies *Jhankar* and *Hansia Hathaura* and the English weekly *Jamshedpur Labour Times*.

187. The correct title is *True Face of Monopolistic American Democracy*.

188. Katherine Mayo, an American, wrote her book *Mother India* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1927) with the help of British officials, depicting India as socially backward and therefore unfit for freedom. For Nehru's reaction, see SWJN/FS/2/p. 351.

189. U.N. Dhebar.

314. To R.R. Diwakar¹⁹⁰

October 11, 1958

My dear Diwakar,¹⁹¹

Your second letter of the 9th October about the Leader Exchange Programme of the USA.¹⁹² I do not particularly like the idea of your going in this Programme. I cannot say that I have any firm objection to it, but my reaction is rather against it. The kind of persons that are usually sent in this Programme are not of any note or importance.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(i) Brazil

315. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹⁹³

11th October 1958

My dear Ajit,¹⁹⁴

One of the representatives from Brazil to the Bank Conference here came to see me yesterday. He spoke to me about the Indian breed of cattle that had been imported into Brazil long ago and which had flourished exceedingly there. He was anxious to see those breeds in India. He told me further that his father had been specially connected with this Indian cattle in Brazil and had a large farm. He (the father) had in fact written a book on the subject of cattle which had gone from India to Brazil. I was presented with a copy of this book in the Portuguese language, sumptuously bound. I am sending this book to you for your Ministry's library on animal husbandry, etc.

The Brazilian, Senor Da Silva, spoke to me also about the exchange of technicians between Brazil and India. I vaguely agreed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

190. JN Collection.

191. Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, and former Governor of Bihar.

192. Referring to the Foreign Leaders Programme, which became the International Visitor Programme in 1952, and the International Visitor Leadership Programme in 2004. Run by the US Department of State, it was meant to promote international understanding.

193. JN Collection.

194. Union Minister for Food and Agriculture.

316. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹⁹⁵

October 18, 1958

[Nan dear,]¹⁹⁶

I have just returned to Delhi from a visit to Abu and the neighbourhood. On arrival here, I have seen your letter of October 14th in which you describe the visit of the new Brazilian Ambassador.¹⁹⁷ I was interested and amused to read about this.¹⁹⁸

195. JN Collection.

196. High Commissioner of India to the UK.

197. Francisco de Assis Chateaubriand Bandeira de Mello was the Ambassador of Brazil in London.

198. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit wrote: "This letter is meant to give you a laugh.

"The Brazilian Ambassador here is a gentleman of enormous wealth but nothing much else. He arrived a few months ago in a blaze of publicity and announced that he had brought a diamond bracelet of the value of £60,000 as a personal gift for the Queen. When he heard that personal gifts were not accepted he wired his President [Juscelino Kubitschek] who immediately announced that the gift was from the people of Brazil. This satisfied all the conventions and His Excellency presented the Queen with the bracelet (paid for by himself) on behalf of the people of Brazil.

"Recently this gentleman came to pay his first protocol visit here. He entered my office completely hidden behind a sheaf of dozens of red roses which he practically laid at my feet. He then kissed my hand and, before I knew what was happening, he had embraced me warmly and kissed me on both cheeks. After this he made a short speech the gist of which was as follows: 'The perfume of India was spreading through the world and purifying it. This was due to the great Gandhi and his noble successor the Prime Minister of India. Brazil had come under the influence of this perfume and would work closely with India in and outside the UN. To meet the representative of India in the UK—sister of the PM, disciple of Gandhi, made this day a memorable one in his life, etc....'

"I finally managed to get him seated and he told me that for many years there had been only three women in his life. The first was Margot Fonteyn (the prime Ballerina of the UK) as he was a devotee of the dance—the second was myself, the third Queen Elizabeth. He asked if I would honour him by accompanying him the next week-end in his private plane to Rio. The people of Brazil loved me—the President loved me. The streets would be strewn with emeralds and diamonds to welcome me. (I thought how *much* more practical than rose leaves which die so soon!) I tried to explain why I could not accept the invitation and presently he left.

"Last week he came to dinner having sent me a basket of huge orchids earlier in the evening. He embarrassed me by saying he had a small gift for me—a mere bagatelle—a little diamond bracelet worth nothing at all *and*, what was even more, a formal invitation from his President to visit Brazil as soon as possible. Up to the time of writing I have not been able to explain the facts of life to this warm hearted soul—he functions on another planet unhampered by rules or codes of conduct.

"Whoever said the Court of St James was dull?"

A few days ago, I received your letter about your wish to leave your present post by October next. That is a long way off yet. Of course, if you really feel that way later, there is nothing more to be said about it, although we would like you to stay on.

I have not yet got rid of my sore throat, etc., and rather heavy days are ahead of us here. During my journey to Bhutan, I discovered that I did not have proper apparel for trekking on high mountains. Fortunately, Tenzing¹⁹⁹ sent me some things which were very useful. I doubt if I shall do much more trekking of this kind in future. If, by any chance, this happens, then I shall have to get some of the very light and warm and wind-proof clothing that are now so much used.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

(j) Nuclear Weapons

317. Nuclear Tests a Threat to Humanity²⁰⁰

A little over two years ago, the first edition of this book was published.²⁰¹ It had a friendly reception not only from scientists, but also from the general public. The edition was soon exhausted. It was intended to bring out a second edition early in 1957, but this could not be arranged, chiefly because Dr D.S. Kothari was engaged in other work. Perhaps it was as well that this delay took place as during the last two years a number of important papers and reports have been issued. These have added considerably to our knowledge about strontium 90 and the way the fall-out is distributed over the earth's surface.

199. Tenzing Norgay, who climbed Mount Everest with Edmund Hillary in 1953; Director of Field Training, Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, Darjeeling, 1954-1976.

200. Note, 1 September 1958, for *Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, GOI, Second Edition, 1958). Also available in JN Collection.

While sending this note to D.S. Kothari, Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence, Nehru wrote, "I am inclined to think that you should not give any heading at all. It is no good calling it a foreword and I can think of no other word."

201. For Nehru's foreword to the first edition (1956), see SWJN/SS/33/pp. 154-155.

This additional knowledge has made us realise more than ever the consequences of nuclear war and also of nuclear test explosions. Less than a month ago, the Scientific Committee appointed by the United Nations General Assembly issued a warning against under-estimating the effects of atomic radiation and said that the cessation of nuclear weapons' tests would act to the benefit of human health. The Committee came to the general conclusion that "even the smallest amounts of radiation are liable to cause deleterious genetic, and perhaps also somatic (physical) effects." These eminent international experts proceeded to say: Even a slow rise in the environmental radio-activity in the world, whether from weapon tests or any other sources, might eventually cause appreciable damage to large populations before it could be definitely identified as due to irradiation.²⁰²

These conclusions, expressed in restrained scientific phraseology, tell us of the fate in store for us if we are not wise enough in time to put an end to this horror. Fortunately there is some indication now that nuclear tests will be suspended. The Soviet Union suspended them some time ago. The United States of America and the United Kingdom have announced that they will also suspend their tests in the near future. Let us hope that this will not be a mere suspension, but a final end of something which threatens the future of humanity.

As I write this, the United Nations Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic energy is meeting in Geneva.²⁰³ These peaceful uses will only prosper if they are divorced from the idea of war. There can be no doubt that people all over the world passionately desire some agreement among those who control these frightful engines of destruction, to put an end to the fear that haunts humanity.

I trust that this book, which has involved much labour, will be of some help to bring a clearer realisation to people of the perils and dangers that humanity has to face and from that full realisation may come effective steps to avoid these dangers.

202. The United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, set up on 3 December 1955, published its report on 10 August 1958.

203. The second United Nations Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, held in Geneva, 1-14 September 1958, resulted in Anglo-American and Soviet announcements that all three powers would declassify their research programmes on controlled, thermonuclear (fusion) reactions. It was attended by some 2,000 experts from 69 countries and nine UN specialised agencies, and an estimated 3,000 observers from various organisations, commercial firms and academic institutions.

318. To C. Rajagopalachari²⁰⁴

Raj Bhavan,
Hyderabad
26th October, 1958

My dear Rajaji,²⁰⁵

Your letter of the 2nd October addressed to M.O. Mathai was forwarded to me here.

Even before I received it, we had passed a resolution about nuclear tests at the All India Congress Committee meeting.²⁰⁶ You must have seen this. I have twice referred to this matter also in the AICC meeting.²⁰⁷ You know that we have taken up a clear and strong position in the United Nations also.

In view of all this I rather doubt if it would be appropriate for me to issue a personal appeal. I do not think this will make any further difference. Such appeals can certainly be issued by prominent people, humanitarians or others. Thus, Professor C.V. Raman can certainly do so. But I do not think it would be appropriate for Rajendra Babu²⁰⁸ or the Vice-President²⁰⁹ to issue appeals of this kind. It may be that on some suitable occasion they may say something.

I am returning Norman Cousins'²¹⁰ telegram to you.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

204. JN Collection.

205. C. Rajagopalachari was Governor General, 1948-50, and Congress Chief Minister of Madras State, 1952-54.

206. At Hyderabad on 24 October 1958. See item 22.

207. See items 25 and 28.

208. Rajendra Prasad, President of India.

209. S. Radhakrishnan.

210. Editor, *The Saturday Review of Literature* (New York).

319. To S. Radhakrishnan²¹¹

October 27, 1958

My dear Radhakrishnan,²¹²

When I was in Hyderabad I received a letter from Rajaji (sent through Mathai). Rajaji suggested that I should get the President and you, as well as myself perhaps, to sign this proposed manifesto.

I wrote to him that we had just previously passed a fairly strong resolution on this subject in the All India Congress Committee. I did not think it appropriate for me to sign any such general manifestos. Also that I did not like the idea of asking the President or you to do so. On some appropriate occasion I could of course say something about this. But dragging in the President into this business of manifesto-signing did not seem to me desirable. Nor did I think that you should sign such a manifesto.

On return here, I find another letter from Rajaji waiting for me. I enclose this. This gives the full draft manifesto. I still adhere to my previous opinion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

211. JN Collection.

212. Vice-President of India.

(k) Multilateral Organisations**320. International Financial Bodies and the Underdeveloped Countries²¹³**

It is an honour and privilege for me to welcome you on this occasion, to welcome all of you who have come here to this great gathering but more especially those who have come from distant countries. We are happy that you decided to hold this conference of these great international financial agencies in Delhi. We are happy for various reasons. One is because this would enable us to know you better and to learn much more from you. This would further enable us to express our gratitude for the help that these agencies have given us in the past and in the present but also because I think it might be somewhat profitable for many of you, distinguished delegates, who have come here to have an opportunity to have a glimpse into our minds in our own environment.

I am not referring to this particular conference, important as it is, because conferences, more or less, are the same in any part of the world and more or less the same people gather there but it is the environment that counts and normally you have been in the past surrounded by Europe or America. It is good, therefore, that for a change you should feel the sun of Asia and, well, all the other things also that pertain to this part of Asia.

I do not mean to say that Asia is one solid whole, thinking alike and acting alike; of course not. And yet there may be certain common features in it. Even now you have the problems of Western Asia which are peculiar to it. You have the great tensions and dangers at present in the Far East of Asia and you have the problems of Southern Asia. They are different. But the main connecting link is that there is tremendous ferment and change in Asia, whether East or West or South.

It is an important factor to remember further that Asia is not a country which has only recently come into the light, if I may say so. Not too long ago, let us say, three hundred years ago, if such a conference could have met in those days, it would probably have found that apart from other spheres of

213. Inaugural speech at the joint annual session of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation, New Delhi, 6 October 1958. Press Information Bureau.

The joint annual session of the three financial institutions was held from 6 to 10 October 1958 and it was attended by over 1,000 delegates and observers from 60 countries. Jean Van Houtte, the Governor of the Bank of Belgium, presided over the joint inaugural session.

thought, even in the technological sphere, Asia was rather ahead of the rest of the world. It is well to remember that. Something happened then and very probably it was the fault of Asia which stopped its future progress. It became static, rather even stagnant, if you like, and the countries of Western Europe and America went fast ahead and brought about what is called the industrial revolution, which again had powerful reactions on the way of life and even on the way of thinking of those peoples who underwent that change, that industrial revolution, and gradually the position as it existed round about three hundred years ago was changed vitally.

Europeans—the Westerners—came to India because India was a producer, not of raw materials but of manufactured goods which went to Europe and everywhere. It had as high a standard of living as in most other countries, sometimes higher.

Now, changes took place and with an ever-increasing rapidity which made the industrialised communities of the West wealthier and their resources also grew accordingly, while in countries of Asia we actually went backwards. We did not even stay where we were. We went backwards for a variety of reasons into which I need not go and the fact that some big cities arose and some other faint reflections of industrialisation were evident in the countries of the East did not at all affect this major premise that those countries of Asia went backwards in general welfare, in general living conditions, per capita income, partly because the population was growing and production was not keeping pace with it, while in the industrialised communities of the West the advance was rapid. It is well to remember this and this process really; possibly even you might say in the last 150 years, it has been marked, or 170 years if you like.

Up to the end of the 18th Century, India was still considered to be a fairly big manufacturing country. All that has changed, of course. Now, while this happened in India or elsewhere—I say India repeatedly as an example more than as a specific country because what I say, I think, applies to most countries in Asia, perhaps some in Africa too—there may be many reasons for that—but the fact remains that in the final analysis, we arrived at a stage when there is a vast difference in living standards, and all that goes with it, of the highly industrialised countries and the non-industrialised ones.

And what is even more significant is that that gap is ever increasing. It is not being bridged. It is increasing. The pace of progress through the development of science and technology is tremendous where they have been developed through industrial means; whereas other countries like India struggle hard just to keep themselves going. They have this struggle for survival, not for show. It is a life and death struggle for the nation as a whole; not for a group here or a

group there, but for the 400 million people that live here. So I want you to feel this human element in our thinking, in our continual strain and struggle with which we have to face this problem.

No doubt we have to look upon it from the point of view of resources, money and all that. That is important. One cannot function in the air. But even more important is the human element in it. Even more important are the tremendous ferments going on in the minds of millions, hundreds of millions of people, which cannot easily be controlled by resolutions of conferences, this conference or any conference that we may hold anywhere.

Asia is and will continue to be in an explosive state, because the recent changes of the last few years or so have unleashed a giant. The political changes and the rest, they have unleashed a giant which had been kept out politically, economically and in other ways, for an age, for 150 years or more. But now it has been unleashed, not entirely, but considerably. And naturally it does not propose to behave as when it was in leash, either in the political domain or in the economic domain, but prefers to make mistakes and stumble and fall and rise up, rather than be pulled and pushed hither and thither. And above all, it wants to make good. It does not want to continue as a starving continent or a starving country which is living on the verge of subsistence or existence. Whether it will be possible for them to do so or not, the future will show. But there are these tremendous and vast urges, and often these urges make them act wrongly, in wrong directions. Let us try to restrain them from acting in the wrong direction. But let us try to understand these long-suppressed urges coming up. These needs are there and the needs are justified. Who are we to criticise, if people want better food, better clothing and better living conditions? We are of the view that they should have them. All of you want them to have these. So this is the position which has to be understood.

And we are inevitably tied up in political problems of the world. We try on the one side to build up the world, and on the other there are constant tensions, the cold war, the war scare and the like, pulling the world back, and keeping it on the verge of danger and almost of utter disaster. The two do not fit in. One comes in the way of the other. At any rate, I hope that in considering these methods, these political aspects should be kept out of the considerations of problems of this nature. It cannot be wholly kept out, I know. But one should try to keep it out, because the more we get tied up with these political problems connected with the cold war, the more I think we miss the opportunity of serving the objectives we seek to serve; and the more our motives begin to be questioned, as if they are not motives to help but rather to serve a political objective. Again, if that questioning comes in, doubt creeps in and much of the good we seek to do goes out.

The world is in a political sense divided in various ways today, the Communist world, the anti-Communist and some other countries which may be called non-Communist, though not supposed to be ranged in any anti group. But I think that is there. And yet the major division of the world today, I think the real division, is the division of the industrialised communities or the developed communities, and the underdevelopment communities. That is the real division of the world today. And whether you talk of a Communist state like the Soviet Union which has become an industrialised state or the many non-Communist states that are highly industrialised, though they may differ in their economic theories, in the final analysis, they worship the same gods—the god of industrialisation, the god of the machine, the god of higher production and the utilisation of nature's power and the resources for the greatest advantage. In how they do it, they may differ, but they follow the same path, more or less, while the underdeveloped countries struggle hard for a bare subsistence and the realisation is increasing that if they do not increase their productive capacity substantially more than their population increases, well, they remain where they are, or they go down and down. And that is the basic problem.

Some people may say, talking about our Plan, that our Second Five Year Plan is beyond our resources, or too ambitious.²¹⁴ Well, it depends on how we look at these things. Perhaps there is justification in some saying that, if one looks from a strictly cautious point of view, about resources alone. But these resources themselves depend on so many factors, including that tremendous uncertain factor—the human factor. If you look at the needs of the situation, the urgent, vital and essential needs of the situation, then our Plan is a feeble plan, and I should say, far from being big. These are the needs of the situation. So, one has to meet these needs if we have to solve these problems. And one should find some way of doing it. And if we do not, somebody else will find a way, for you cannot ignore the problem by merely shutting your eyes to it.

That is the real difficulty for us. It is the difficulty—again I repeat it—not before us only, but before any country engaged in this tremendous adventure of pulling oneself up from this undeveloped, backward state to a state when development comes rapidly, industrialisation, etc., and progress is much more rapid than population increase or anything else.

The key to progress today in the final analysis is through science and technology; the key to material progress, let me correct myself, is that. I do not say there are no other aspects of human life; there are, certainly, which are

214. For instance, *Time* in its issue of 1 September 1958 stated: "Worst of all, India has been brought to the edge of bankruptcy by its overambitious second five-year plan, which has now run half its course."

very important. But the key to material progress is through science and technology and their application. And when these are applied, there are social consequences of these which change the social climate of the people undergoing these changes, just as the mental climate of Europe and America has changed. So these things also change.

These are some of the considerations which I ventured to place before this distinguished audience because they are important considerations which trouble us.

We have always to be alive and we have to think always of facing this major problem and not by passing it or ignoring it. It is a problem of nearly four hundred million people passionately wanting better conditions, and we have always to think of how to distribute the small surplus we have: are we to give it to them and give them contentment or, are we to keep a part of it for investment in the future? All those difficult problems we have, but the point is this. All these hundreds of millions of people in Asia, who may be rightly or wrongly directed, have to be considered and developments have to be made on the right lines. A superficial remedy would not do any good. As I just said, only three hundred years ago, Asia was even technologically very advanced but something happened in the last few years. The fact is that there are the natural resources and there are the human resources of Asia, human resources not merely in numbers but in ability. I have no doubt that, given a chance, it produced and would produce scientists and technologists as good as any. It is the chance that is wanting, this chance to pull itself out. It is not merely the question of Asia or Africa but the rest of the world. The rest of the world cannot be happy, without imbalance, unless it pulls up the underdeveloped countries also. The world is too closely knit now to live its life apart from each other. Therefore, it becomes a problem for all of us, whether we are more fortunately situated or not, to see that these imbalances go and that, particularly speaking, a feeling of contentment spreads among those people today who are in such utter need of the primary necessities of life.

I hope you will forgive me for giving expression to some ideas that I have in my mind. I dare not speak to you about the specific subjects that you will no doubt consider because you are or most of you are high experts in international finance. I dare not talk to you about subjects about which I do not know very much but I do know something about humanity in Asia, in India. I know what moves and disturbs continuously the millions of minds. I referred to it and I wanted to say something about it to you so that in thinking about your monetary or financial problems you may have this background, somewhere at the back of your mind, of these vast millions who are no longer quiet and who ought not to be quiet. They have no reason to be quiet. Nobody must keep quiet; it is

quite wrong. They have kept quiet long enough and they have suffered long enough for their needs of life. It is true that we cannot produce them by talk; they have to be worked for. I know today that no country can progress just by outside help. If a country or people want to make good, they have to share the burden themselves. It is true that in such cases it is very difficult to make good progress without help, without some initial help to push them forward and most countries have that initial help. Therefore, we think that these underdeveloped countries deserve, not only for their good but for the good of the world, help so that they may be pulled out from this difficult state of backwardness, underdevelopment and poverty, but I realise, nevertheless, that the main effort must come from their own people. If the people do not make that effort, nobody else's effort is going to pull them out. I am quite sure that that effort is going to be made, is being made and will be made still more, so far as this country is concerned. Naturally, it will make it easier at this time for us to have the cooperation and help of others, both for the good of the individual countries concerned and of the larger group of humanity.

On behalf of my Government, I bid you a cordial welcome again.²¹⁵

321. To Morarji Desai²¹⁶

October 12, 1958

My dear Morarji,²¹⁷

Thank you for your letter of October 11 giving me an account of what happened at Montreal. I have previously read the report of your foreign tour.²¹⁸

215. On 9 October 1958, G.D. Birla wrote to Nehru conveying the general reaction of the delegates and guests of the bank conference whom he had entertained. He stated, among other things, "Your extempore speech—they are unaccustomed to unwritten speeches—its substance, the diction and the delivery left a deep impression on all who were present." Also see item 251, fn 421, and item 374 for the other observations and comments of the delegates and guests as gathered by G.D. Birla.

216. JN Collection.

217. Union Finance Minister.

218. Morarji Desai visited London from 28 August to 5 September and the USA from 6 to 14 September to plead India's case for foreign aid and went on to Montreal for the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference of 15 to 26 September. On 4 September Britain announced £40,000,000 aid to India before 31 March 1959 and on 9 September, the US State Department announced development loans of about \$100,000,000 during the next ten months. The Montreal conference decided to set up a Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council.

I have been interested to read your reactions to some of the principal delegates at the Conference at Montreal. Many of them, I know. I might mention here that de Zoysa,²¹⁹ the Ceylon Finance Minister, is one of the Ministers in Ceylon who is really friendly to us on the Indo-Ceylon issue and is anxious to have some kind of a settlement between the two countries.

I am glad that it has been clearly understood that in the event of West Germany coming into the Executive Boards of the IMF and the World Bank, it will be Nationalist China that goes out. We cannot possibly agree to India going out.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

322. To M.G. Candau²²⁰

October 16, 1958

Dear Dr Candau,²²¹

Thank you for your letter of the 30th September.

I learnt some time ago and even before I received your letter, of your proposal to appoint my colleague, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, as a Special Ambassador of the World Health Organisation.²²² If I may say so, the choice is a very good one, and I am sure that she will be able to help you in many ways. The work of the WHO is of prime importance, and it should not suffer for lack of funds.

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

219. Stanley de Zoysa (1907-1970); Sri Lankan politician; Minister of Finance in S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's government, April 1956-November 1959; thereafter Minister of the Interior until 1960.

220. JN Collection.

221. Marcolino Gomes Candau (1911-1983); Director-General of the World Health Organisation, 1953-73.

222. Acknowledging her letter of 2 October, Nehru had written to Amrit Kaur, former Union Health Minister, on 7 October: "I have read Dr Candau's letter to you. I see no objection from our point of view to the proposal he has made to you. Indeed I think that you could be of great help in this matter of malaria control and eradication."

323. The Need to Act upon the Universal Declaration of Human Rights²²³

The essence of civilisation is for human beings to have certain fundamental human rights, as they have certain obligations. Without those rights, life is oppressed by fear and uncertainty, oppression and conflict. Consciously or unconsciously, human beings have yearned for those rights throughout ages. It was a great and historic event for the United Nations to embody these rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.²²⁴ But though this Declaration has been made, unhappily, it is not acted upon in many parts of the world where there is still individual suppression, racial discrimination and a lack of appreciation of the inherent dignity of each individual. It is well, therefore, that we remind ourselves of this Declaration of Human Rights and try to live up to it.

223. Message, 21 October 1958. JN Collection. The message was released on 10 December 1958, the Human Rights Day, and published in the newspapers of 11 December 1958.

The message was also specially recorded for the Films Division for inclusion in its documentary titled "Human Rights".

224. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948 in Paris.

324. To S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike²²⁵

23rd October, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,²²⁶

Your High Commissioner²²⁷ in Delhi saw me this morning and gave me your two letters of the 14th October, 1958.²²⁸ One of these is the letter which you have addressed to a number of countries which participated in the Bandung Conference.²²⁹

I am leaving Delhi in two-three hours' time for Hyderabad to attend the meeting of the All India Congress Committee. I shall be there for some days. I hope to write to you in reply to your letter more fully after my return and after having some of the points you have raised examined in our Department of Economic Affairs.

But I might inform you immediately of my present reactions to your proposal. I think that it will be desirable to have a conference of the Bandung countries to discuss economic affairs and cooperation. Such a conference obviously requires rather careful preparation. It will have to deal with not gestures of good will, but with specific problems.

It will also be desirable, I think, as you suggest, for a relatively small preparatory committee to meet previously to discuss various matters connected with the proposed conference and our broad approach to these problems. This preparatory committee could meet in Colombo.

225. JN Collection.

226. Prime Minister of Ceylon.

227. Richard Aluwihare.

228. Bandaranaike's first letter was in reply to Nehru's of 20 April 1958. Nehru had pointed to the obstacles to closer economic cooperation among the Asian-African countries, which had participated in the Bandung Conference of April 1955. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 704-706. Bandaranaike clarified that he did not expect the Bandung countries to evolve a common formula of cooperation but he thought that another such conference could identify areas of possible cooperation and propose regional planning without intruding upon national planning. He was optimistic about the worth of such conference, and, from his Ambassador's report, Nehru himself was overcoming his earlier doubts. He was therefore sending a memorandum to the Bandung countries.

229. Bandaranaike's letter to the Prime Ministers of the Bandung countries, like the one to Nehru, proposed the following conference topics: prices of primary products; food production planning; industrial development; policy regarding foreign investment; nuclear energy; shipping; population; regional development bank; and general trade or payments agreements.

I hope you will keep me informed of the answers you get to the letters you have sent to the Bandung countries.

With regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

325. Regional Planning for Bandung and Colombo Plan Countries²³⁰

I am sending you the two letters from the Prime Minister of Ceylon about which I spoke to you this morning. I am enclosing also two copies of these letters. One copy I am sending direct to Commonwealth Secretary.²³¹ I am also sending you copies of a brief acknowledgment I have sent to the Prime Minister of Ceylon.²³²

2. I should like you to refer these letters to the Finance Ministry for their comments which might be sent to me in the course of the next week or ten days. I shall then send a fuller reply to the Prime Minister of Ceylon.

3. As I have indicated in my reply to the Prime Minister of Ceylon, I am broadly accepting his proposal. I have made it clear, however, that this will require careful preparation and probably an informal preparatory meeting previously.

4. The Deputy Minister of Finance, Shri Bhagat,²³³ came to see me this morning. He is going to the USA to attend a meeting of the Colombo Plan countries. He mentioned to me that there is a proposal there, made by Burma, to the effect that there should be regional planning, presumably for South-East Asia.

5. Regional planning, of course, is desirable, but I do not myself understand how this can be profitably discussed at the meeting of Colombo Plan countries. I have given to Shri Bhagat a copy of the Ceylon Prime Minister's letters and my reply.

230. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, 23 October 1958. JN Collection.

231. M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA

232. See item 324.

233. Bali Ram Bhagat.

6. I am attaching copies of a previous letter from the Prime Minister of Ceylon which he sent me in April last and my reply.²³⁴

326. Development of International Understanding: the Role of World Airlines²³⁵

I was thinking that perhaps nothing is more full of romance as the history of travel. There are many ways of writing the history of the world, the history of civilisation. There is a way of putting down the names of kings and all that. The way of writing the history of the world and the history of civilisation would be in terms of communications—how communications changed and, as a consequence, affected life generally. And yet, it seems very odd that apart from rather minor changes, major changes suddenly came, more or less, in the last two hundred years, and the world became rather quite different from what it was.

I was forcibly reminded of all these when, quite recently, about two or three weeks ago, I was in Bhutan. As you, the President,²³⁶ have said, it is a country on the borders of India, closely associated with India, a country with very fine people, possessing fine minds and intelligence, but cut off completely from the rest of the world by high mountains and partly by the choice of its own people. They are probably afraid, and not without reason, for if they allow too many from outside to come, those people might interfere with the way of life they wish to live. People have a way of doing that, and here is this country consisting of intelligent and bright people. Whenever they have been given a chance, they have done well, as engineers, as doctors, as anything, but simply they were cut off from the rest of the world, cut off not only from the air age, but from the wheel age, you might say. There are no roads in the mountains except by paths and nothing in the nature of wheeled conveyance.

It is quite extraordinary, suddenly to go to a place where there are no carriages or wheels, leave out automobiles, not even horse carriages. You are transported into that and you realise how utterly different, how utterly cut off

234. The reference is to Nehru's letter of 20 April 1958 to S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 704-706.

235. Inaugural address at the fourteenth annual general meeting of the International Air Transport Association, New Delhi, 27 October 1958. AIR tapes, NMML, and Press Information Bureau.

236. J.R.D. Tata presided.

you suddenly become from the world. It took me about five or six days to go a hundred miles riding or walking, riding a pony or sometimes riding a yak, an animal which few of you may have seen, not a very beautiful animal.

So that brought this picture of the changing communications very forcibly to my mind and what difference they make to human life. As a matter of fact, even in my tolerably long life, I have practically seen and watched the whole air age gradually coming in, from the early days when stories came about Wright Brothers, and when we used to read in England about crossing the Channel. I remember attending an aeronautical exhibition in Frankfurt—I think it was in 1909, though I am not quite sure — where aircraft used to fly a little, and fall down after a few hundred yards.

So I have been very fascinated both by this development of communications and, of course, lately air travel. I take it everybody is. There is hardly a child who has not read stories, *Arabian Nights* or whatever it is, of magic carpets or flying bedsteads, which is a literal translation of the Hindi word *Udan Khatola*. And all our old stories are full of it. Man has always been thinking of it, and sometimes trying it too, and certainly imagination has been full of it. And then, after a long while, comes this practical realisation of flying and air travel and that too develops with a fairly remarkable speed and brings so many other things in its trail.

The very first thing, of course, is that it has changed almost the nature of the world in the sense that every country is neighbour of the other countries. There are no far-away countries left except Bhutan, perhaps for the time being. And that makes the world shrink and create new problems while solving some others, create a new outlook, new hopes and new fears.

I refer to this right in the beginning of my remarks which I am making to you because it is always interesting to look at anything in these historical perspectives and more particularly this particular problem of air travel or rather the bigger one of communications. That, of course, goes beyond air travel as such, and other developments like the radar and the rest which have taken humanity much further. I have no doubt they will go further still and we now discuss space travel and the like. I am not going into that field. This, of course, is interesting, but the consequences are always on the future of the human race, of humanity, of civilisation and the rest of it, because it is bringing together all peoples, and almost every one of us, sitting on the doorstep of the other, creating either friendship or hostility. It ought to create understanding and friendship but sometimes too close association is not liked by either party and they may become hostile.

I suppose that is a major question of the age, where these developments in communications and other matters, which have put an end to isolation of any

country or any people, will lead to greater cooperation or confidence. Yet, I take it that the work in which you are interested, as great world airlines, is naturally meant to create more and more cooperation and understanding of each other and, therefore, you perform a function of great significance, apart from the immediate aspects of it, of great significance in terms of world history, bringing people near each other, making them look at each other, making them understand each other and drawing people out of their shells, because each country, whether advanced or not advanced, lives in a kind of shell of its own thinking, and in its own groove of living, unless the people of that country know something more of other countries.

Of course, there are individuals who go anywhere they like, but they never come out of their shells. They are only superficially influenced by what they see. But most people, naturally, do absorb something of what they see, and it helps them to gain a better picture of this quite extraordinary and variegated world of ours.

Personally, in this land of India, I am fascinated by our variety in the midst of certain basic unity, and I want that variety to remain in India, and much more so I want the variety of the world to remain. It should not be uniform, or regimented, after a single pattern.

So, apart from the business side of the world lines, there is this great conscious or unconscious service that these world lines do in bringing people together, or nearer each other, and giving each a glimpse of the other, thereby helping in mutual understanding. That is a great task at any time, more particularly now when there are some elements which add to a lack of understanding and which tend towards conflict.

So we are very happy that you have come here to the city of Delhi in India. Delhi does, in a sense, symbolise very much both the past and the present, and possibly a glimpse of the future of India. Perhaps some of you know that tradition tells us that the present city of Delhi, that is, not New Delhi but Old Delhi, is itself the seventh city. There were six before, round about here and New Delhi is the eighth city. So when you come here, and if you are imaginative enough, history unrobes itself in all its facets. That have to be in various other parts of India too for we are an ancient country.

Though ours is an ancient country, and while long age and long experience gives it a certain maturity, perhaps, certain glimpses of wisdom, but that long age also brings many burdens which are not desirable, which one wants to get rid of. So you will see both, and you will find in India almost any century that you search for, from the fairly early ones to the present day. Therefore, the problems of India, in some ways national as they are, also give us some understanding of larger international problems of variety and unity and the like.

So I am here, on behalf of the Government of India, and on behalf of myself, to offer all of you, ladies and gentlemen, a warm and cordial welcome to this country and to this city. Many of you may have visited India before, and many of you may have passed through India. I do not know what impressions you gathered, because in a country like India you can collect almost any impression that you want, that is, that you are receptive to. Where there is so much that impinges on your eyes and minds, it depends on what you are receptive to. You will find good impressions here and bad impressions, because, as I said, we are a mixture of everything here, more especially at the present time. And while naturally we try to get rid of what we consider bad, we rather like mixture and this variety. We value the individual, and we value the individual or the group developing according to its own wishes subject always to some limitations of course.

So I hope that your visit to India and this conference will not only help you in solving many of the problems of this air age and help you take some other steps forward, but will also enable you to form some picture of what we are, what we are aiming at, quite apart from many of the objectives that we have within our country which help to change, in so far as the texture of living of our people is concerned, to take them out of unhappiness and poverty in which they had been for so long.

We want to do all that, but we are also firmly convinced about the vital necessity of peace and cooperation in the world, convinced not only for idealistic reasons, which are good enough, but for practical reasons, because without that we do not see any hope for our country or any other. Conflicts, if they come, will put an end to all these hopes of progress that we have, and the vast numbers of people in the world over. You, in this great international Association,²³⁷ as I said, are in a sense in the full tide of the advance of history, the river of history, by promoting not only this travel by air which itself has become historic process, but by bringing about this greater knowledge and understanding with each other among the nations.

I hope you will succeed in this. So I welcome you again, and I hope your stay will be pleasant and your labours fruitful.

One thing I may say, rather personal, about our President, Mr Tata. About thirty years ago, I went to receive him when he came in an aircraft to my city of Allahabad, about thirty years ago. And that reminds me that he is not only a pioneer in aviation in India, but perhaps one of the very first pilots. I do not

237. The International Air Transport Association (IATA), founded in Havana, Cuba, in April 1945, is the prime organisation for inter-airline cooperation; it succeeds the IATA founded at The Hague in 1919.

know if he is the first, but certainly he is one of the early ones, and he has been associated with the advance of aviation and air travel in India right from its commencement. In fact, he has pushed it forward, and I am happy to see him here, on this occasion, presiding over this great gathering. His name, or rather his family's name is associated in India or rather with pioneering and great enterprises, and I am glad that the present representative of that family has also done this great pioneering work in aviation and is still doing it.

327. To M.C. Setalvad²³⁸

October 28, 1958

My dear Setalvad,²³⁹

Thank you for your letter of October 24th and the report on the Second Session of the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee held in Cairo.²⁴⁰ I am glad to note that this organisation is making progress and is helping in bringing about cooperation in various matters between Asian and African countries.

As for B. Sen continuing as Secretary of the Committee, personally I have no objection, but I do not quite know how this will work out. I am referring this matter to the External Affairs Ministry and shall write to you again on this subject.

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

238. JN Collection.

239. Attorney General of India and Chairman, Law Commission of India.

240. The Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee, originally the Asian Legal Consultative Committee, was formed after the Bandung Conference of 1955 by seven Asian States, viz., Burma, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Ceylon and the United Arab Republic in November 1956. Nehru inaugurated the first session in New Delhi on 18 April 1957. See SWJN/SS/37/pp. 565-571. In April 1958, it became the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee (AALCC) with the inclusion of African States. Its function of legal consultation was particularly oriented to matters under consideration by the UN and its various organs and agencies. The second session of the AALCC, in Cairo from 1 to 13 October 1958, considered Diplomatic Immunities, Principles of Extradition, Immunity of States in respect of Commercial Transactions, Dual Citizenship and Status of Aliens. M.C. Setalvad led the Indian delegation.

328. India's Quest for a Permanent Seat on IMF Board²⁴¹

I am particularly interested in India retaining a permanent seat on the Board of the Fund. I am, therefore, alarmed to read in paragraph 9 of the note that "Even if both these solutions fail,—it is unlikely that they will—no serious harm will be done. Even if we cease to be permanent members, the sheer size of our quota is so large that we should have no difficulty in getting ourselves elected regularly on the Board."²⁴² I entirely disagree with this weak attitude. This is not merely a question of what we contribute or our getting elected to the Board. It is essential that we should have a permanent seat. For us to be deprived of a permanent seat now, would be an insult not only to us, but to Asia. More especially after all this fuss of the Bank meeting in Delhi,²⁴³ it would be amazing indeed for India to be deprived of a permanent seat. I do not take Taiwan into consideration in this matter.

2. You may remember that this question was raised by us at the time the Bank was meeting here. There was a suggestion that mention might be made of this by the leader²⁴⁴ of our delegation in the UN. He was told, however, that it would be better for him not to say anything on the subject, as this would be dealt with here. The impression I got at the time was that no question would arise of India not being given a permanent seat.

3. I think that we should make it clear that we cannot compromise on this issue.

241. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, and Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 28 October 1958. JN Collection.

242. Nehru is quoting A.K. Roy, Secretary, Ministry of Finance. India had one seat out of the five on the Board of Executive Directors of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) by being the fifth largest quota holder (at 400 million dollars) after the USA, the UK, China (Taiwan) and France. But if another state attained the fifth place, India would lose her seat. Hence Roy recommended opposing China's quota exceeding the Indian, or distributing the quota increase among other states, so that India remained among the top five. This must be ensured even if Germany rose in the list. But, if this plan failed, the alternative was to increase the number of permanent seats to six, so that India remained on the Board.

243. The joint annual session of the IMF, the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation was held in New Delhi from 6 to 10 October 1958.

244. V.K. Krishna Menon.

(I) Indian Missions

329. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit²⁴⁵

September 1, 1958

[Nan dear,]²⁴⁶

Your letter of the 28th August about the High Commission.²⁴⁷ You say that some of the Ministries here, not the External Affairs Ministry, objected to a reduction in some of their staff in the High Commission. I wish I had known this before, as I would have dealt with these Ministries here directly.²⁴⁸ Now that Morarjibhai is gone there²⁴⁹ and other steps are being taken,²⁵⁰ I shall wait for his return. But I am determined to cut down this heavy expenditure.

Our Ministry did not show me your recommendations about economy. I wish they had done so, so that I could have exercised some influence.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

245. JN Collection.

246. High Commissioner of India to the UK.

247. There had been frequent charges by Opposition Members in Parliament that the High Commission in London was overstaffed and that its expenditure of about Rs 90,00,000 a year was unjustified.

248. Nehru stated in his note of 2 September 1958 to B.N. Chakravarty, Special Secretary, MEA, that "such proposals as have been made by our High Commission for reduction in staff and have been accepted by us should surely be given effect to straightaway." Nehru added, "We need not wait for any further investigation in regard to them. There is no point in waiting for a complete overhaul. Steps should be taken from time to time whenever possible."

249. Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister, was in London from 28 August to 5 September 1958.

250. The Finance Ministry's Special Reorganisation Unit was to send a team to the High Commission in London on 17 September to examine its working.

330. To M.C. Chagla²⁵¹

September 6, 1958

My dear Chagla,²⁵²Your letter of the 5th September.²⁵³

We have not heard from the United States Government yet about your appointment. Till we hear from them, it is not possible to make any final arrangements. I suppose their agreement will come soon.²⁵⁴

As for the equipment that might be considered necessary for the Embassy at Washington,²⁵⁵ I am sending your letter on to Pillai.²⁵⁶ When you come here, you can discuss this matter with him also.

I agree with you that a certain standard has to be kept up in our Embassies. As far as possible, however, it is desirable to have equipment from India. This is not merely a question of saving foreign exchange, but of giving the place an Indian look and making people abroad realise that we use Indian goods. In fact, normally, other Embassies abroad furnish their houses with goods from their own country.

As for works of art,²⁵⁷ French Embassies have a good rule. The French Government loans them some first class works of art, paintings, etc., which they keep there for a period and then return them in exchange for others. I

251. M.C. Chagla Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

252. Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court and Ambassador-designate to the United States of America.

253. M.C. Chagla had asked for a meeting.

254. Chagla was appointed Ambassador to the USA on 13 September 1958.

255. Chagla referred to "a rather harrowing letter" he had received from Harishwar Dayal, Indian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, saying that the Ambassador's residence "cannot be said to be well equipped even in comparison with some other Indian Embassies" he had seen, "let alone those of other countries in Washington where the general standard is extremely high." Dayal had specifically mentioned that the crockery, cutlery, glass and linen were not adequate for formal entertainment, and also pointed out the lack of works of Indian art. Chagla suggested in his letter to Nehru that before he left for the USA, a reasonable amount might be sanctioned for purchasing works of Indian art and the requisite crockery, linen, etc., while he was in England on his way to Washington, since, according to Dayal, "it would be better and cheaper to buy these things in Europe rather than in Washington."

256. N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA.

257. Harishwar Dayal had written to Chagla that other Embassies had been given Rs 5,000 to Rs 10,000 each for the purchase of Indian pictures, sculptures, etc., but nothing had been done for the Embassy in Washington.

wonder if this can be done here. Some smaller pieces of Indian art can, of course, be taken anyhow. Curtains, coverings of various kinds, etc., of the most attractive qualities are available in India. I think that linen of good quality should also be available here.

I should imagine that your salary and frais will be adequate for you there.²⁵⁸ If any other question arises, you can write to us about it. Just at present, as you know, we are anxious to save foreign exchange.

There is one aspect of furnishing which might be kept in mind. It is difficult to furnish or equip a house without having the picture of the house in view. Furniture and curtains have to fit in with the scheme of the house. Therefore, it might be preferable for you to get these things after you have seen the house and made some kind of an estimate as to what is required. Some things, however, can be taken with you.

However, you can discuss these matters with Pillai.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

331. Indian Missions in Tibet²⁵⁹

During my brief stay at Yatung²⁶⁰, I met our representatives in Tibet that is, our Consul-General at Lhasa²⁶¹ and our Trade Agents at Gyantse²⁶² and Yatung.²⁶³ At Yatung, I saw the land and buildings attached to our Trade Agency. In regard to the other two places, I was given some account of the position there.

2. We divide up our missions abroad on some basis of importance and according to the standard give amenities, etc. While this may be good enough as a general rule, it is obvious that some places require special attention. Thus, our missions in Tibet have to be considered quite apart from any other place in

258. Chagla suggested using some of his own money in case allowances were inadequate.

259. Note, written at Paro, Bhutan, 22 September 1958, for N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, and B.N. Chakravarty, Special Secretary, MEA. File No. 32/20-XPP/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection. Copies of the note were sent to Apa B. Pant, Political Officer in Sikkim and Bhutan, and J.S. Mehta, Deputy Secretary, MEA.

260. Nehru stayed at Yatung overnight on 18 September on his way to Bhutan.

261. S.L. Chibber.

262. R.S. Kapoor.

263. K.C. Johorey.

the world. I can hardly imagine a more dreary life, both climatically and to some extent politically, than has to be faced in Tibet. People have to live at an altitude of 10,000 to 12,500 ft or perhaps more. The winter is terribly severe and the long nights must be enough to try anyone's nerves. There is hardly any social intercourse or cultural activities.

3. The first thing to be sure about is that, in so far as possible, our representatives who are sent there are physically capable of supporting that altitude. (I might mention that the present representatives did not complain to me about the altitude and apparently did not fare badly because of it). Twice at least in the past we have had trouble about our Ambassadors who were sent to Addis Ababa in Ethiopia because they had to live at an altitude of 9,000 ft. Tibet is generally much higher and the climate much more rigorous. Every person who is sent to these places must have his heart and blood-pressure examined carefully and only when he passes the test should he be sent there. On the whole, the term of a person's tenure there should not be too prolonged. I realise the difficulty of having short tenures because work in Tibet is of a very specialised kind and it may not be easy to find suitable men for it. If a person is healthy and does not suffer from the altitude or the climate, he may continue to remain there for a relatively longer period. But we should have reports about his health periodically. It should be remembered that this is not merely a question of health of the officer concerned but of his family also.

4. A certain minimum standard of comfort and conveniences should be provided. Comfort obviously includes proper residence, adequate heating and water supply and lighting. This is the barest minimum anywhere, but in these cold regions its importance is all the greater. The long cold nights require warm rooms and proper lighting for reading or other work or amusement. The water supply should include running hot water wherever possible.

5. I am suggesting the barest minimum for residential purposes. Without this life tends to become intolerable in these regions for any normal family with children. Another aspect of this is the provision of cultural facilities for all our staff and their families. These facilities include (1) radios; (2) films; (3) books and periodicals; (4) games.

6. I believe some kind of radios have been supplied through Shri Apa Pant to these places in Tibet. It is essential that properly functioning radios should be given to these missions. I should imagine that one radio is not enough. There should be one in our representative's house and one in some common room for the rest of the staff.

7. Films. These again are important, not only our documentaries which are much appreciated, but also feature films. Both these types of films are also very popular with the general population and are good publicity. Arrangements

should be made for a regular and frequent supply of our documentaries. As for feature films also, more might be sent. The normal price charged by the film companies is based on some kind of competitive charges. This does not apply to Tibet at all and we ought to try to get some of these feature films at cheaper rates for Tibet especially. It would be good propaganda for them.

8. Books and periodicals. This again is very important for the long winter evenings for our people cut off from their homeland and living in an alien and sometimes even hostile atmosphere. We must build up good libraries there, principally in English and Hindi, and definitely set aside an adequate sum for this purpose. These libraries should also be available to the local residents should they require to use them. That is an important aspect, but I am thinking principally now of the members of our own missions and their families who should have not only a good basic library but new books sent to them from time to time.

9. I suggest that immediately a set of books worth about Rs 500/- each set should be sent to Lhasa, Gyantse and Yatung through our Gangtok Agency. This may form the base and should be added on annually. I am suggesting the figure of Rs 500/- as a minimum figure. I do not quite know how far that will help.

10. This Rs 500/- may be split up into Rs 300/- for English books and Rs 200/- for Hindi books. There are some very good cheap editions of English books appearing in Bombay and perhaps elsewhere too. Old Indian classics or their translations have been brought out and they cost from Re 1/- to Rs 2/ 8/- each. I suggest that full sets of these popular editions might be obtained. Once before I suggested that we should get these books to be sent to all our missions abroad. I do not know what was done about that. In any event, a full set should be obtained for these three missions in Tibet.

11. Another type of books which will of course be more expensive should be those relating to Tibet or problems of that area, travel books and others.

12. Among our books, children's books should always be included for the children of our people in the missions, both in English and in Hindi.

13. Dr Bachchan²⁶⁴ should be asked to make a selection of the Hindi books to be sent to these three missions in Tibet.

I have suggested Rs 500/- as a beginning. It should by no means be thought that this is the ceiling.

14. Games. It is desirable to send some equipment for games, both indoor and outdoor. These are useful for the members of our missions and their families.

264. Harivansh Rai Bachchan was Officer on Special Duty in the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi, 1955-65. He was a well-known Hindi poet.

They are also very useful for other residents of the towns who I am told welcome them and take part in them.

15. At present, I am told, there are practically no suitable buildings for us in Lhasa and Gyantse. In Gyantse the terrible flood of two-three years ago destroyed our building and killed 60 or 70 of our people. Since then our Agent there has lived in a very unsuitable and uncomfortable hired place. I understand that there have been proposals for putting up some buildings and possibly also a dam to protect them in future from floods. As usual with such proposals, they take a mighty long time to materialise. We have to face two almost insuperable difficulties. One is on our side, the CPWD, etc. The other is on the Chinese side who even excel us in delaying matters.

16. In both Gyantse and Lhasa I understand that the land in our possession at present is both spacious and well-suited. In fact it is probably the best land in those towns. If we do not utilise it quickly, we might well find part of it slipping away from us. Therefore, early steps should be taken to finalise the buildings, etc., which have to be put up there. The plans for these buildings should be adequate and spacious, even though the entire plan should not be given effect to immediately. We may build quickly the central part of it, leaving the rest for a future period as convenient. There is some importance in having good and solid buildings put up there. I do not attach much importance as a rule to prestige in such matters. Nevertheless, this aspect cannot be ignored in Tibet as things are.

17. This will require a competent engineer to be sent by us to these places, more especially for the proposed dam. Any such dam at Gyantse really should have been the business for the Chinese to put up. I have no idea of its extent or cost. I think that we should start at the house first and take a risk if necessary about the dam. After all the terrible accident that occurred at Gyantse was not the kind of thing which repeats itself perhaps in less than a century. It was due to a big lake in the mountains breaking its barriers and the water rushing down suddenly. So the dam may well be postponed for some time, though it must be kept in mind. The engineer could report on it.

18. So far as the dam is concerned, we must necessarily act according to the advice of the Chinese. Our first attempt should be to ask them to make it. If this does not succeed, even so we should take their advice and our engineer should work in close cooperation with the Chinese engineers.

19. I have mentioned books above. Current periodicals are essential. Our Publications Division sends some of its published literature to Gangtok from where it is distributed to our Tibetan missions. It seemed to me that a very poor supply was sent even of this output of the Publications Division which should be increased.

332. Entertainment Allowance²⁶⁵

We have discussed this question of entertainment allowance previously. We came to the conclusion that while it was true that some officers probably did not utilise these allowances as they were intended to, the manner of our trying to find this out was wholly unsatisfactory, both from our point of view and that of the officer. The kind of accounts that we ask them to keep and the enquiries, almost amounting to an inquisition, that were made appeared to me to be wholly inappropriate. Indeed it seemed to me absurd to ask an officer to keep a detailed account of how much he spent on food, etc. It may be that some people are capable of doing it. If they do it, it simply means that the time they spend on important work will suffer. But as a matter of fact the average good officer would find it most troublesome and irritating to have to keep such accounts. Certainly I would.

Also it is easy to spend money on entertainments or to show that money has been spent, without any adequate result. It is not the number of lunches and dinners one gives that counts but the kind of people that are invited and the contacts thus made. Any superior officer can say from his or her experience whether a person working under him or her is keeping up good contacts and broadly entertaining.

You have mentioned the case of Shri T. Swaminathan. His work is highly spoken of and it is further stated that he has very good contacts. Even our Inspector, who did not get much information from him, stated that his contacts were good and he was popular, etc. Thus, Swaminathan was functioning as he ought to function and with success. For us to ask him for some trivial details about lunches and dinners seems to me not only unnecessary but objectionable.

If we are not to ask Shri Swaminathan about this, are we to ask someone else and on what basis? I think that the sooner we do away with this system, the better and I am glad that we have decided to do so. It is for us to determine what the allowance should be and then judge by the general reputation of the person concerned.

I think therefore that it is not worthwhile or desirable to try to get recoveries. But we can do two things. One is to revise the entertainment allowance. The second is to point out to the persons concerned that according to the report received by us the entertainment has not been up to the mark.

In the list you have given it is stated about No. 1 Shri Shiva Rao that the Ambassador considers that he has no aptitude for this sort of work. Does this

265. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, and B.N. Chakravarty, Special Secretary, MEA, 14 October 1958. JN Collection.

refer to entertainment? If he is otherwise suitable, then it does not matter very much. But if not, then he should be replaced. I imagine that there is not much scope for entertainment at Prague. This kind of criticism can be made of others too.

(m) Indian Culture Abroad

333. Proposal to Open Cultural Centres in Foreign Countries²⁶⁶

I have read through these papers. This is the first time I have heard of this proposal to open cultural centres in foreign countries.²⁶⁷

My first reaction is that at this particular time, when we are economising in every way possible, these proposals are very unsuitable.

Secondly, the estimated cost seems to me to be much too low. Any kind of cultural centre on behalf of India should put up a brave show and not be a back-door arrangement. That means, it should be well-equipped and properly situated and properly staffed. All this is a very expensive business.

Thirdly, it is not clear to me what the present need is for such a cultural centre. In fact, it is not clear to me what exactly it is going to be, more especially in foreign countries like those mentioned. I should myself have thought that the United States of America is the very last country in which we should think of having a so-called cultural centre. In fact, I think that any attempt to have some such centre there might actually be harmful. I am, therefore, entirely opposed to any such centre in the United States.

266. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 7 October 1958. File No. 15-181/58-UKAF, MEA.

267. The Indian Council for Cultural Relations proposed to start three cultural centres in foreign countries, one in East Asia, another in West Asia and a third in the USA. Tentatively, Cairo, Kyoto or Peking and New York or Chicago had been suggested. Expressing his opposition to the proposal, Subimal Dutt noted on 7 October, "Apart from our foreign exchange difficulties I do not think these centres would be able to do any worthwhile work as independent units in foreign countries." He added that in principle too it would not be right to allow such centres to function unless they were provided with adequate funds and personnel to be able to function on the model of the British Council.

It is far easier and more profitable, I imagine, to have cultural activities extended somewhat by our Embassies there. It might, therefore, be possible for the Indian Council for Cultural Relations to attach a specially-selected officer to our Foreign Missions.

I would repeat that I am alarmed at the prospect of some kind of a cultural centre being opened in the United States of America.

To a lesser degree, I think that even in other places, time has not come for any such move. Peking is quite out of the question. It is conceivable that in Kyoto or Osaka or Cairo, some useful results might be obtained, but only if this work is done on a fairly elaborate scale and with very competent and well-trained persons. Their training has especially to include political training. We cannot encourage people without that political training to function in other countries even in a cultural capacity.

I do not quite understand what is meant by "culture". This may mean libraries. I think it is far more important for us to put up libraries in places abroad where there are large numbers of Indians resident.²⁶⁸ Also language teachers can be sent there. But, for us to put up a third-rate collection of books and some ancient periodicals in Cairo or Kyoto or some place like that, would do little credit to our country.

On the whole, I would recommend that these proposals should be postponed to some future occasion.

268. In a written reply to a question in the Rajya Sabha on 18 September 1958, Nehru stated that libraries, with regular lending services, had been set up in 37 Indian Missions abroad as part of India's Information Services. In addition, other Missions, which did not have an information Unit, maintained small reference libraries, to which important books were supplied. Books worth about Rs one lakh were supplied annually to libraries in Indian Missions from New Delhi.

334. To Rajendra Prasad²⁶⁹

October 9, 1958

My dear Rajendra Babu,

In Western Germany, near Essen, there is a rather famous country house—Villa Hugel.²⁷⁰ For some years past, this has been devoted to rather high class exhibitions on particular selected subjects. These exhibitions are very carefully organised and attract large numbers of people.

For a year or two, preparations have been made to have an exhibition at the Villa Hugel of Indian art in its various aspects. This is likely to be a good exhibition. The organisers of this exhibition would very much like to have the honour of associating you as Patron.²⁷¹ They also intend associating the President²⁷² of the Federal Government of Germany as a Patron.

My first reaction to this proposal was not wholly favourable as it seemed a little odd to me for you to be Patron of an exhibition outside India. On further thoughts, however, I do not see any objection to this. If you are agreeable to this, I am sure the promoters will be happy.

The exhibition is likely to be opened next April.²⁷³ The idea is that it should remain at the Villa Hugel for some time and then the exhibits are sent to some other cities of Europe.

The organisers have asked Indira to go and open the exhibition. Whether she will be able to do so or not, I am not sure yet.²⁷⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

269. File No. 40 (170)/59-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

270. The Villa Hugel, in Bredeney, Essen, was the spacious mansion of the Krupp family of industrialists, built in 1873, and opened for the public from 1953 as a cultural centre.

271. Carl Hundhausen, director of Fried. Krupp Staff Department, had discussed the exhibition with Nehru.

272. Theodor Heuss.

273. The exhibition "Five Thousand Years of Art from India" opened in Villa Hugel in May 1959.

274. President Rajendra Prasad replied the next day: "Since you think it will be all right for me to be a Patron, I am very happy to accept the invitation."

(n) Miscellaneous Matters

335. To A.C. Bouquet²⁷⁵

September 2, 1958

Dear Professor Bouquet,²⁷⁶

Thank you for your letter of August 30th. I am sorry to learn that you have been unwell. I would like, of course, to meet you, but I fear I am terribly occupied in Parliament and otherwise and soon the Prime Minister of Pakistan will be coming here.

About your manuscript, I am sorry to say I have had no time to look at it and I rather doubt if I shall find time in the foreseeable future.²⁷⁷

I do not know what you have written about Khrushchev²⁷⁸ or anyone else. I do not consider Khrushchev as a person devoted to peace or peaceful methods though I do believe that for a variety of reasons he wants peace now. So far as I am concerned, I do not criticise individual leaders or countries or even their governments except when I have to express a contrary opinion. But that is because I happen to be Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of India.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

275. JN Collection.

276. A former professor of theology and comparative religion at Cambridge University.

277. The reference is to the manuscript of K. Satchidananda Murty and A.C. Bouquet, *Studies in the Problems of Peace* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1960). Nehru had written to Bouquet on 9 May 1958 that he would try to write a preface to the book. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 858-859.

278. Prime Minister of the USSR.

336. The Ways of Oil Combines²⁷⁹

You may consult the Home Ministry.²⁸⁰ I do not myself understand the appropriateness of a Judge dealing with technical matters concerning the oil industry about which probably he knows nothing. It is a highly intricate subject and the oil companies will overwhelm these amateurs with figures which nobody will be able to understand.

While you are referring this to the Home Ministry, I think you might write a letter to Rajkumar²⁸¹ pointing this out. We have had enormous difficulties with the big oil combines in India. We are only now getting to know a little about the intricacy of their working and the way they have of making money indirectly, apart from the direct methods.

You might also point out that I think a Japanese firm or perhaps an Italian firm have got contracts in the Middle East on the basis of much more than fifty-fifty, that is, much more being paid to the State. One contract was 75 to the State and 25 to the company out of the profits. But all these figures are rather confusing unless they are examined as to what they really are. Most of these companies refuse to show their books of accounts to the State authorities and they have to take their word. Also they put aside large sums for various purposes which practically belong to the company and thus are not included in the profits.

279. Note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 4 September 1958. File No. 20-3/58-UKAF, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

280. The Trinidad Government had asked the Government of India for a senior Judge to work on the proposed Royal Commission to enquire into the problems and the prospects of the Trinidad oil industry. M.J. Desai thought that an expert in oil or in general business management of corporations of this nature would be more useful. He, however, said that he would enquire from the Home Ministry whether they could spare the services of a senior Judge.

281. N.V. Rajkumar (b. 1914); diplomat and author; Secretary, Foreign Relations Department, Indian National Congress, 1946-53; Commissioner of India in Fiji, 1953-54; Consul-General in Laos, 1955-57; Commissioner of India in West Indies and British Guiana and Consul-General in Surinam, 1957-61; Ambassador to Senegal, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast, 1961-64; appointed Ambassador to Poland, 1964; edited *Indian Affairs* (AICC journal) and wrote several books on India's foreign policy.

337. To M.S. Thacker²⁸²

September 7, 1958

My dear Thacker,²⁸³

I am told that you approached some British firms, probably in Calcutta, for contributions towards the expenses of the Science Congress session.²⁸⁴ I think that we should avoid doing this, more particularly because Prince Philip is attending this session.²⁸⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

338. To Ali Yavar Jung²⁸⁶

September 12, 1958

My dear Ali,²⁸⁷

Thank you for your letter of the 4th September, with which you enclosed a letter from Mr Franic. If you can reach him, you can tell him that I have received his letter and thank him for it. He has done me an honour by naming his son after me. I am returning this letter to you so that you may be able to get in touch with him.

I am going to Bhutan in two or three days time. Bhutan is one of the most inaccessible countries. I shall be away for two and a half weeks.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

282. JN Collection.

283. Secretary, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and Director-General, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

284. The 46th Session of the Indian Science Congress was held at New Delhi from 21 to 28 January 1959.

285. Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, led the British delegation to the Science Congress Session.

286. JN Collection.

287. Ambassador of India to Yugoslavia.

339. To Gaganvihari Lal Mehta²⁸⁸

September 12, 1958

My dear Gaganvihari,²⁸⁹

I was rather surprised to receive your letter of the 28th August from Vienna.²⁹⁰ I had no idea that you had gone out of India.

I have read your letter with great interest.²⁹¹ It does throw some light on the working of some people's minds. I was particularly interested in Stevenson's account of his visit to the USSR.²⁹²

I know Astor²⁹³ of the London *Observer*. His paper is one of the most readable in England. I get it here regularly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

288. File No. 14(81)-UN-II/58, MEA.

289. G.L. Mehta was the Ambassador of India to the USA until May 1958.

290. Mehta gave an account of a conference he had attended in Berne, organised by Paul G. Hoffman, US international aid administrator and business executive.

291. Hoffman told Mehta that in June he had met Eisenhower, who endorsed his suggestion that "the deadlock between the two power blocks could only be broken through the good offices of a 'neutral' country and especially India", and that Nehru's lead would be most helpful.

292. Adlai Stevenson, the US Democratic politician, who attended the conference, gave his impressions of his recent visit to the USSR and Poland. He said the USSR was advancing in technology, its economy was not likely to collapse, its leaders preferred competition and ideology to war with the capitalist world, and they did not want a split with China. Nehru's criticism of Soviet denunciations of Tito "had made people in Moscow wince"; Khrushchev had said that what happened in the "Communist world" was no concern of other countries. He thought it would be very helpful if, on a suitable occasion, Nehru could clarify the matter of "interference" with all its implications as viewed by countries which were likely to suffer from such intervention from one side or the other. Both Stevenson and Hoffman felt that Nehru's interpretation of this question would give a lead and could not be ignored by Moscow. Stevenson also told Mehta that when he mentioned to Khrushchev that the populations of China and India would be respectively 2 billion and 1 billion by the end of the century, and that their development would affect the USSR, Khrushchev said that China would develop but not India.

293. David Astor, Mehta wrote, was among the participants at the conference who impressed him very much.

340. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon²⁹⁴

Your telegram 268 October 3rd.²⁹⁵

2. I am sending you a separate telegram about Algeria.²⁹⁶

3. As for aids or loans from other countries, it does not seem to me necessary to refer to this matter.²⁹⁷ If, however, you think some reference desirable, it should be in broad general terms only.

4. I do not think any mention of Hungary is necessary. As for Kashmir, you are the best judge. Because of internal conditions in Pakistan worsening, her stock is at present very low. Perhaps some brief reference about Kashmir might be made.

5. I do not know usual practice about reference to internal conditions, mainly economic and social. Any brief reference will have no meaning and too long a reference seems undesirable.

6. You should certainly refer to our good neighbour policy and our desire to be friendly even with Pakistan in spite of our controversies.

341. Talks with the Dutch Ambassador²⁹⁸

The Ambassador of the Netherlands²⁹⁹ came to see me this morning and handed to me a copy of a note presented on behalf of his Government to the Indonesian Government on 16th September. This copy is enclosed.

2. In the main, this is a summary of all their previous protests, etc. The Ambassador said that what the Indonesian Government had done to the Netherlands³⁰⁰ had naturally hit the economy of the Netherlands and a large

294. 5 October 1958. JN Collection.

295. Krishna Menon, leader of the Indian delegation to the 13th Session of the UN General Assembly which opened in New York on 16 September, sought instructions.

296. See item 303.

297. Krishna Menon wanted to know what countries should be mentioned in regard to aids or loans; "also to what extent we are beneficiaries as well as givers."

298. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, and M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 5 October 1958. JN Collection.

299. H.A. Helb.

300. From December 1957 Indonesia pressed Holland hard to relinquish control of West Irian. A strike in Dutch enterprises, seizures of Dutch firms, denial of landing rights to the Dutch airline KLM, and preparations for the repatriation of some 50,000 Dutch nationals, followed in quick succession. On 31 October 1958, the decision to nationalise Dutch businesses was announced.

number of people there. But the Netherlands had resilient economy and would no doubt overcome this. But he was much concerned about the progressive decline of Indonesia in this respect. So long as the Indonesian Government does not fulfil its obligations to the Netherlands, no western country is going to invest any money in Indonesia. The Ambassador said that he just could not understand this very unwise policy of the Indonesian Government which in order to injure the Netherlands is injuring itself much more. They are not even making any gesture in regard to compensation, etc.

3. The Ambassador also referred to the proposal relating to the Fokker Friendship aircraft.³⁰¹ Apparently this proposal has been considered for a considerable time past by our Civil Aviation. I told him that I knew nothing about what had happened in regard to this proposal. Perhaps an enquiry might be made from Civil Aviation.

342. The 'Oxford Opinion'³⁰²

I am glad to learn that *Oxford Opinion* is bringing out a special Eastern issue to promote further understanding between the people of the Western world and the people of Asia. In this world which is so full of cold war and fear and hatred, every venture which leads us away from this vicious circle, is to be welcomed. Oxford is a famous name all over the world because of the distinction of its University through the ages. It is fitting that such a venture should come out of Oxford. I hope that many will profit by it.

301. This refers to the Dutch proposal to license the manufacture of the Fokker Friendship aircraft in India. For Nehru's views, see SWJN/SS/40/pp. 142-143.

302. PIB release of 6 October 1958 of message, dated 13 August 1958, for *Oxford Opinion*, Vol. 3, No. 5, Michaelmas 1958, special issue, "The East". Mr Alan Brown, Senior Library Assistant, Bodleian Library, Oxford, was kind enough to supply the publication details.

343. To U Nu³⁰³

October 7, 1958

My dear U Nu,³⁰⁴

Thank you for your letter of the 1st October 1958.

I was away in rather a remote part of the world, Bhutan, when brief news reached me about the decision you had taken.³⁰⁵ Bhutan is more inaccessible than almost any country that I know of. It took me five days of mountain trekking to reach there. For two weeks I was completely cut off from newspapers, letters and other normal communications. Only special messages could be sent to me by wireless, and I could occasionally listen in to the radio which I carried with me. I returned from Bhutan on the 2nd October.

When I heard the news of your decision, I was naturally concerned about it. I did not know the background and wondered what recent developments had been in Burma. Although my reaction to your giving up your high post was not a happy one, knowing you as I do, I felt that you must have had adequate reason for coming to this decision. Now your letter has come which indicates some of these reasons. You are, of course, the best judge, and I earnestly hope that all will be well with you and with Burma.

You will be very welcome in India whenever you can come here. But the Banaras University has been giving us a great deal of trouble, or rather a number of people there have been giving trouble, and we have had to take special steps, including special legislation to meet this contingency. As a matter of fact, the University is being closed from today or tomorrow, and I do not quite know when it will be reopened. Possibly this reopening might take place next month, but I am not sure as much will depend on other developments.

In December, our Parliament will be meeting, and it will not be very easy for me to get away except perhaps just for a day. In any event, I should like very much to meet you when you come to India.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

303. JN Collection.

304. Prime Minister of Burma.

305. U Nu transferred power to General Ne Win, the Chief of Staff of the Burmese Army, on 27 September 1958.

344. Persons of Indian Origin in Ceylon³⁰⁶

I have looked through these papers.³⁰⁷ I must confess that as a result I am somewhat confused. I can understand that there is difference of opinion or even of approach as between the two Governments. But what is confusing is the fact that these basic points are covered up by all kinds of subsequent layers of argument, assertion, denial and counter assertion. The result of all this is confusion. It would be a good thing if the exact points in issue now could be stated with clarity, regardless of the past arguments. In other words, what is the position today.³⁰⁸

306. Handwritten note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 9 October 1958. File No. 5(7)-BC (C)/58, MEA.

307. Regarding M.J. Desai's informal discussions of 27 September with Richard Aluwihare, High Commissioner of Ceylon to India about persons of Indian origin (PIOs) in Ceylon. Desai presented statistics of citizenship registration in Ceylon and India to prove that India had scrupulously adhered to the Agreements of January and October 1954 while Ceylon did not. Nehru had written to the Prime Minister of Ceylon on 5 February 1956 that they could use either the 1947-48 discussions or the 1954 Agreements. Richard Aluwihare acknowledged that there was confusion and proposed using the 1954 Agreements. For details on the discussions of 1948, see SWJN/SS/7/pp. 634-647, and on the Agreements of 1954, see SWJN/SS/24/p. 615; for Nehru's letter of 5 February 1956 to the Prime Minister of Ceylon, see SWJN/SS/32, pp. 356-358.

308. In his note of 11 October 1958, M.J. Desai explained the position as of June 1958: i) 61,842 PIOs registered as Ceylon citizens; 6,29,598 PIO applications for citizenship rejected; 33,856 applications pending; ii) Indian citizenship granted to 21,320 and 10,277 applications pending. Desai added that Ceylon wanted India to issue visas to "stateless" PIOs travelling on Ceylonese identity certificates. India was agreeable, but wanted assurances that they would be free to return to Ceylon and not lose their jobs there lest it lead to migration into India and expulsion from Ceylon. Therefore India wanted Ceylon to stick to the 1954 Agreement on employment assurance to "stateless" PIOs until the age of 55 and welfare thereafter to make domicile attractive; India would as usual continue processing citizenship applications.

345. To Dag Hammarskjöld³⁰⁹

9th October, 1958

Dear Mr Dag Hammarskjöld,³¹⁰

I was glad to have your letter of September 24, giving a brief assessment of the UNOGIL's activities at present and your tentative plans for its future.³¹¹ In view of what you have said, we agree to your proposals about Shri Rajeshwar Dayal. He can stay in Beirut until the American troops have been withdrawn and then continue to serve on UNOGIL from his new post in Karachi. I hope that the withdrawal of the American troops will not be delayed beyond the end of October and that Shri Rajeshwar Dayal will be required to go to Beirut from Karachi only very occasionally.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

309. File No. 9(34)-WANA/58, MEA.

310. Secretary-General, United Nations Organisation.

311. Thanking Nehru for "the generous and excellent cooperation" extended by the Government of India in the organisation of the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL) and for allowing Indian diplomat Rajeshwar Dayal to serve as a member of the Group, Hammarskjöld wrote that as Fouad Chehab, the new Lebanese President, had wanted, the Group would remain for some time after the withdrawal of American troops in October 1958. Since the UN operation would continue until the end of the year, Hammarskjöld also requested Nehru to permit Rajeshwar Dayal, High Commissioner-designate to Pakistan, to stay on with the Observation Group in Beirut until after the withdrawal, when he could go to Karachi, but be available in Beirut occasionally.

346. To V.K. Krishna Menon³¹²

October 14, 1958

My dear Krishna,

I have not written to you since you went to New York and, as far as I can remember, you have not sent any letter either. I have, of course, received your telegrams. For a considerable time, I was away on my journey to Bhutan, where I was completely cut off from newspapers.

I kept very well in Bhutan in spite of the strenuous journey. On my return, however, I caught a chill, or something like it, in Sikkim. For some days, I did not feel well at all and was partly confined to bed. Just about that time, the World Bank people descended upon us in large numbers, and I had to meet many of them and entertain them. For many days, I had some people to breakfast, lunch and dinner. Many of them were interesting. I have not quite recovered from that cold yet, so far as my throat is concerned.

I read your speech in the UN about the consideration of the Chinese item.³¹³ It was a very good speech, and I liked it. You have sent me two personal telegrams. One was on October 4th, No. 270, and the other on October 13th, number 290. These indicate that you are worried about reports in the American Press or elsewhere about happenings in India which appear to you to be some kind of a shift in our general policy.³¹⁴ I am not aware of any such shift, though

312. JN Collection.

313. Speaking in the UN General Assembly on 7 October, Krishna Menon appealed to the US and China to take advantage of the ceasefire in the Formosa Straits to work out a long-term solution to their international problems. He rejected the idea of a "two Chinas" solution arguing that Taiwan had always been a part of China. He also appealed to the US to pull its forces from the Taiwan area, and said: "the whole world is convinced that the US has no imperialistic ambitions in the area."

314. Krishna Menon telegraphed on 4 October that according to the *New York Times*, "as result of your 'visit' to Tibet you have found that there is internal trouble and discontent in Tibet and have so stated.... Also India has expressed apprehension of unfair Chinese competition in our 'traditional' markets, is highly critical of Chinese developments and that one of the aims of our policy is to prove that our economic and political systems are superior to the Chinese and has thus (by implication) taken up a position in cold war." He also wrote that a statement allegedly made by Nehru at a meeting of the World Assembly of Youth favouring the Western camp organisation as against the other group had also been described as indicative of a change in India's stand. Krishna Menon further said, "Our alleged shifts whether in any sense real or merely presented as actual but with some semblance of evidence or arising from alleged powerful trends in that direction inside Government itself at the present juncture only add to tensions and the dangers of the world conflict and militates against our overall objectives..."

sometimes some aspect of our policy may be emphasised, while at another time some other aspect may be emphasised. Naturally, advantage is taken of this by the American Press or others. I do not see why we should worry ourselves about this. The only thing that I am concerned with, is that, as far as possible, we should do the right thing. It is hardly possible to control other people's thinking or their misrepresentations.

You refer to an article I wrote.³¹⁵ You will remember that I wrote this when you were here, and it was not originally meant for publication. Ultimately, I decided to have it published in the Congress fortnightly here, and this was reproduced by the *New York Times*. How am I to help it if parts of it are used tendentiously? I expressed my opinions in the course of that article which was by way of loud thinking. Am I to suppress my opinions because somebody might take unfair advantage of them?

You refer to our reticences on the Middle East issue.³¹⁶ I really do not know to what exactly you refer. I am generally reticent about all issues outside India, except when at a Press Conference or in Parliament, one has to say something. So far as the Middle East is concerned, there has not been the slightest deviation from the policy we have consistently pursued.

As for China and Tibet, the only remark I made, as I have reported to you, was in answer to a question. I said that I could not say anything after spending a day or two in a corner of Tibet, but reports came that conditions were not fully normal.³¹⁷ This was a very moderate way of stating what is happening there. Tibet is very much a country under military occupation, and in certain parts of Tibet, there is active rebellion going on. We have, in fact, done everything to discourage these rebels insofar as they have come in contact with us. The general Chinese attitude to us in many small matters has not been at all friendly or even sometimes courteous. I realise that this is probably due to the petty officers, but there can be little doubt that the new turn in internal policy in

315. The reference is to a note written by Nehru on 13 July 1958 which was later published as 'The Basic Approach' in *AICC Economic Review* in August 1958. [See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 3-11.] Krishna Menon wrote that selected parts of this article had been tendentiously used "as another proof of our having shifted positions and 'declared' ourselves."

316. Krishna Menon referred to India's "reticences" on the Middle East issue, and stated that "the view increasingly mentioned that we are more tolerant to pacts and even to military assistance to Pakistan despite supply and use of sidewinders by military allies of the West even though this latter concerns and menaces our own safety has created a somewhat general adverse impression in UN circles."

317. Nehru said this while talking to pressmen at Palam Airport in Delhi on 2 October 1958. See item 10.

China has had some effect on their external contacts. This does not make any difference to our basic policy.

We are, of course, not free from responsibility and we should try our best to discharge that responsibility to the best of our ability.³¹⁸

I hinted to you in a previous telegram that conditions in Pakistan were rapidly deteriorating.³¹⁹ The establishment of martial law, etc., there was, though surprising, a natural result of this all-round deterioration. Obviously, we have to be alert and vigilant, but I think that Pakistan is going to pieces with extraordinary rapidity. What is more, the allies of Pakistan realise this, even though they may not say it.

The exhibition here³²⁰ is remarkably good, considering that it has been put up in 2½ months' time. The Defence Industries' pavilion is particularly good; so also our Science and Technology one. The large number of people who came here for the Bank conferences (I am not referring to the representatives of the big Powers) have been powerfully influenced by what they had seen in India, including the exhibition.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

318. Krishna Menon wrote in his telegram of 13 October: "The cold war approach which in the last two years had somewhat slowed down has regained ground and pressures on this basis are powerfully sought to be exercised all round not excluding us.... With regret I must mention to you that we are not free from responsibility and in more than a small measure. The worst effect is the adverse trend in regard to uncommittedness which was gaining ground. We continue to work against this constructively but our position has changed. One is oppressed by the way we are now looked upon and the inevitable sense of the loss of prestige."

319. See item 340.

320. The India 1958 exhibition.

347. Louis Gibarti³²¹

I have read through these papers. Louis Gibarti is an old acquaintance whom I have known since 1927. I met him first at the Brussels Congress against Imperialism, of which he was Secretary for some years. He was inclined to be pro-Communist for some years and then became rather anti-Communist. His contacts are wide and varied, more especially among leftist and anti-fascist circles.

I am sending an extract from his letter to Shri B.K. Nehru.³²² Also the report of the Bank.³²³ Another and a different extract (dealing with the Youth Movement)³²⁴ I am sending to the Congress President.³²⁵ Copies of both these extracts sent are enclosed.

I have written a brief letter of acknowledgement to Louis Gibarti.³²⁶ Please have this sent to our Embassy in Paris for delivery. Please tell them also that if Gibarti gives them any papers for me, they should be forwarded.

321. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 19 October 1958. JN Collection.

322. In the extract of Gibarti's letter of 8 October that Nehru forwarded to B.K. Nehru, Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, Gibarti believed that India's support to Arab causes would not come in the way of France's relations with India.

323. Gibarti wrote that India had some splendid opportunities on the sidelines of the conferences of the IMF and the World Bank in New Delhi in order to obtain new credits for the Second Five Year Plan. He added that the Germans were willing to invest in "young nations"; that India should develop confidential and friendly contacts with the "German financial world"; and urged Nehru to meet Dr Klaus Dohrn, an influential German who was in New Delhi at the time in connection with the bank conferences.

324. Gibarti said that the Social Democratic Party of Austria was most concerned about Soviet plans to gain control of the Social Democratic Youth movement in Austria. He therefore wanted Indian youth to participate in the World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship to be held in Vienna from 26 July to 4 August 1959 so that they might "raise their own voice and speak the language of Gandhi and Nehru in Vienna, instead of ceding to the Communist propaganda monopoly." He hoped that Indian youth would speak up against "war-blocs" and nuclear tests, especially when "not only Foster Dulles, but also Chou En-lai appear to be prepared to go to the 'brink of the war'." He added that the "Congress Youth... should become the carriers of your vision and humane policies rather than leave the field—even in organisational arrangements—to the Soviet propaganda."

325. U.N. Dhebar.

326. Nehru wrote to Gibarti on 19 October that he received Gibarti's letter only after Klaus Dohrn had left Delhi and so he could not meet him and asked for his analysis of the New Delhi bank meetings as also the Asian African Writers' Conference held at Tashkent from 7 to 13 October.

348. To M.P. Koirala³²⁷

19th October, 1958

My dear MP,³²⁸

I have received your letter of the 13th October.³²⁹ In this you mention that you wrote to me ten months ago. I have no recollection of that letter.

You write to me about the situation in Nepal. Naturally I am interested in developments there and many things have happened there which did not seem to me very desirable. But I could not do anything about it and I have no wish to interfere in any way.

You say that India cannot escape responsibility. Perhaps not, and in any event India has to face the consequences of what happens. Nevertheless, I have felt much disappointed at the way things have happened in Nepal. As you yourself say, India is made the target of criticism. Indeed, it seems to be a favourite pastime of politicians and others to run down India, whatever we might do or not do. During the past several years we have tried to help Nepal without interfering in any way. The result has been what you say. I do not quite know how to meet the situation. As I have said above, I have no desire to interfere. We shall continue to watch developments there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

327. JN Collection.

328. Founder member, Nepali National Congress, and a former Prime Minister of Nepal.

329. M.P. Koirala visited Kathmandu after nearly a year and described conditions in Nepal. The political parties were unprepared for the forthcoming elections, some were scouting abroad for help, and the King and India were the targets of "frustrated" politicians. Many feared foreign help would encourage reaction; others felt it would provide "provisional democratic moorings." Political parties and leaders were discredited; the King had promised elections twice and he could not wriggle out of it; the economy was in the doldrums; and the writ of the Centre did not extend to the provinces. Foreign interests would exploit the situation. Therefore he concluded, "I do not think India can escape responsibility, even if it so wished. Nor in my opinion it will be desirable."

349. To Emanuel R. Posnack³³⁰

Raj Bhavan
Hyderabad

23rd October, 1958

Dear Mr Posnack,³³¹

Thank you for your letter of October 17th, 1958, which I have read with much interest. I think you are right in saying that there is a tendency both in the capitalist and the communist world to approach each other in their practical policies. Inevitably, the old style capitalism has changed and is changing and is becoming more and more socialised. At the same time, the communist world, at least in the Soviet Union, is much more stable now and is losing its revolutionary fervour. Indeed, but for the cold war and its accompaniments, probably the process of normalisation would have been swifter. It is true that the strongly-worded statements made on either side would lead one to think that the gap is as great as ever and in fact is increasing. But, in fact, this is not so.

It is also true, I think, that there is a basic difference in approach between the two systems. This would not matter much if each system is allowed to work out its own destiny without pressures and threats. The real conflict today is much more on the political plane than on any other. If this conflict was gradually lessened by steps towards disarmament and consequent normalisation of relations between the various countries, there would be greater open-mindedness and flexibility on all sides.

330. JN Collection.

331. (1896-1989); US patent lawyer, inventor and author; practised patent law in New York from 1935 to 1975; wrote three books on economics and world affairs, including *World Without Barriers* (New York: Morrow, 1956), in which he argued against political and legal impediments to the free international flow of people, goods, capital and ideas.

I agree with you that it is far better to lay stress on the common ground than on the differences. That does not mean that we should ignore the differences. All it means is a mental approach and the emphasis one lays. The fact that there are differences should not lead necessarily to conflict or to an attempt to solve those differences by force. It is this attempt that creates trouble.

I do not think any broad appeals to the United Nations or to separate nations would yield substantial results at present. The world is not governed by logic, but by fear and passion. Fear can only be removed by some of the causes being removed.

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

350. To the King of Nepal³³²

Raj Bhavan
Hyderabad
October 25, 1958

My dear friend,³³³

Your letter of the 9th October has only just reached me in Hyderabad where I have come for some meetings of our Congress organisation. I am grateful to Your Majesty for it.

We followed with interest your tour of Europe and parts of Africa. I am very glad to learn that you enjoyed your visit. In this rapidly changing world, it is helpful to have some contacts with other countries and to understand what is happening there. Your Majesty's visit to a variety of countries, which are so different in their policies, must have been most interesting.

We are, as you know, busy with our problems. The mere fact of movement of a country produces problems. We face them in good heart.

With all good wishes and regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

332. JN Collection.

333. Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev.

351. The UN Conference on the Law of the Sea³³⁴

The Prime Minister mentioned that the question of signing of the four Conventions, viz., (1) Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone; (2) Convention on the High Seas; (3) Convention on the Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas; and (4) Convention on the Continental Shelf, adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Laws of the Seas held at Geneva in February-April, 1958,³³⁵ had been under the consideration of the Ministry of External Affairs in consultation with the Minister of Defence³³⁶ and the Minister of Law,³³⁷ and stated that a decision had to be taken by the Government of India as to whether India should be one of the countries who should sign the Conventions before the 31st October, 1958, which is the date fixed for the initial signature of the documents. The Conventions could also be signed at a later date. After some discussion, it was decided that in view of the fact that matters having a bearing on this question might be raised before the current session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the question should be considered by the Cabinet after the end of that session. Meanwhile, the possible consequences of the signing of these Conventions should be examined in detail in order to facilitate the taking of a decision at the appropriate time.

334. Minutes of the meeting of the Cabinet, 28 October 1958. JN Collection.

335. The conference was attended by delegates from 87 countries as well as by observers from several specialised agencies and nine non-governmental organisations.

336. V.K. Krishna Menon.

337. Asoke Kumar Sen.

V. DEFENCE

352. Defence Committee of the Cabinet¹**Item I - Career Prospects and Promotions of Officers of the Armed Forces**

The Defence Committee of the Cabinet at their 4th (58) meeting held on 2nd September and again on 3rd September 1958, discussed the Defence Ministry's paper on "Career prospects and promotions of officers of the Armed Forces."

2. The Prime Minister made the following general opening remarks:

The Defence Committee of the Cabinet had from time to time referred to the general problem of improving the conditions of service of Armed Forces officers, especially in the lower ranks. The Government was aware of the difficult conditions of service and was generally in sympathy with the broad approach to the creation of conditions of contentment and good morale in the Services.

Inherent in the present proposals are two aspects. From the utility point of view, the services of officers of maturity and experience would be available to the State for a longer period than now. At the same time an opportunity would be offered to the majority of officers to carry on in service for a few years more to enable them to reach a higher rank and also to get a higher pension on retirement.

The Prime Minister mentioned that he had spoken to the Finance Minister prior to his departure abroad² and the latter was also broadly in sympathy with the general approach to the problem as proposed.

3. The Committee agreed that the prescribed permanent age limits of compulsory retirement in the ranks of Major and Lt. Col. (and equivalents in the other two Services) should be as proposed in Appendix 'A' of the Defence Ministry's paper. The Committee also agreed that Majors (or equivalent), on completion of 24 years' service, may, subject to their fitness, be promoted to the rank of Lt. Col. (or equivalent) for a period not exceeding 3 years. The question of pay and pension in respect of the officers so promoted will be considered later.

1. Minutes of the meeting of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet, 2 and 3 September 1958. JN Collection. Only items I and III have been made available.
2. Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister, left for his visit to the UK, the USA and Canada on 28 August.

Item III - Expansion of Naval Dockyard, Bombay—Proposals to Expedite Work

The Committee took note of the action that the Defence Minister³ intended to take in order to expedite progress of work on the Dockyard Expansion Scheme, Bombay.⁴

2. The Prime Minister, while agreeing that the most competent persons should be appointed for the administrative and technical direction of the work, stressed the importance of ensuring, at the same time, that they have the necessary organisation available and capable of proceeding with the actual constructions. Details of Schemes in this regard and progress of work may be submitted to the Defence Committee of the Cabinet in due course.

353. To V.K. Krishna Menon⁵

September 4, 1958

My dear Krishna,⁶

I have your letter of September 4th.⁷

There is no doubt that we have to effect economy as far as possible. Your approach appears to be that you can effect substantial economies in defence, provided there are reallocations within the sanctioned budget. In principle, this appears to me a correct approach. You are evidently apprehensive of the Finance Ministry or some other authority coming in the way of your adjustments. I do not think that this will come in your way. Naturally, whatever major adjustments that you make should be brought up before us for our information and, if we have any suggestions to offer, we shall do so.

3. V.K. Krishna Menon.

4. Modernisation began in 1954; but in 1958 it was lagging behind schedule. For details, see the Indian Navy's website <http://indiannavy.nic.in>.

5. JN Collection.

6. Defence Minister.

7. The Planning Commission asked the Defence Ministry to reduce expenditures by up to Rs 50 crores during the last two years of the Second Plan, that is, 1959-1961. Krishna Menon replied that this would be possible if procedures were changed and the Finance Ministry did not obstruct. He added that these were long term decisions and wanted the Prime Minister's views as he was "only temporarily concerned with Defence."

I suggest, therefore, that you should pursue your line of thought and communicate your views to the Planning Commission also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

354. Science and Technology in Defence Production⁸

Mr Defence Minister, friends,

For the last many days I have been told that this exhibition⁹ is the first ever to be held in India. Even this catalogue says so in big type. And now I am told that it is the second time I have come to the exhibition. So, I don't know which is correct. I take it, both are to some extent correct, that is, a previous one was a small affair, for more or less internal consumption, a preconsumption, and this is for a more public view on a bigger scale.

Well, I am deeply interested in this, and I am quite sure all of you will be interested, because I presume it shows us the potential and the capacity of our present defence, industrial and like establishments. Whether you think in terms of defence or in terms of peaceful development of industry, we overlap in these matters. Obviously defence apparatus cannot and should not confine itself just for military or naval or air purposes. You cannot put life in compartments like that, and for my part I would not like to think of our defence forces only in terms of military or naval or air effort. In fact there has been an incursion by our defence establishments more and more into the field of, well, production for civil uses, or help in times of civil emergencies. Only recently, we have seen in Delhi how the Army came to our help when there was some

8. Inaugural speech at the Defence Production Exhibition, New Delhi, 6 September 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
9. About five lakhs of exhibits, from small nuts and bolts to a full-size Gnat aircraft to be produced at the Hindustan Aircraft Factory, were on display at the Defence Production Exhibition held in the Philately Hall in Eastern Court, New Delhi, from 6 to 21 September 1958. Exhibits were from the Defence Science Organisation, the ordnance factories in the country, the establishments of Bharat Electronics and Hindustan Aircraft, apart from the armed forces medical and engineering services.

difficulty about the water supply.¹⁰ That is, it would be a good thing if we began to think of our defence forces not only in terms of defence, but in terms of more peaceful uses.

Some years ago, I remember, I visited a place in Madhya Pradesh, I forget the name of it. But there was very fine statuary there, relief in stone, about a thousand years old or a little more, representing some incidents or representing rather the ruler of that time who had driven out the Huns from India and he was depicted as a victorious monarch who has driven out the Huns.¹¹ But what interested me there was a reference to him and to his Minister. Now, the Minister was described in that stone-carving as the Minister for war and peace, both. It is a very good description, I thought, instead of merely being a minister for purposes of war, and I hope the time will come and our Defence Minister will be described as Minister for peace. Essentially, naturally defence will come into the picture when it is needed, but our activities really should be directed towards creating the conditions and the atmosphere for peace.

Now, the world today is a world governed by science and technology—technology and science both. Well, we have made great progress at an ever-increasing pace during the last one hundred years or more. But I suppose it is true to say that technology has a tendency to advance faster during periods of war than periods of peace, simply because the pressure is great; it is a fight for survival and all efforts are thrown into it. But the only virtue that one can attach to war is that it makes the people's minds and bodies work hard. Anyhow, the fact is that science and technology are supreme today in every department of human endeavour and life, and the countries that are advanced or rather advancing on the scientific and technological plane not only are fulfilling their duty to their people in giving them worthwhile conditions of living, but freedom and the atmosphere of freedom to progress. If you look upon it from the point of view of war-like devices, they all depend on technology, except of course for the most important thing of all, that is, the human spirit which is more

10. During the water crisis in Delhi in August 1958, the Army took charge of various aspects of water supply, including cutting the channels from the new bed of the Jamuna to the old to ensure an adequate supply of water to the pumping engines of the water-works, maintaining the purity of water, pumping out water from wells and distributing water to hospitals and other places. In a statement issued on 18 August and speaking in the Lok Sabha the next day, Nehru paid tribute to the Army for its role during the water crisis. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 323-324.

11. Yasodharman of Malwa erected two large monolithic columns near Sondhni, about three miles from Mandsaur, in Madhya Pradesh, to commemorate his victory over Mihirakula the Hun in 528 AD.

important than all the technology in the world and will remain so long as the human beings are human beings and have not become some kind of robots without soul, spirit, mind, thought, or anything else. Therefore, we in India, whether the military, naval or air side, or the civil side, have to catch up with this modern science and modern technology. There is no other hope for us.

How we apply that technology is for us to decide, taking into consideration the conditions that prevail in the country, that is to say, technology does not mean an imitation of how it has been used elsewhere, in other countries, where conditions are different. But technology does mean the use of the latest technique that applies to the conditions that prevail in a certain country and the problems that country has to face. Technology also means the use of the latest power sources. Steam made a vast difference to the world, electricity made a greater difference and now we have atomic energy, and I don't know what the future holds, what other new forces of nature will be used by man in the future. Anyhow, it is obvious that we stand on the threshold of even more rapid development of technology than ever before. Whether that is used for good purposes or bad, no one can prophesy; we can only hope. So, if you take your defence forces, they can only be at all up to date, efficient and effective, if they use modern techniques and take advantage of modern scientific knowledge.

Modern scientific knowledge is not the possession of any particular country, or any particular continent. Sometimes people seem to think that it is the monopoly of some Western nations, because Europe started it and went ahead pretty fast for one hundred years or more. The science essentially belongs to the world; every part of the world has contributed and goes on contributing. It is true that our contribution in India is not so significant as the contribution of other countries that have been long at it, but if we are to progress in science and technology, it will not be by merely having imitative minds, copying what other countries have done; if we are to progress in industry it will not be by importing machines from abroad. In fact if we are to progress in anything at all, it will not be by copying others, but by having the capacity to produce them and to invent new things and, in other words, to be in the forefront of scientific discovery as well as the implementation of what this discovery has practical application.

Therefore, one of the significant things that has happened in India during the last ten-eleven years has been the impetus given to science, both, basic science and practical science, the application of basic science to the practical science, the application of basic science to the practical things of life. It has borne some fruit already. And I am quite sure it will bear very considerably because nobody can doubt the capacity of our people in scientific and technical matters, given the chance. It is the chance that has been lacking in the past;

where the chance has come, they have shown themselves to be as good as any. Our Services, I am glad to say, are increasing in numbers and in quality also. And nothing pleases me so much as to meet many of the younger scientists, and they are both men and women, and to see their enthusiasm for their work, the keenness of their minds and a delight in what they are doing. It is not that they do an odd job, work in the office, for a number of hours, do it honestly no doubt, but it is their spirit and enthusiasm that has gladdened me. And it is that spirit and enthusiasm in our defence forces that pleases me.

The other day I visited the Oil and Natural Gas Commission in Dehra Dun.¹² Quite a new adventure for us, this oily business, and we had to start from scratch, training people up and we have got a few young men and a few young women too, got them straight from the university, good MSc's and others, and gave them training and there they were searching for oil, testing oil and all that. Well, I was more anxious and more interested in these young people than in their machinery, interesting as that was. And I was delighted to find their ardour, their eagerness in the work they were doing and searching for oil, and their vigorous assurance that they are bound to succeed. Now, that is the spirit one wants, a young man's spirit of adventure, of self-confidence and all that.

Now, we have had for sometime a Defence Science Organisation,¹³ started in a sense ten to twelve years ago or more perhaps, a little more, in a small way perhaps; in war times it started. But really it began to progress later, after we became independent and it is progressing faster and faster, under the very able guidance of Dr Kothari¹⁴ and his colleagues, who are also keen and enthusiastic in that work. And of course there are so many others in the Army who are engaged in this, and I expect, I might tell you, great things from this Defence Science Organisation and all those connected with it in various ways. Already it has shown good results, but these results, which perhaps you will see here, results from our ordnance factory, from our engineers, from our technicians, from our Defence Science Organisation, this is just a first beginning. And I am assured that there is almost nothing in the shape of machinery that they cannot make. Naturally, it is not enough to make a machine; we have to make it cheaply and economically. All this has to be tested, but nevertheless, it is something to know that we can make most things, almost everything, leaving out very few

12. Nehru visited the office and addressed the officers of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission in Dehra Dun on 2 August 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 161-163.

13. A forerunner of the Defence Research and Development Organisation.

14. D.S. Kothari was Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence, 1948-61.

big things that too we shall make soon no doubt. So, here we have a considerable potential, which is rapidly being turned into the actual.

And here, we have to think of this, not in terms merely of military machines being made, although that is necessary, obviously, so long as we have defence forces. It is necessary that whatever we require, we make ourselves, if not everything, almost everything. But apart from that, when we have this great potential and ability and competence, there is no reason why it should not be used for civil purposes also.

There was an idea, I don't think it exists much now, that the defence forces or indeed any governmental organisation, should not encroach on what is called the private field, private enterprise, and we propose to encourage it, because we propose to push ahead on all fronts and there is really no question of any conflict between public enterprise and private enterprise in India where there is such a vast field for development. But at the same time it should be realised that there is no question of our not doing something on the plea that it might affect private enterprise. That would be an absurd proposition. The test is what is good for the country? How we go ahead? And not what is good for this sector or that sector.

Therefore, I welcome this development of the industrial front in our defence establishments, and I should like to encourage it. Obviously, that development should not be merely for show at an exhibition, because it is easy to make this kind model to show, but it should be more broad-based, that is, it can be an economic...¹⁵

15. The tape ends abruptly.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

(a) Personal

355. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

September 1, 1958

[Nan dear,]²

I have your letter of August 28th.

A few days ago, I had a letter from Raja³ about Betti,⁴ saying that she was rather ill and going to Geneva and would be back here in a few days. He suggested my writing to her as she was apparently mentally distressed. She sent me a postcard. I think this came when you were here from Israel or some such place, or was it Athens.⁵ Naturally I did not reply. I do not think she has written again to me. But, some weeks ago, I got a strange letter from Ajit⁶ enclosing all kinds of papers, including a copy of a letter which apparently had been written by Avtar Dar⁷ to you. I could not do anything about these matters, and did not reply to anyone. Raja mentioned these and hinted that, as no reply had gone from me to Betti, she was distressed. I wrote to him briefly that there was nothing to reply to, and I do not like discussing family squabbles. I also wrote a brief letter to Betti to Geneva, saying that I was sorry that she was unwell and I hoped she would recover soon.

I really do not know what I can do about Betti. I do not think she is mentally quite stable or, at any rate, at times, she gets these delusions and exaggerates everything she hears and then suffers for it.

As for Harsha⁸ and Ajit too, I do not understand what is happening. I thought Ajit was at Cambridge. Has he passed his examinations there? What is the idea of his going to America now, especially to study economics? What exactly do you mean by saying that Betti has asked "that he should make his

1. JN Collection.

2. The elder of the two sisters of Nehru, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was the High Commissioner of India to the UK at this time.

3. G.P. Hutheesing, husband of Krishna Hutheesing, the younger of Nehru's two sisters.

4. Krishna was affectionately called Betti or Betty.

5. Nehru had referred to the postcard received from Krishna in his letter of 25 May 1958 to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. See SWJN/SS/42/p. 821.

6. The younger of the two sons of Krishna Hutheesing.

7. Husband of Rita, Mrs Pandit's daughter.

8. The elder son of Krishna Hutheesing.

permanent home here”? What does “here” mean, is it England, is it with you, or what else?

Here the food situation has taken a bad turn. In spite of all our difficulties, there is enough food about and is being sent to all the needy States. But recent heavy rains and floods led to waterlogging and difficulty in transport in various areas. Prices jumped up, and there has been a good deal of profiteering, which is most annoying. It makes me angry to see some of these dealers making heavy profits out of a people’s distress. Meanwhile, all the Opposition parties in the UP are joining together to upset everything. Some of them are advocating even the breaking open of grain godowns and taking away the grain. Lohia,⁹ of course, is in the forefront and talks about gherao that is, surrounding the houses of Ministers, district magistrates, etc.

The situation is pretty bad in many places, and yet I have a feeling that we shall get over this food crisis and that the new harvest will be a good one. It appears also that Morarji’s¹⁰ mission is likely to be successful about loans and credits. The basic fact, of course, remains, and we shall have to live a half life for the next year or two at least till we turn the corner. I am sure we will turn the corner, but what happens in between, is anybody’s guess.

As I have told you I am thinking of going to Bhutan about the middle of September. In order to go to Bhutan, I have to pass through a little corner of Tibet adjoining Sikkim. We have not heard from the Chinese Government yet about visas, etc., which will be necessary.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

356. Dislike for Functions Connected with His Birthday¹¹

It has become a practice in Delhi to have on the 14th November a big School Children’s Rally at the stadium. The 14th November is the International Children’s Day. It also happens to be my birthday.

I am embarrassed by these annual Children’s Rallies on my birthday. On the last occasion some parents complained that their children had been made to

9. Rammanohar Lohia, a prominent leader of the Socialist Party.

10. Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister.

11. Note to Kesho Ram, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 8 September 1958. JN Collection.

rehearse repeatedly and dragged in the early hours of the morning.¹²

In any event, I do not want any function on the 14th November in connection with my birthday. I would suggest that there should be no such Children's Rally this year. How else they can celebrate the International Children's Day, it is for the authorities concerned to decide. So far as I am concerned, I do not wish to participate in any function on that day directly or indirectly connected with my birthday.

Will you please inform the Delhi State authorities about this, more especially the Education authorities?

357. Translation of 'A Bunch of Old Letters' in Gujarati and Hindi¹³

I attach a letter from Jiwanji D. Desai of the Navajivan Trust.¹⁴ He asks me for permission to publish a Gujarati translation of *A Bunch of Old Letters*.¹⁵ Also Hindi translation.

The Navajivan Trust is not a very businesslike organisation, though it is slowly improving. They work in rather a restrictive way. However, I am prepared to give them permission to issue a Gujarati translation. They published the Gujarati translation of my *Autobiography*.¹⁶

As for a Hindi translation, my first choice should be my Hindi publishers, the Sasta Sahitya Mandal.¹⁷ I do not quite see why Hindi books should be brought out in Ahmedabad. Please therefore have a letter written to him to this effect that I am agreeable to his undertaking a Gujarati translation of this book. As for the Hindi translation, normally I would give it to my old publishers.

12. See Nehru's note of 27 November 1957 in SWJN/SS/40/p. 267.

13. Note to M.O. Mathai, Special Assistant to Nehru, 14 September 1958. JN Collection.

14. Publishing house founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1929 in Ahmedabad to publicise Gandhi's activities and to promote his ideals.

15. The English edition of Nehru's book, *A Bunch of Old Letters: Written mostly to Jawaharlal Nehru and some written by him*, was about to be published.

16. The first English edition was published in 1936 by John Lane, the Bodley Head, London.

17. Established as a charitable society in 1925 by the industrialist, Jamnalal Bajaj, to promote good literature at affordable prices.

358. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹⁸

September 15, 1958

[Nan dear.]

I received your two letters dated 7th and 8th September a few days ago. I had hoped to write to you a little more fully in answer. But the last few days have been rather overwhelming, and now I am on the point of going to Bhutan.

I am distressed to learn of Betty's health and behavior. She has written one or two letters to me too, which are very odd. I really do not know what to do about it. To write to her a stiff and angry letter does no good and probably increases the instability of her mind. Not to write to her is also to make her feel that we all conspire against her. I am in a fix. I suppose I shall send her a brief letter.

I like Harsha, though I do not admire him. He is a good boy, but his thinking has gone all awry. I fear he will not fit in in India at all and what else he will do, I do not know. I am getting very doubtful about the advantage of sending our children for long years abroad for their education.

As for Ajit, he lacks integrity and that is a much more serious thing.

I am a little surprised to learn of the suggestion made by Raja that Harsha stay with you more or less permanently. I do not think that is a good idea. Anyhow it would not perhaps be desirable for him. But in view of the strange ideas that Betty and Raja have, this will probably lead to frequent incidents and outbursts.

In spite of what Betty thinks of me and all of us, she goes on writing to me about some post for Raja. Quite apart from other aspects of this question, it is most extraordinary that Betty should not realise that Raja is running down our policy, both internal and foreign, and our Government continuously.

We had another outburst in both the houses of Parliament because of what Morarji is reported to have said in a radio interview.¹⁹ I am afraid he is needlessly

18. JN Collection.

19. Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister, who was at this time in the USA, in a radio interview in Washington on 10 September said, among other things, that China should not attack Quemoy or Matsu. Asked if India favoured one side more than the other in the Formosa issue, Morarji Desai said, "Whoever used military force is wrong, to my mind.... If one side uses military means and the other side defends itself, I cannot say that the person who defends himself is wrong." He further said that there was no question of his sympathies being anywhere, because he personally believed that it was not his business to say which Government should hold China.

creating trouble for himself. I defended him of course and got over the immediate difficulty, but something remains in the minds of people.

I am leaving early tomorrow morning for Bhutan.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

359. Foreword to 'A Bunch of Old Letters'—I²⁰

These letters are a mixed collection. It has not been an easy task to get them together and to make a selection for publication. How far this has been worthwhile, it is difficult for me to judge. Nearly all of them belong to a period which now seems remote and long ago. Except for a very few, they are letters written before the coming of independence to India and they deal mainly with our internal problems and how they affected us. Reading them again, they revive old controversies and forgotten memories come back to mind. They were mostly written in the twenties and thirties and the early forties, in the course of our struggle for freedom and during the intervals when I was not in prison.

I did not have the leisure or the opportunity then to keep my letters and papers in proper order and they were lumped together. Periodically, the police descended upon us and took possession of such papers as they could find. On return from a long period in prison, I often found that termites and other insects had made a feast of many of my papers. Even so a large number survived. Years later, friends helped in arranging them in some order and recently when I went for a brief holiday in the Kulu Valley of the Himalayas,²¹ I made a selection out of this bunch.

It was my intention at first to publish only Mahatma Gandhi's letters to me. Gradually others were added and even some letters written by me had to be given as otherwise it was difficult to understand many of the references. The arrangement followed in this volume is chronological, though occasionally this has been varied for the sake of clarity. I have added a few footnotes or

20. Written at Gangtok, Sikkim, 16 September 1958. JN Collection.

On 16 September, Nehru sent this foreword to M.O. Mathai, his Special Assistant, for inclusion in *A Bunch of Old Letters*, forthcoming from Asia Publishing House, Bombay. But he telegraphed Mathai the same day that it would have to be revised, which was done on 5 October 1958. The revised version is item 360.

21. Nehru visited Manali from 20 to 31 May 1958 and again from 10 to 23 June 1958.

other explanatory notes, but I fear that those who are not acquainted with the sequence of events in India during that period may not be able to understand some of the references in the letters.

I am writing this foreword from Gangtok, the mountain capital of the small and lovely Himalayan State of Sikkim where I came today from Delhi on my way to Bhutan. Already I am far from the turmoil of politics and the peace of the Himalayas surrounds me. In the Far East, the new and dangerous game of brinkmanship is being played and the island of Quemoy has become the scene of intense bombardment. Vast navies stride across the Straits of Formosa and we hear daily of threats and warnings which may lead to that little extra step over the brink. In Western Asia, even though the immediate danger has passed, the crisis continues. In New York, statesmen from the ends of the earth gather together to meet in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

But here in Sikkim, the drums of war are not heard and there is peace. Sikkim is a little mountain State, closely allied to India and surrounded by India, Nepal, Tibet and Bhutan. It lies across the main route from India to the Tibetan region of China. Buddhism flourishes here as it does in all the surrounding areas. Modern amenities such as good roads, electric power, small factories, schools, hospitals, etc., have crept in here gradually from India. The changes are marked and every time I come here, I find something new happening; but these changes have come gently without breaking with the past. In Tibet, on the other side, after a long period of almost absolute seclusion, changes are coming with a rush and upsetting the shape of things.

Bhutan yet remains unaffected by the modern world. Surrounded by high mountains, access to it is difficult and the rulers of that country have been shy of encouraging outsiders to go there. Perhaps they were right because outsiders, though they may bring some of the good things of life, also tend to bring much that is not good. They have also been in the habit of imposing themselves and their ways. So Bhutan remained and still remains one of the most inaccessible countries in the world. There are no airstrips there and indeed the only way to move about is either walking or riding a mountain pony along a bridge path which is often difficult even for a pony. There are no roads there and vehicular traffic is unknown. The country is sparsely populated with a sturdy and attractive peasantry.

My journey to this neighbour country of ours with whom we have had close and friendly contacts for a long time is a much more difficult one than if I travelled to the other side of the world. Recently our engineers have made a road through difficult mountain terrain, almost up to the frontier with Tibet. This goes up to a pass over 14,000 ft in height, overlooking Tibet. It is possible now to go by jeep up to this pass, the Nathu La. On the other side, there is no

road yet and travelling has to be done on mountain ponies. It will take me five days of trekking to reach Paro, the summer capital of Bhutan. The distance is not great from Gangtok. Probably it is about a hundred miles of which about forty miles will be done by jeep. We shall have to cross through passes of 14,000 to 15,000 ft above sea level and then descend to the valley on the other side where Paro is situated at 7,500 ft.

I had long wanted to go to Bhutan and avail myself of the friendly invitation to visit this country. The mountains attract me and more especially the Himalayas which are so full of story and legend and high adventure. Bhutan so near and so remote and so different from the rest of the world had a special attraction, and now that I am at last going there, the cares and worries that are our daily lot drop away from me and even the dreadful prospect of possible war and atomic radiation poisoning the world does not oppress me. Somehow, the Himalayas give one a sense not only of peace but of permanence, and of something above and away from the follies of human beings. No doubt this is a false impression because nuclear warfare and radiation will not spare the Himalayas. In Hindu mythology, the gods had their abodes in these mountains; they chose well. But the old gods fade away and new gods of a fiercer kind take their place. Even so the peace of the Buddha still prevails here and if we can have some inner peace within ourselves, perhaps we might even be able to face the threat of the bomb which has been described to be brighter than a thousand suns.

360. Foreword to 'A Bunch of Old Letters'—II²²

These letters are a mixed collection. It has not been an easy task to get them together and to make a selection for publication. How far this has been worthwhile, it is difficult for me to judge. Nearly all of them belong to a period which now seems remote and of long ago. Except for a very few, they are letters written before the coming of independence to India and they deal mainly with our internal problems and how they affected us. Reading them again, they revive old controversies and almost forgotten memories come back to mind. They were mostly written in the twenties and thirties and the early forties, in the course of our struggle for freedom and during the intervals when I was not in prison.

22. 5 October 1958. File No. BOL-1, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Published in *A Bunch of Old Letters* (1958).

I did not have the leisure or the opportunity then to keep my letters and papers in proper order and they were lumped together. Periodically, the police descended upon us and took possession of such papers as they could find. On return from a long period in prison, I often found that termites and other insects had made a feast of many of my papers. Even so a large number survived. Years later, friends helped in arranging them in some order and recently when I went for a brief holiday in the Kulu Valley of the Himalayas, I made a selection out of this bunch.

It was my intention at first to publish only Mahatma Gandhi's letters to me. Gradually others were added and even some letters written by me had to be given as otherwise it was difficult to understand many of the references. The arrangement followed in this volume is chronological, though occasionally this has been varied for the sake of clarity. I have added a few footnotes or other explanatory notes, but I fear that those who are not acquainted with the sequence of events in India during that period may not be able to understand some of the references in the letters.

Some of these letters are from friends and colleagues who are happily with us still. They have been kind enough to give me their permission for their publication. In regard to a very few, it has not been possible for me to obtain this permission before publication. I hope they will forgive me for the liberty I am taking.

I should like to express my gratitude to many of my colleagues who have helped me at various stages in the publication of this book. Indeed without that help I could not possibly have undertaken this task or completed it.

361. To Clare Boothe Luce²³

7th October, 1958

Dear Mrs Luce,²⁴

Thank you for your letter of September 12th²⁵ which reached me at rather an odd place—Gangtok in Sikkim. I had just come back there from a visit to Bhutan which is a country almost devoid of means of communications.

I was happy to have your letter. I am sorry you have been unwell.

23. File No. BOL-1, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund.

24. American journalist, playwright and politician.

25. Mrs Luce was acceding to Nehru's request of 9 June 1958 for permission to include two of her letters to Nehru in *A Bunch of Old Letters* [see SWJN/SS/42/pp. 845-846 and *A Bunch of Old Letters* (1958 edition), pp. 479-480 and 487-488].

Your account of how your letter reached me revived many old memories. But I think you have made a slight mistake in your account. Your letter of August 25th, 1942, which was to have been delivered to me by Mr Wendell Willkie,²⁶ could not have reached me when I was arrested. I was arrested on August 8th, 1942. In fact a covering note to that letter of yours is dated November 2nd, 1942.²⁷

It was therefore your previous letter which had reached me just before my arrest and which I carried with me to Ahmednagar Fort.²⁸

We are having the various International Bank conferences in Delhi at present and the city is full of eminent bankers and Ministers of Finance.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

26. American writer, politician, lawyer and author of *One World* (London: Cassell and Company, 1943).
27. Nehru reproduced the covering note while including the letter of 25 August 1942 in *A Bunch of Old Letters*. The note read: "November 2, 1942. This letter has already travelled once around the world, having been given to Mr Willkie by Mrs Luce when he left America. It is now being taken to you through the courtesy of Mr Ku."
28. Alluding to her letter of 4 June 1942, Clare Boothe Luce wrote: "And may I refresh your memory about how the letter reached you in prison? You related that event in a letter you wrote me (on birchbark) from the valley of Kashmir where you went to rest after your release. I have that letter somewhere among my most treasured private papers. You said that my letter had come in the late afternoon when you were in your office, that you had slipped it into your sash intending to read it when you returned to your house. Apparently you forgot to do so, and it was left in the folds of your sash. During the night, the British came to make the arrest. You dressed and went with them. They permitted you to take no books or personal papers. In prison, you later found the letter, and you wrote me that it was the only personal uncensored thing you had to read for a long time. Indeed (you wrote) because it seemed for that reason especially precious, the first person you were writing to after your release was me. I was deeply touched by that, though I was also instantly filled with regret that my own letter could not have been more meaningful and significant, and richer in the expressions of hope and confidence." Mrs Luce was referring to the letter written by Nehru at the end of July 1945 from Kashmir. In a subsequent letter, written on 4 May 1946, Nehru had described how Clare Boothe's letter of 4 June 1945 became "a companion to me for several months and it served a more important purpose, because of this, than it might otherwise have been." See SWJN/FS/15/pp. 597-599.

362. To P.N. Rajabhoj²⁹

October 21, 1958

Dear Shri Rajabhoj,³⁰

Your letter of the 14th September came just after I had left for Bhutan. Hence the delay is answering it.

The question you have raised is very difficult for me to answer. It is entirely a personal question which each individual must consider for himself. Religion ought to be, though it is often not so, an entirely personal matter for each person's belief.

So far as I am concerned, I do not believe in what might be called institutional religion, though I respect religion as such. Thus, whatever I may believe in does not lead me to think of conversion or attaching myself to any particular religious creed. I have always been greatly attracted to the Buddha and to his basic teachings. They have attracted me chiefly because of their ethical content, their spirit of brotherhood and their scientific approach even to problems of the human spirit. In recent years I have been even more attracted to these basic principles and broad approach. But I am not concerned or very much interested in the institutional forms of Buddhism or indeed of any religion. If a person sincerely believes in anything, I respect him for it even though I may not agree with him. The question, therefore, of conversion does not arise in my mind for any individual.

I realise that this is my personal approach and it may not be adequate for others. I thought, however, that I should tell you how I feel about it. It is for you to decide how you should act in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. Jawaharlal Nehru Supplementary Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

30. Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Bombay.

363. To M. Karamat Ashroff³¹

Raj Bhavan

Hyderabad

October 26, 1958

Dear Mr Karamat Ashroff,³²

I have received your letter of the 26th October.³³ Of course, I remember your father very well at Harrow and I was much interested to see the Harrow School paper that you have sent me which gives our names on the Modern Side. I am returning this paper to you.

I would have been glad to see you but unfortunately I have had no time for that, and I am leaving early tomorrow morning.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

364. To Rajendra Prasad³⁴

October 29, 1958

My dear Rajendra Babu,³⁵

It was very good of you to remember my birthday and suggest that I might come to lunch with you on that day. I need not tell you how much I appreciate this and how happy I am to have a meal with you.

For some time past, I have been feeling that too much fuss has been made on the occasion of my birthday anniversaries. As a matter of fact, that day is also observed as the International Children's Day and the two get rather mixed up here in India. There has been, for the last two years, a big children's function at the stadium on that day. I have felt much embarrassed by this confusion of my birthday with the International Children's Day, and I particularly dislike all those children being made to work hard in rehearsals, etc., for that function. So, some two months ago, I suggested to the Delhi authorities not to have that

31. File No. F.8/68/58-PMS, Vol.-I.

32. A resident of Abbasi Manzil, Mallapalli, Hyderabad.

33. Karamat Ashroff's father, Lal Mahmad Kabir, had been with Nehru at Harrow, so Karamat Ashroff forwarded an old gazette of Harrow School in which their names appeared.

34. JN Collection.

35. President of India.

function at the stadium and instead have some other way of observing the International Children's Day.³⁶ I think they have accepted my advice and probably each school here will have its own celebration.

I further suggested to them as well as to others that I would rather not attend any function on that day. I am glad to say that this has been more or less agreed to.

In view of all this, I would prefer not going out to luncheon on the 14th November. I cannot say 'no' to you, but I would be happy if you ask me to lunch on some other day, say the 13th or the 15th November.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

365. 'Letters from a Father to his Daughter'— the Braille Edition³⁷

Please see the attached letter. You might send a reply that they can certainly go ahead with a Braille edition of my little book.³⁸ Nobody else's permission is required.

I do not understand what the Allahabad Law Journal Press has got to do with this and why their Directors should consider any such thing. Long ago I gave this Hindi edition to the UP Government and they have printed a large number of copies of it. Nobody has any copyright on it.

So far as I am concerned, neither the Allahabad Law Journal Press nor the Oxford Press or anyone else has any copyright of the English or Hindi editions.

You may inform the Braille publishers that they will not have to pay any royalty on the book. Further that they should not refer to publishers at all. They can say that the author has gladly agreed to the issue of a Braille edition.

36. See item 356.

37. Note to M.O. Mathai, Special Assistant to Nehru, 30 October 1958. JN Collection.

38. The reference is to *Letters from a Father to his Daughter* (Allahabad: Allahabad Law Journal Press, 1929).

(b) Other Matters

366. A Walking Stick for Cholmsley³⁹

I gave you two walking sticks and asked you to pass on one of them to Shri Alva.⁴⁰ As he is not here, you might send one of them, whichever you choose, to the person whose name and address are given in the attached letter, that is, Shri Cholmsley. You might write to Shri Cholmsley as follows:

Dear Mr Cholmsley,

Shri Joachim Alva, MP, came to see the Prime Minister a few days ago. He told him that he had met you during his visit to the Kolar Goldfield Mines. He had noticed that you were using a walking stick and apparently he promised you that he would ask the Prime Minister to send you a walking stick.

This visit and promise took place about eighteen months ago. Shri Joachim Alva took a long time to convey this message to the Prime Minister. However, the Prime Minister told him that he would gladly send you a walking stick.

I have now been asked by the Prime Minister to send you a walking stick and he hopes that you will like it. It is being sent separately.

The Prime Minister also desires me to send you his good wishes.

367. To Sadiq Ali⁴¹

September 5, 1958

My dear Sadiq Ali,⁴²

I am writing to you about the case of Ladha Singh Maini, an old colleague of Gandhiji in South Africa.⁴³ He is now, I believe, eightyone years of age.

In February 1956, the Home Ministry sent rupees two thousand five hundred to the AICC and asked them to pay rupees fifty a month to Ladha Singh. Out of this, I understand that about a thousand rupees is still lying as a

39. Note to Private Secretary, 2 September 1958. JN Collection.

40. Joachim Alva, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from North Kanara, Mysore State.

41. AICC Papers, NMML, Also available in JN Collection.

42. General Secretary, AICC.

43. H.S.L. Polak, British solicitor and companion of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, had requested Nehru in August 1958 to arrange some pension for Ladha Singh Maini. See SWJN/SS/43/p. 660.

balance with the AICC. Now the Home Ministry has sent another sum of rupees one thousand to the AICC for the same purpose. They have asked you to pay a lump sum of rupees two hundred fifty to Ladha Singh and in future to pay him rupees one hundred and fifty per month.

This means that the money you have at your disposal for Ladha Singh will enable you to pay him rupees one hundred and fifty per month for about a year or thirteen months more. We want, however, this payment to him to be continued indefinitely, that means so long as he lives. He is eightyone years old but I am told is healthy and in fit condition.

I spoke to the Chairman and Secretary of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi today about Ladha Singh. They were agreeable to help him. As it was not necessary to give any help at this stage, they said that when the present sum was exhausted, they would continue this payment of rupees one hundred and fifty a month to him.

I am writing this for your information so that you might remind the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi about this matter when the time comes for it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

368. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁴⁴

September 8, 1958

[Nan dear,]⁴⁵

Your letter of September 3rd reached me today.

I am glad that Morarji Desai's stay in London⁴⁶ passed off well. I had little doubt about this.

I think it was very improper of Ghanshyamdas Birla to serve wines and liquors at the dinner party he gave.⁴⁷ This kind of thing irritates me greatly. I have no objection to people serving wines if they want to. But to do so when

44. JN Collection.

45. High Commissioner of India to the UK

46. Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister, arrived in London on 28 August on an eight-day visit. He left for the USA on 5 September.

47. Mrs Pandit wrote that she was surprised to find that alcohol was served at a dinner party for Morarji Desai in London on 2 September hosted by the industrialist G.D. Birla and attended by 50 prominent business people. Birla had explained afterwards to Mrs Pandit that "it was impossible to entertain in this country without wine." (Morarji Desai was a teetotaler himself).

especially entertaining the Finance Minister of India, was a grave breach in my opinion. To say that you cannot entertain people in England without wine, is absurd. If that is really so, I am prepared to stop entertaining them.

I have not seen Asok Chanda's⁴⁸ article to which you refer, but I have heard about it. I shall find it out.⁴⁹ But I have seen the article in *Time*.⁵⁰ I did not personally mind it much, though I knew that this would create a bad impression here. It was rather unwise of Morarji to have a long talk with the *Time* correspondent. I understand that he had refused to give an interview, and indeed he hardly gives interviews to newspaper men. But then he was asked to have an informal talk, and he agreed. Morarji should have known that there is no difference between a formal interview and an informal talk with a newspaper man. The *Time* correspondent goes about saying that he had taken care to take down in shorthand whatever Morarji said, as he remembered what happened last year when T.T. Krishnamachari said that a *Time* report was not correct.⁵¹

Then, again, why discuss with an American correspondent all kinds of subjects which were irrelevant. I am afraid this was a faux pas on the part of Morarji, and this will pursue him for some time. Today, some Communist Members in the Rajya Sabha made much of it, and there was a good deal of shouting. Even Hriday Nath Kunzru expressed his strong disapproval of what Morarjibhai had said. I tried to explain it away and said that I attached no importance to it.⁵²

The food situation here, and more especially in Uttar Pradesh, has been the dominating subject. The situation has been bad enough, and prices rose with a

48. Comptroller and Auditor-General.

49. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit had written in her letter: "The only flies in the ointment so far have been the *Time* article and Asok Chanda's article in *The Hindu*. The correspondent has twisted Morarjibhai's words out of context in the usual way. This has annoyed him very much. Asok Chanda's article has caused much adverse comment and *Financial Times* of yesterday has commented on it." Asok K. Chanda's article made India's case for foreign aid, especially from the UK, by claiming that Indian economic policy had been subservient to UK interests, as in 1948, hence India could expect the UK to be generous.

50. The reference is to the article titled "India: Billion Dollar Troubles" published in *Time* in its issue of 1 September 1958. It included an interview given by Morarji Desai to *Time* correspondent Donald Connery a few days earlier.

51. In an interview given to the *New York Times* in September 1957, T.T. Krishnamachari, the then Union Finance Minister, had reportedly made some controversial statements. See SWJN/SS/40, p. 515.

52. Bhupesh Gupta of the CPI and eight other Members had asked a short notice question in the Rajya Sabha on 8 September regarding Morarji Desai's interview to *Time* magazine. Nehru's initial answer was followed by several supplementary questions and interventions by Members. For Nehru's answers in the House, see item 16.

jump last month. All the Opposition parties in Uttar Pradesh have decided to make this a major occasion and have launched on extraordinary programmes. Some people are fasting; others have called for a programme of ghera dalo, that is, people should surround the offices of Ministers, District Magistrates, etc. (this is Lohia's party⁵³); the PSP has in a sense gone even further and asked for peaceful looting of grain godowns! Here in Parliament, Shibbanlal Saxena has been fasting for nearly two weeks. He comes daily to the Lok Sabha for half an hour or so. He is, of course, a practised hand at fasting, but I must say that he is beginning to look now rather queer. He stumbled and fell today as he was going out of the Lok Sabha.

There have been daily scenes in Parliament, motions of adjournment, etc. However, I have succeeded in calming down this feverish atmosphere, and we have formed informal committees in which there are leaders of the Opposition, to discuss food matters.

Fortunately, the standing crops in Eastern UP are in excellent condition and, during the last two days, we have had very good rain there—as the peasants said: this rain was worth its weight in pearls. So, after a long travail, the poor peasant of Eastern UP has got a slight smile on his face again and some hope.

Prices show a slight tendency to come down. But our troubles will probably continue in UP and in Bengal where also a big threat of all kinds of satyagraha is being held out. We shall get over this immediate difficulty, though not easily, but I am much more concerned about the future. I feel that our Administration has not functioned effectively, more especially in the States. It gives me an impression of an out-of-date machine; we try to push it, and there is much creaking and squeaking, but its pace is limited.

I have finally fixed my visit to Bhutan, and I shall leave on the 16th September. I have extended it slightly as I thought, having gone so far, I might as well spend four or five days there. I expect to return here on the 2nd October. Immediately after, we shall be engulfed by the International Bank people who are coming here in serried ranks.

Our UN Delegation⁵⁴ will be going soon and will no doubt pass through London. This delegation includes quite a number of MPs, many of them who

53. Socialist Party.

54. The Indian delegation to the 13th Session of the UN General Assembly, which began in New York on 16 September 1958, was headed by V.K. Krishna Menon. The delegation consisted of R. Venkataraman, G.S. Pathak, Arthur S. Lall and M. Chalapathi Rau as representatives and N.C. Kasliwal, Akbar Ali Khan, George Thomas Kottukapally, M. Gopala Menon and J.N. Sahni as alternate representatives. The advisers were: Labanyaprova Dutt, Maimoona Sultan, J. Rameshwar Rao, P. Chakravarti, M.A. Vellodi, R. Jaipal, A.K. Mitra, M. Rasgotra, R. Bhandari and N. Krishnan.

have not been abroad. There is Akbar Ali Khan⁵⁵ of Hyderabad, a barrister I think, Kasliwal,⁵⁶ Rameshwar Rao,⁵⁷ George Thomas Kottukapally⁵⁸ (a very decent man and a banker from Kerala), a woman member⁵⁹ of the Bengal Assembly and a newcomer to the Lok Sabha from Bhopal, Maimoona Sultan,⁶⁰ who is somewhat inexperienced here, but who I think is likely to turn out fairly well. There is also Chalapathi Rau.⁶¹

Firoz Khan Noon⁶² is coming here tomorrow for a two-day stay, and the flags are up, whatever the feelings of the people might be.

We have been much concerned at the racial riots in London. As far as I can make out, Indians have not been involved except for some solitary cases. But the outlook is bad.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

55. Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Andhra Pradesh.

56. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Kota, Rajasthan.

57. J. Rameshwar Rao, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Mahbubnagar, Andhra Pradesh.

58. (1901-1970); businessman and Congress politician from Kerala; participated in non-cooperation movement, 1921; Chairman, Municipal Council, Palai, 1948-53; Vice-Chairman, All India Rubber Growers' Association; President, Travancore-Cochin Bankers' Association; Managing Director and Director of Several business, planting and banking companies; General Secretary, Kerala Catholic Trust, and St Thomas and St Xavier Centenary All India Celebrations Committee, 1951; Member, Lok Sabha, 1953-62.

59. An Independent Member of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly; earlier, she was a nominated Member of the West Bengal Legislative Council, 1952-56; one of the founders of Calcutta Girls College.

60. (b. 1932); Congress Member of the Lok Sabha, 1957-67, from Madhya Pradesh; Member of the Rajya Sabha, 1974-86.

61. M. Chalapathi Rau, Editor, *National Herald*.

62. Prime Minister of Pakistan.

369. To Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi⁶³

September 14, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,⁶⁴

I had a talk with Shankar Prasad⁶⁵ this evening.⁶⁶ He told me that you were not at all keeping well. I was distressed to learn this because it is very important that you should keep good health. I hope you will look after yourself and in your enthusiasm not permit your physical health to suffer.

I am going to Bhutan for two and a half weeks. This is going to be a strenuous affair, as we have to do five days of trekking on high mountains crossing three passes of between 14,000 and 15,000 feet. I shall return on the 2nd October. I am told that you are likely to come to Delhi then. I hope to meet you then.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

63. JN Collection.

64. Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

65. Secretary, Kashmir Affairs, Government of India.

66. Earlier in the day, the leaders of the Democratic National Conference, G.M. Sadiq, D.P. Dhar and G.L. Dogra, who were on a visit to Delhi, pleaded for active interest of the Centre in the affairs of Kashmir. Their demands were: "Extend the jurisdiction of the Election Commission to Kashmir and of the Supreme Court to the State's lower courts; apply to Kashmir the provisions relating to the constitution of High Courts and also Article 136 which provides for special leave to appeal by Supreme Court; and abolish the permit system." The permit system, the leaders pointed out, was obnoxious so far as the people of the country were concerned. According to them, it raised an "emotional barrier" between Kashmir and the rest of India and should, therefore, be pulled down immediately. G.M. Sadiq feared that the local arrangements made by the Bakhshi Government would not ensure "free elections". During their stay in the capital, the leaders of the Democratic National Conference met Nehru, G.B. Pant and some other Ministers and placed their demands for a return to normalcy in Kashmir.

370. Anagarika Dharmapala⁶⁷

I am glad to learn that the Government of Ceylon is honouring the memory of Anagarika Dharmapala⁶⁸ who, later, came to be known as the Venerable Devamitta. He is well remembered and his memory is cherished in India. It was largely due to his efforts that many improvements were made in the Bodh Gaya Temple. He served the cause of Buddhism with rare devotion. On this occasion, I pay my tribute to him and to the cause he served.

371. Death of Bhagwan Das⁶⁹

The expected and inevitable has happened. Nevertheless, it is sad to think of the passing away of the grand old man, your father.⁷⁰ Indira and I send you our love from far-off Tibet.

67. Message, 15 September 1958. JN Collection.

68. Anagarika Dharmapala, born Don David Hewavitane (1864-1933); a major reformer and revivalist of Buddhism from Ceylon; came under the influence of Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky of Theosophical Society, but eventually broke with them; first Buddhist in modern times to preach the Dharma in the continents of Asia, Europe and North America; founded Mahabodhi Society of Calcutta in 1891; attended the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago, 1893; moving force behind the movement for restoration of Buddhist control over Mahabodhi Temple at Bodh Gaya; sought refuge in India after he was banned by British authorities from returning to Ceylon after the 1915 Sinhala-Muslim clashes; ordained a bhikkhu in 1933 at Sarnath, where he died; wrote diaries and memoirs.

69. Addressed to Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Bombay, this telegram was sent on 19 September 1958 from Yatung, in Tibet. From the *National Herald*, 22 September 1958. Nehru had reached Yatung on 18 September on his way to Bhutan.

70. Bhagwan Das, distinguished scholar and philosopher, passed away in Varanasi on 18 September.

372. Upton Sinclair⁷¹

I send my greetings and good wishes to Upton Sinclair on the occasion of his 80th birthday anniversary. For over half a century he has fought for a multitude of good causes and, by his writings, produced a powerful effect on the minds of vast numbers of people all over the world. I hope that he will have many more years to carry on this good work.

373. Fenner Brockway⁷²

On the occasion of Fenner Brockway⁷³ attaining the age of seventy, I send him my greeting and all my good wishes. During the long period that I have known him, he has always been a brave knight crusading for right causes. One may not always agree with his viewpoint but one's admiration went out to him for his single-minded devotion for the cause of freedom and equality. May he live long and continue to help the good causes of the world.

71. Message to the League for Industrial Democracy, New York. From the *National Herald*, 21 September 1958. The message was apparently written a few days before its publication.

The League for Industrial Democracy was founded in 1905 by a group of notable socialists which included, among others, Upton Sinclair, American novelist, writer, journalist and political activist. The stated purpose of the League was to "throw light on the world-wide movement of industrial democracy known as socialism" and it focused its efforts on mobilising college students. It was celebrating Sinclair's 80th birthday.

72. Message, 9 October 1958. JN Collection.

73. British anti-war activist and politician. Nehru first met Fenner Brockway at the International Congress against Imperialism, Brussels, 10-15 February 1927.

374. To G.D. Birla⁷⁴

October 9, 1958

My dear Ghanshyamdasji,⁷⁵

Thank you for your letter of the 9th October giving me your impressions or rather the impressions of other people who have come here for the Bank Conferences.⁷⁶ I have myself, from my various talks, gathered much the same impressions as you have done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

74. JN Collection.

75. A leading industrialist.

76. Birla wrote that the delegates and guests from abroad who were attending the bank conferences in Delhi were greatly impressed by Vigyan Bhavan, the venue of the conferences, and the hotel arrangements, including their orderliness and cleanliness aspects, and the hospitality they received, as well as by the general demeanour of the people whom they met at various functions. While one delegate saw "a strong sense of self-reliance" in the Indian people, Birla noted, another one deplored the tendency among some Indians to run down Government and paint a dark picture of the future of India in the presence of foreigners. Birla said that Americans were outspoken and expressed their admiration and sympathy for India's efforts, and added that he strongly believed that they would help India. But the British delegates took "too narrow a view based on a fear—without foundation—that once India industrialises, they shall lose their markets." Birla also observed that the introduction of military rule in Pakistan had created a glaring contrast in favour of India. See also item 251, fn 421, and item 320, fn 215.

375. To Charan Singh⁷⁷

October 10, 1958

Dear Charan Singh,⁷⁸

I have your letter of October 6.

When I used the word Jatpan⁷⁹ in my talk with you, I was not thinking of caste or anything like it. What I had in mind was a certain toughness on group lines. The group need not be Jat or any caste group.

As for Jats, I have always liked them very much and admired many qualities in them. There is no question of a taunt about the word in my mind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

376. A Memorial for Sarojini Naidu⁸⁰

It is fitting that the All-India Women's Conference⁸¹ is having a suitable memorial for Sarojini Naidu. Her unique and outstanding position in the struggle for freedom of India as well as in the innumerable cultural activities was such that national memorials should be put up for her. While the whole nation is concerned with this matter, the All-India Women's Conference has certainly a particular claim on her. I am glad, therefore, that a proper memorial is being put up to perpetuate the memory of this brilliant and shining daughter of India. The call for a support for this memorial⁸² deserves every encouragement.

77. JN Collection.

78. Minister, Government of Uttar Pradesh, at this time; belonged to the Jat community.

79. In Hindi, "-pan" is a suffix used for making abstract noun to denote a quality, etc.

80. Message to the All-India Women's Conference (AIWC), 15 October 1958. JN Collection.

81. Sarojini Naidu was one of the founders of the All-India Women's Conference, founded in 1927 to work for women's development.

82. Nehru opened the Sarojini House, constructed at the premises of the AIWC at 6 Bhagwan Das Road in New Delhi, and unveiled a portrait of Sarojini Naidu on 15 December 1958.

377. To Ellsworth Bunker⁸³

October 18, 1958

My dear Ambassador,⁸⁴

On my return this evening to Delhi, I have received your letter of October 17 and the invitation cards for the "Holiday on Ice" tomorrow.⁸⁵ Thank you for them. I have as a matter of fact been looking forward to this exhibition of skating in Delhi and I had promised to go on the opening day which had been previously fixed for the 10th October. The date was then postponed. Tomorrow I have got a rather important engagement with Jayaprakash Narayan just at that time.⁸⁶ I am sorry therefore that I cannot attend this performance. I hope that I shall be able to see it some other day.

I find that my daughter also cannot go tomorrow and the children are not here.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

83. JN Collection.

84. US Ambassador in India.

85. Holiday on Ice, an American production, was a family-oriented entertainment programme performed on a 7,000 sq. feet portable frozen stage by a troupe of 75 artistes hailing from the USA, South America and Europe. The show had a glittering opening on 19 October at the National Stadium in New Delhi where it ran for a month. Each show included elements of highly skilled skating, artistic choreography, music, stunning costumes and spectacular special effects.

86. Jayaprakash Narayan met Nehru on 19 and 20 October, their first meeting after Jayaprakash's return from Europe and West Asia. Jayaprakash Narayan declined to comment, but *The Hindu* reported that he had proposed a conference of all political parties professing democratic socialism to draw up a common programme of national reconstruction, and that leaders of parties must quit office, draw up a non-partisan programme of reconstruction and lead a mass movement for national development.

378. To Mukarram Jah⁸⁷

October 20, 1958

My dear Mukarram,⁸⁸

I have seen your letter of the 17th October⁸⁹ to Mathai.⁹⁰ I would very much like not only to meet you, but to go to your house and have a meal with you. But I find that all kinds of engagements are being made for me, and I am much embarrassed by them. I have, therefore, informed the Chief Minister⁹¹ and the Governor⁹² not to add to my engagements at present. On my arrival in Hyderabad, I hope to fix up such engagements as I can. Among them, I hope, will be a visit to your house. I suggest that you might see me that evening, that is, the 23rd.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

87. JN Collection.

88. Mukarram Jah (b. 1933); grandson of Osman Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad; in 1967 became the Nizam on the death of his grandfather.

89. Mukarram Jah hoped that Nehru's visit would ease his problems with his grandfather, the Nizam.

90. M.O. Mathai, Nehru's Special Assistant.

91. N. Sanjiva Reddy.

92. Bhimsen Sachar.

379. To Fathema Ismail⁹³

October 20, 1958

My dear Fathema,⁹⁴

Your letter of 17th October.

I know well what excellent work you are doing in your institution for the physically handicapped. I would like to help you, but my capacity to do so is rather limited at present as the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund has been at a low ebb. I am, however, sending a cheque for Rs 3,000 from that Fund.

I do not like asking industrialists or others for donations of any kind. My approaching them will lead to misunderstandings. But I am sure there will be many people who will help with donations of money or machinery.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

380. To Ghanashyam J. Shivdasani⁹⁵

October 21, 1958

My dear Ghanashyamji,⁹⁶

Your letter of the 14th September came when I was away in Bhutan. Later, it got mixed up with other papers when I returned. Hence, the delay in replying to it.

I am much interested to learn of the benefit you have derived from nature-cure treatment. I have no doubt that nature-cure treatment in some cases is very good and should be encouraged. But I have also seen many cases which have rapidly deteriorated under this treatment. I would be glad if such nature cure clinics were established in other places also. But I do not see how we can do that as widely as you suggest.

93. JN Collection.

94. A resident of 7 Queen's Barracks, Backbay Reclamation, Foreshore Road, Bombay.

95. JN Collection.

96. A resident of Shanti Kuteer Building, 215 Marine Drive, Bombay.

As for the Sindhi language, I should like to encourage it. But I fear that any attempt to change the Constitution in this regard will raise many other complications and difficulties. As a matter of fact, we are encouraging many languages which are not in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, and I see no reason why Sindhi should not be treated likewise.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

381. To N.V. Gadgil⁹⁷

October 21, 1958

My dear Gadgil,⁹⁸

Yesterday Nandlal Verma⁹⁹ and his wife came to see me. I presume you know him. I gathered that he had met you. He wanted me to send a line about him to you and therefore I am writing. Both Nandlal and his wife are an excellent couple and are of high character. Unfortunately their very qualities have come in their way often enough and they have endured much suffering in recent years. He was a fairly good dentist in Simla when Gulzarilal Nanda invited him to work in the Bharat Sewak Samaj. After about two years he fell out with some of the officials of the Samaj here. As a result, he had to leave. I do not know whose fault it was. Since then, he has been at a loose end and has not been in a position to resume his dental practice. He had hoped to be selected for some seat in the Assembly or Parliament. He came rather near it but again just missed it. His wife was selected but, unfortunately, she lost by a small margin. He still hopes to be given a ticket for some by-election. I do not know if this will be feasible or suitable for him. There is a vacancy in Himachal Pradesh. Technically he is not a Himachal Pradesh man although he lives very near Simla. Anyhow, it will be a difficult contest and it may not be easy to get the Himachal Pradesh people to agree to his standing. We shall keep him in mind.

I cannot, from personal experience, speak of Nandlal Verma's competence, but I can certainly speak of his sincerity and earnestness. About his wife I have an even higher opinion. She is a fine woman.

97. JN Collection.

98. Governor of Punjab.

99. A dentist by profession; was drawn to a political career and became General Secretary of the Simla Congress Committee.

I am writing this to you, not to ask you to do anything for him, but to keep him in mind because he does deserve our sympathy and help if occasion arises.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

382. To Manuben Gandhi¹⁰⁰

अक्टूबर 21, 1958

प्रिय मनु,¹⁰¹

तुम्हारे दो पत्र मुझे मिले। दोनों में तुमने चर्चा किया है कि एक पाँच कमरे का मकान तुम्हें रहने को चाहिए। ऐसा मिल जाये तो बहुत अच्छा है। इस बारे में श्री चव्हाण¹⁰² को लिख रहा हूँ लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि उनको बड़ी कठिनाइयाँ हैं। अगर वह कुछ कर सके तो अवश्य करेंगे। मैं बहुत चाहता हूँ कि जो तुम अच्छा काम कर रही हो, वह जारी रहे।

(जवाहरलाल नेहरु)

100. JN Collection. Original in Hindi.

101. Manuben Gandhi (1928-1969); daughter of Jaisukhlal Amritlal Gandhi, the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi's uncle Tulsidas; Mahatma Gandhi fondly called Manu his "granddaughter"; came to live with Mahatma Gandhi and Kasturba Gandhi in her early teens; was one of the closest associates of Mahatma Gandhi during his Noakhali, Bihar and Delhi sojourns (December 1946 to January 1948); wrote, among others, *The Miracle of Calcutta* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1959), *Last Glimpses of Bapu* (Delhi: Shiva Lal Agarwala and Co., 1962) and *The Lonely Pilgrim: Noakhali Pilgrimage* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1964).

102. Y.B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Bombay.

[Translation begins]

October 21, 1958

My dear Manu,¹⁰³

I have received two letters from you. In both these letters you have written about your requirement of a five-room set for your residence. It will be quite good if you can get such a house. I am writing to Shri Chavan¹⁰⁴ about this. But I know it is a very difficult thing for him. If he can do something in the matter he will surely do. I greatly wish that the good work that you are doing should continue.

[Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

[Translation ends]

383. To Padma Kant Malaviya¹⁰⁵

October 21, 1958

My dear Padma Kant,¹⁰⁶

Some time ago, your letter of the 10th September came here. Then I went to Bhutan. This letter was about the acquisition of the house of the late Akbar Allahabadi.¹⁰⁷

I am in entire agreement with you that we should put up a suitable memorial for Akbar. I am not, however, quite clear in my mind if his old house would be

103. See fn 101 in this section.

104. See fn 102 in this section.

105. JN Collection.

106. Padma Kant Malaviya (b. 1910); freedom fighter, journalist and author; Congress member of the Municipal Board, Allahabad; edited *Abhyudaya*, a Hindi newspaper started as a weekly by his grandfather Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1907 at Allahabad.

107. Syed Akbar Hussain Rizvi popularly known as Akbar Allahabadi (1846-1921); Urdu poet and satirist; practised as a High Court pleader, 1873; retired as a judge of the court of small cases, at Allahabad, 1905; awarded the title of Khan Bahadur by the then British Government; wrote a collection of poems on Mahatma Gandhi; contributed regularly for *Oudh Punch*, a noted Urdu newspaper-cum-magazine published from Lucknow; was a bitter critic of Syed Ahmad Khan; used English words in his poetry with interesting results which was also to make fun of the Indians who imitated the British.

a suitable memorial. I do not know if the house is even in a fit condition to last. In a town planning scheme, it may perhaps have to be removed.

However, this is a question for the Akbar Memorial Committee to consider.

I would be glad to associate myself with any memorial fund that you raise. I am afraid I cannot send much, but I hope to send you Rs 250/-.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

384. To Norman Cousins¹⁰⁸

October 22, 1958

My dear Cousins,¹⁰⁹

I met Mr Michaelis¹¹⁰ today and he gave me what you call “a little Christmas offering” from you. The little owl sculptured in glass is a lovely thing and I appreciate this gift very much and thank you for it.

Christmas is far ahead still. But may I also send you all my good wishes for it and for the next year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

108. JN Collection.

109. American political journalist, author, professor and world peace advocate.

110. Perhaps the reference is to Arnold Michaelis (1916-1997), American television producer and host.

385. Personalities from 'Glimpses of World History'¹¹¹

I have no objection to such a book containing extracts about personalities from *Glimpses*¹¹² being issued. But it should be remembered that what I wrote then need not necessarily represent my views now about those personalities. More particularly, in the case of Shivaji,¹¹³ further facts have come to my notice, and I should like to make some alterations.

2. I have no time to revise all that I have written about these various persons.

386. Remembering Auschwitz¹¹⁴

Please reply to the attached letter from Vienna as follows:

"Dear Sir,

Prime Minister Nehru has received your letter of October 13 on behalf of the International Committee for Auschwitz.¹¹⁵ He does not remember receiving any previous letter from you on this subject.

2. He agrees with you that the great tragedy that took place on the soil of Auschwitz deserves a suitable memorial. But he does not think it would be proper for him, occupying the official position he does, to join a non-official Committee for this purpose.

Yours faithfully,"

111. Note to M.O. Mathai, Special Assistant to Nehru, 25 October 1958. JN Collection.

112. *Glimpses of World History*.

113. In October and November 1957, before Nehru's visit to Pratapgarh Fort on 30 November 1957 to unveil a statue of Shivaji, there was much criticism of Nehru by those campaigning for a separate State of Maharashtra for his remarks about Shivaji in *Glimpses*. See SWJN/SS/40/pp. 359-369.

114. Note to Private Secretary, Hyderabad, 25 October 1958. JN Collection.

115. Auschwitz in southern Poland was the site of a Nazi concentration camp where about 1.5 million persons were killed during World War II. The site was later converted into a museum and memorial and designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1979.

387. To Shri Ranjan¹¹⁶

October 27, 1958

My dear Shri Ranjan,¹¹⁷

You wrote to me some time ago about naming the University Library after me. I did not like this idea at all but ultimately agreed rather reluctantly.¹¹⁸

I have now received a letter from Dr Ishwari Prasad,¹¹⁹ a copy of which I enclose. Whatever the motive may be in his writing to me on this subject or in his objection to these names being given, I entirely agree with him.¹²⁰ I think this would be embarrassing to me as well as to Pantji¹²¹ and Dr Sampurnanand.¹²² This utilisation of the names of living persons should, I think, always be avoided. When I was Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality long ago,¹²³ I made a rule to this effect so far as the municipality was concerned. It was a good rule though unfortunately it was reversed afterwards.

I might also mention to you that the Calcutta University had built a hostel or something and named it after Pantji. Subsequently they asked for a grant from the Central Government for it. The grant was refused on the ground that it had been named after a living person which we do not approve of. Naturally this was embarrassing for Pantji as well as the Calcutta University.

I think, therefore, that you should give up this idea. You may very well say that you are doing so because I do not agree to it or I do not like it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

116. File No. 9/30/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

117. Vice-Chancellor, University of Allahabad.

118. See Nehru's letter of 12 May 1958 to Shri Ranjan in SWJN/SS/42/p. 194.

119. (b. 1892); historian; Professor of History, Allahabad University; later Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science; retired, 1954; Emeritus Professor of Allahabad University; member of UP Legislative Council for three terms from the graduates' constituency.

120. Ishwari Prasad wrote to Nehru on 21 October that he had come to know at a meeting of the Executive Council of the Allahabad University that it was intended to name the University Library after Nehru and two new hostels which were yet to be constructed after G.B. Pant and Sampurnanand. He added, "Many of us feel that it would not be fair to do so and political parties may take advantage of it. Taking a long-range view it would be improper for the University to name its buildings after living political leaders." Ishwari Prasad expressed the hope that Nehru would inform the University not to involve his name in these matters.

121. Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Home Minister.

122. Sampurnanand, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

123. From 1923 to 1925.

388. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹²⁴

October 30, 1958

[Nan dear,]

Krishna Menon gave me your letter of the 22nd October in which you refer to Edwina's¹²⁵ illness. I had vaguely heard about it but she has not written to me on the subject nor have I mentioned it in any letter to her. The first I heard of it was from Krishna Menon some weeks ago when he passed through London on his way to India. He mentioned it rather casually and said that this would probably pass after a while. Then Amrit Kaur said something about it which indicated that it was more serious. It was something about a nerve in the face. She thought that Edwina was likely to have another operation. She added that she did not like anyone to mention it to her. And now you have written.

About a month ago I wrote to Edwina and said that I hoped she will be coming to India some time during this cold weather. She replied saying that she would very much like to come and she hoped to be here either just before or after Prince Philip's visit.¹²⁶ She was thinking of going to the Far East on some Red Cross business and would stop here on the way. Since then she has not written again. I do not propose to mention this matter to her.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

124. JN Collection.

125. Edwina Mountbatten.

126. Prince Philip arrived in Delhi on 21 January 1959 in connection with the 46th annual session of the Indian Science Congress held at Delhi University from 21 January 1959.

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

Acharya	a reverential term for a learned person or for a teacher
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AIR	All India Radio
Babu	a respectful title or form of address for a man
Banaras	Varanasi
Bangalore	Bengaluru
Bezwada	Vijayawada
Bhangra	form of dance that originated in the Punjab
Bhoodan	voluntary donation of land; refers to a movement initiated by Vinoba Bhave
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
Bombay	Mumbai
British Guiana	Guyana
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
Chaprasai	official messenger, peon, or attendant
Charpai	a string cot
Cocanada	Kakinada

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Cochin	Kochi
Connaught Place	Rajiv Chowk
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPWD	Central Public Works Department
Crore	ten million
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
CSO	Central Statistical Office
CWC	Congress Working Committee
Dacca	Dhaka
Dara	unpolished; a variety of rice
DCC	District Congress Committee
Devicolam	Devikulam
Dhoti	unstitched cloth worn on the lower half of the body
DIB	Director, Intelligence Bureau
Dn	Deccan
Dz/ Dzong	fortress
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FLN	Front de Liberation Nationale
Formosa	Taiwan
FS	Foreign Secretary
Gauhati	Guwahati
Ghee	clarified butter
GOC	General Officer Commanding
GOI	Government of India
Goonda	a ruffian

Gramdan	voluntary donation of village or village land; refers to Vinoba Bhave's movement to transfer private land to the village
Gramodyog	village industry
Gramsewak	a person appointed for village welfare work
I & P	[Ministry of] Irrigation and Power
ICS	Indian Civil Service
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
Janam Ashtami	festival to mark the birth of Krishna
Jheel	lake or pool
JN	Jawaharlal Nehru
Jullundur	Jalandhar
Karma Samiti	Executive Council of Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan
Khadi Bhandar	shop or store of khadi items
KMT	Kuomintang
Kutchra	temporary
Lakh	one hundred thousand
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
Madras (City)	Chennai
Madras (State)	Tamil Nadu
Madura	Madurai
Mahant	the chief priest of a temple or the head of a monastery
Mandi	wholesale market
Math	religious establishment akin to a monastery
Maund	unit of weight, about 38 kilograms

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
Mysore (State)	Karnataka
Namdhari	a Sikh sect
Nasik	Nashik
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
naye paise	plural of naya paisa, one-hundredth of a rupee, introduced in 1957
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NH-TA	Naga Hills-Tuensang Area
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
Nullah	water channel or drain
ONGC	Oil and Natural Gas Commission
Orissa	Odisha
Padma Shri	civilian award given by the Government of India
Panch	one of the elected representatives of a panchayat
Panchayat	village council
Panchayati raj	empowering the people through panchayats
Panchsheel	the five basic principles of international conduct
Patwari	village revenue record keeper
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Peking	Beijing
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union

PIB	Press Information Bureau
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
Pondicherry	Puducherry
Poona	Pune
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
Queen Victoria Road	Rajendra Prasad Road
Rabi	spring harvest
Rai Bahadur	British title given to Indians
Rajmata	queen mother
Rangoon	Yangon
Samsad	Court of Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan
Samyojak	organiser, convener
Sanwan/Sawan	the fifth month of the Hindu calendar
Sardar	male Sikh
Sarpanch	head of a panchayat
Satyagrahi	one who engages in passive political resistance
SG	Secretary General, MEA
Simla	Shimla
SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series</i>
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series</i>
Taccavi	cash advances by government to farmer
TCM	Technical Cooperation Mission (of USA)
Thana	Police station

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Tinneveli /Tinnevelly	Tirunelveli
Trichinopoly	Tiruchirapalli
Trivandrum	Thiruvananthapuram
UAR	United Arab Republic
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations / Organisation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPI	United Press of India
USA	United States of America
Usar	bad or saline
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Vastralaya	cloth store
VIP	Very Important Person
Vizagapatnam	Visakhapatnam
WHO	World Health Organisation
Yuvraj	heir apparent

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- When Governor Thomas Dewey of the USA complained that Congressional committees were a nuisance and wasted a lot of time, Nehru had to remind him that this was a price well worth paying for democracy.
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- M.C. Chagla reported that the Freedom for Goa Movement feared that a plebiscite on whether Goa should remain with Portugal or come to India might well be decided in favour of Portugal!
- Nehru wrote to K.P.S. Menon in Moscow how Indian generals thought Pakistani generals incompetent, but that was all the more reason for concern.
- V.R. Krishna Iyer complained to Nehru about V.K. Krishna Menon's tour of Kerala; so Nehru reminded him that Krishna Iyer's father had called on Krishna Menon during his visit, and he went on to compare communists to Jesuits.
- C.B. Gupta was a most important Congressman; but Nehru accused him of being disruptive, encouraging sycophancy, and of creeping communalism.
- Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was informed by the Brazilian ambassador to the UK that there were only three women in his life, in the following order: Margot Fonteyn, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and Queen Elizabeth.

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